AF Spins In, Checks Tower

By Bob Ingram

THE ONCE proud and cocky Folsom Air Force is no more. Folsom's air arm has been trimmed a pub by the economizing Patterson administration.

At one time the F.A.F. numbered seven planes and five pilots, one of them being the barefooted governor. His shoes were too big for the pedals. And if Alabama had nothing else to boast of during Folsom's heyday we at least could claim air superiority.

As of now the state owns two planes, the other five having fallen victim to Patterson's economy guns. With five kills to his credit, Patterson can rightly claim to be an ace.



INGRAM

One of the planes which survived, a sleek twin-engined Piper Apache, is assigned to Patterson's office. The other, a Cessna 180, belongs to the Conservation Department.

One of the reasons for the increase in the governor's office budget for the coming year is that Patterson wishes to pay the pilot from that account. The salary would be $7,200 a year.

The disclosure of the reduction in the state's air power came when the Interim Committee on Finance and Taxation heard budget requests for the executive department.

And On The Ground

THESE HEARINGS have brought out into the open a number of other results of Patterson's economy program. In addition to [illegible] took over in January there were 12 cars assigned to the governor's office—now there are only six.

A Finance Department employe reported that during the Folsom administration it took a clerk three days to type up the monthly bills for long distance telephone calls placed by state officials. Now the work is done in three hours.

And it can now be reported that steps have been taken to correct the telephone situation in the offices of the Planning and Industrial Development Board. That's where they had 48 employes and 48 phones.

State Purchasing Officers J. B. King told the legislative committee that every automobile purchased since the Patterson administration took over has been in the low-priced-three field.

King went a little further and paid an even higher tribute to the Patterson administration. He said the competitive bid law passed in 1957 for all purchases of $800 or more was being enforced above and beyond the law.

"We are taking bids on every purchase, no matter how small," he told the committee.

As to the suggestion that the bid bill minimum be lowered to purchases of $500 or more, King said it didn't seem to be necessary. He said it might be a good idea to do it for economy in the future.

"It would probably be wise to go ahead and close the barn door now," King suggested.

The Three Faces Of Sam

SOME FOLKS call him Director Sam Engelhardt of the Highway Department, others prefer to address him as Chairman Sam Engelhardt of the State Democratic Executive Committee and then there are a few who stick to the old label of "Segregation" Sam Engelhardt. But all three faces of Sam are sad.

Sad Sam made his mistakes when he decided to become a candidate for the party committee. He had every reason not to run, what with his name already on the ballot as a candidate for lieutenant governor. But run he did, and he won the committee seat while losing the race for lieutenant governor.

Then along came the dispute over who would be chairman of the committee. Sam had agreed in September to go along with Frank Mizell, the states rights choice.

But then Gov. Patterson stepped in. He figured Sam would make a good highway director. Patterson also figured Sam would make a good committee chairman. So he gave them both to Sam.

Sam's election as committee chairman didn't make him exactly popular with the very group he had been most popular with in the past. Suffice it to say that nowadays the mention of Engelhardt's name at a Citizens' Council meeting prompts far more jeers than cheers. This may be hard to believe, but it's the gospel.

About Face Predicted

NOW PATTERSON has come forward and rubbed a little more salt in the wounds of the states' rights forces. Quite plainly he has said he doesn't like their candidates for the other two state committee offices—H. Coleman Long for state chairman and Dick Monk for secretary.

And to make Sad Sam sadder, Patterson said he wouldn't support Long about 24 hours after Engelhardt said he would.

Quite obviously Patterson and Engelhardt have to get on the same side before the Friday meeting in Birmingham. It's not difficult to guess which will switch.

Grand Dragon Shelton Comes To Call

A FELLOW who's name became quite well known last May during the gubernatorial runoff was visiting at the Capitol a couple of days back. His name was R. M. (Bobby) Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama.

After bemoaning the "rough treatment" given him by The Advertiser during the campaign, Shelton was quite cordial.

One thing he wanted straightened out was the organization he is affiliated with.

"Our group is a part of the U. S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.," Shelton declared. "We aren't connected with some of those radical groups up around Birmingham. We are incorporated and aren't on anybody's subversive list."

Commenting on the KKK in Alabama, Shelton said the organization was gaining in strength.

"We are organized in 64 of the 67 counties in Alabama," he said. "And the U. S. Klan is active in 32 states."

Shelton didn't name the three counties in Alabama which had no klaverns but he gave a pretty good clue.

"We have stayed away from the counties down in the coastal area," Shelton said. He didn't say why.

About that time Shelton was summoned from the Capitol rotunda bench into the office of the finance director.

'Grand Dragon To See You'

THE *Birmingham Post-Herald* is one of the soundest newspapers published in Alabama, but, like the best of them, it suffers seizures of waywardness. It was wayward in the last campaign when the political connection between Gov. Patterson and the Klan was established in Patterson's own handwriting and, at last, acknowledged. Despite everything, the magazine Columnist John Temple Graves and the *Post-Herald's* straight man, Editor Jimmy Hoge, said the *Advertiser* was smearing its man Patterson by exposing his Klan connections.

Editor Hoge dismissed *The Advertiser's* revelations thus:

"The latest smear attempt is an effort to hang the Klan . . . around Mr. Patterson's neck."

The Advertiser expressed its opinion of this editorial by reprinting it in full (May 11)—without comment.

See Bob Ingram's column on the page opposite today for evidence of whether *The Advertiser* or the *Post-Herald* was telling the truth. You will see that Grand Dragon Bob Shelton called on Finance Director Charles Meriwether at the Capitol last week by appointment, to discuss what business we cannot say. The Kluxer chief is now as welcome at the Capitol as he was in Patterson's Birmingham headquarters in the campaign.

What manner of man is this Shelton who is cordially received by the first officer of the Patterson Administration?

On Jan. 3, Shelton gave this prepared statement to the press in remote Tuscaloosa, his home:

> We are warning the Negroes and white manipulators who have no regard for either race that if Martin Luther King's statement and announced plans of last week are carried out, *it will bring bloodshed*

to Alabama.

The Grand Dragon assured Alabama that the Klan would "take whatever steps are necessary" to prevent integration of Montgomery schools. In short, the Klan would make Montgomery a bloody cockpit if it thought necessary. And the author of that statement, a man in a sheet, is welcomed to the office of the state's first cabinet officer.

That was what we were talking about in the campaign when the *Post-Herald* cried "smear."

The Advertiser is not kidding itself into believing there is going to be widespread disapproval of this connection, anymore than there was in the campaign. Alabamians feel so aggrieved and oppressed by the rash, pugnacious onslaught of the federals that they have become tolerant even of the Klan.

The attitude is something like, "Well, I wouldn't join myself, but maybe it's a good thing to have around in case."

That kind of attitude embodies woe itself. As in the 1920s, the Klan wants power over government and all things under government. The passions discharged by the race conflict are merely the means to an end with the Klan.

There is probably no such thing as a little violence in the conditions confronting Alabama. When violence starts, nobody, including your own children, will be safe.

★ Tell It ★
To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Endangering Human Life

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: As far back as we can remember the City of Montgomery has accorded medical practitioners, white and Negro alike, the courtesy of reserving a number of parking areas for their use in the downtown section of the city. The obvious reason for this was to enable doctors to meet the many emergencies that constantly arise.

Until a few days ago four units had been available for Negro doctors on Monroe Street, between Lawrence and Perry, near the doctors' offices. Recently *three* of these "reserved spaces" have been re-designated as commercial parking places, leaving only *one* place for the Negro doctors. And there is some question as to the retention of this last remaining unit.

White doctors have not been similarly deprived of this very necessary facility. Yet many of them do not make out-calls, or answer emergency calls, but serve by appointment only. Neither have "loading zones" for business firms been stricken from the reserved list; nor have taxi-cab stands.

Surely human life and the welfare of a large segment of the city's population are as important as the produce of retailers and to commercial investments of the taxis.

We, therefore, register open complaint against the unfair action the city has taken in this regard. We ask city officials who may be responsible for making the decision to reconsider the matter and to give us the same consideration and courtesy which Montgomery has so graciously extended over the years. For we, too, are taxpayers and citizens of the city.

JEFFERSON UNDERWOOD, M.D.
Secretary, Capitol City Medical Society.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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No Defense Needed

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—

Thanks to your Sunday editorial I do not expect to soon have to defend my honesty, character, or even my good intentions. Thanks to the many expressions of support I have received from the white people of Montgomery I see no need to defend my course of action.

However, there is one thing I am afraid I cannot take credit for even though you give it to me: no action of mine in behalf of the council is solely my own doing. As chairman I sign all papers, but as expressions of the collective views of the Council's governing bodies.

We are grateful to Mr. Covey for cancelling the film, and we are aware of the financial loss he incurred in so doing. We do believe that the appreciative white people of Montgomery will see to it that this soon is made up by their sustained patronage.

You say my formula is: "You either think *my* way or you are against the white folks." My way of thinking is segregation is right; integration is wrong; anything which promotes integration as desirable or practical also is wrong, and the more subtle and concealed it is, the more wrong and dangerous it is.

This may be older than Adam's baby teeth, but it still will be true when the world's last old man is gumming his supper. BRUCE WYATT.

Montgomery.

Be Constructive

Editor, The Advertiser:

Be ashamed! Your Sunday editorial about Bruce Wyatt can in no way be justified as an objective expression of true concern over censorship. Its only objective would appear to belittle his efforts in regard to the successful operation of the Montgomery Citizens Council.

It is sad—even tragic—that you continually stand by to voice objection and feigned righteous indignation but make no effort at constructive criticism. It makes a person wonder if you are interested in the ultimate purposes of the Citizens Council or those who would see it destroyed by confusing the issues—particularly when you imply so directly that the Council "make war on the Negro revolutionaries."

That is a myth that has been exploded long ago. To follow only that course would be completely ineffective and not essentially sincere as we know "the Negro" and "the white" were well oriented until outside forces intervened with the help of local brain washing machines and stirred up dissension and distrust.

No, *Grandma*, until you come up with better plans than can be attributed to you so far, the Montgomery Citizens Council, under the leadership of Bruce Wyatt, can continue to study our problems directly and project plans to at least render the situation tolerable until the whole social conspiracy is revealed for what it is.

My thought would be "congratulations" for serving in the capacities they have accepted. A constructive thought would be one of criticism that more of us have not helped with the heavy responsibility.

But, why should we—when it is obvious that *Old Grandma*, et al, are going to lambast efforts with no thought of constructive suggestion.

GEORGE T. SIMMONS.

Montgomery.

Lily White John

Editor, The Advertiser:

I like the fine way you publish the critical editorials, no matter how writers lambast you. I also enjoy the *Grandma* letters.

It is very amusing the way the governor is described by some of the writers: Honest John, Lily White John. But he is branding himself. People all over the state are taking notice.

One writer in the letters column, April 11, expressed how often he uses the word "smear" when the truth comes out on some of the things about him and his administration.

Wonder how he thinks people who voted for him feel when he and his administration smear the lives and characters of some of the men who had been with the state since Bibb Graves was our governor? They stayed through the administration of Sparks, Dixon, Folsom, Persons, Folsom again.

Now I know it does not take 20 years to find a mistake.

All the above mentioned past governors were as honest and above reproach as the present Honest John.

Drew Pearson said a hit dog always hollers. If you remember, J.P. said Drew Pearson got off the subject he started on and started hollering politics. Honest John was the first to mention politics when he said Drew Pearson was trying to get votes for a Northern president.

Texas has not yet deserted the South. Mr. Johnson of Texas is Drew Pearson's choice. I am 75 years of age and I am waiting to see all old people get $75 per month without raising more taxes or cutting some old people out. J.P. can't cut these old people out or raise the taxes and still stay Honest John.

I often wonder who the lucky florist is that J.P. gets the white carnations from. They may run out after a while. Then I wonder what he will use for his sign. Everyone in Alabama knows him on sight without wearing a carnation.

I heard Drew Pearson, also J.P., on Sunday, April 5. Enough said.

MARVIN WHITE.

Rt. 2, Montgomery.

In Defense Of Macon's Sheriff

Editor, The Advertiser:

In regards to the "Tuskegee Speed Trap," I have lived in Macon County for over 30 years and I have never known of a speed trap operating in Macon County.

I know the sheriff and patrolmen personally, and know them to be fair and square.

As for what J. C. Watters stated that the sheriff said—"Hell, No"—I wouldn't believe that on his oath, for I have never known of the sheriff to speak in that manner.

Personally I think Watters has a chip on his shoulder. This is my 2¢ worth. HUGH THOMPSON.

Notasulga, Ala., Rt 1.

He Knows Best:

Conform Or Go

IN THIS examination of the Montgomery Citizens Council, *The Advertiser* is going to be careful not to exaggerate that organization's potential for mischief, nuisance or menace to our way of life in Montgomery.

But how that the Council has prevented the showing of a movie here *The Advertiser* feels a duty to urge the citizens of Montgomery to take a keen look at the Council's stated aims and to assess how much of your personal freedom it craves to devour.

THE HEAD of the Council in Montgomery is Mr. Bruce Wyatt.

Today, as you have just seen, Mr. Wyatt is manager of the Empire Theater. He has taken over the managerial duties from the former manager, Mr. "Bickey" Covey.

The question becomes whether, tomorrow, Mr. Wyatt aims to function as president of the Montgomery Bar Association, the Dental Society, the Medical Society, the Merchants Association, the Ministerial Association, the Farm Bureau, and manager of the local TV-radio stations.

If you doubt that such is the toxic vision of Mr. Wyatt, hold until you have re-read it in his own words. We will presently quote them.

★

IT DID NOT matter a hoot to our social order here whether the movie *Defiant Ones* was shown or not. For the overwhelming mass of white public opinion in Montgomery is opposed beyond alteration to race mixing. No amount of propagandistic bombardment can change that.

But if any kind of propaganda assaults and injections could alter the convictions of white Montgomerians about race mixing, it would not be an elusive, brief whiff of a "message" in a movie.

If any kind of propaganda would derange overmastering white sentiment in Montgomery, it would be such authoritative influences as President Eisenhower, Congress, the magazines, national church bodies and your TV set.

The Council cannot seal off Montgomerians from these sources of propaganda. Instead, you are told you cannot see the movie *Defiant Ones*.

And that goes by the name of "thought control."

★

NOW WHO is the gentleman that decided for you that you might be harmed by seeing the movie?

Our impression of Mr. Wyatt is that of an earnest, upright man with whom you would never suffer in a

ersonal business transaction.

Our further impression of Mr. Wyatt is that, had he been on the jury at the Scopes Monkey Trial, he would have voted Thomas Scopes guilty as charged; that Mr. Wyatt's conprehension of an American's personal freedom is unachieved; and that if shown the writings of Thomas Jefferson with the author's sanctified name obliterated, he would adjudge them dangerous and un-Montgomery.

★

NOT FOR a moment does *The Advertiser* question Mr. Wyatt's sincerity and good intentions. Nor do we think that at this point he is a consequential danger to the freedom of Montgomerians. But, as is seen in inexhaustible profusion throughout man's history, Mr. Wyatt has embraced a dogma and if you will not embrace the same dogma, he aims to put you behind the pale. "You either think *my* way, or you're against the white folks." The formula is more ancient than Adam's baby teeth.

Our interpretations of the aims of Mr. Wyatt are entirely derived from his own written words. On Feb. 1, the Council ran a large ad in *The Advertiser* entitled, "This Is The Program Which Will Keep The Schools Segregated."

Here are some extractions from the ad which show the governmental role the Council aspires to play:

. . . As the organized voice of our white citizens in matters pertaining to racial affairs, we are entitled to expect, and we do expect, that the public officials whom we elect shall consult with the Citizen Council officials whom we elect at all stages of the planning and execution of policies and measures involving the question of racial segregation.

★

WHEN the Council wants a lawyer it demands that he come running:

. . . As citizens we feel that in a time of crisis like this we have the right to expect, and we do expect, the complete cooperation of members of the legal profession in making their services available on such a panel. . . We do expect similar cooperation from other leaders in the community life in making their time and services available.

★

HERE IS the two-headed threat the Council makes if you dare reject its infallible dogma. It's hard to believe, but it was prominently displayed in this paper Feb. 1:

[1] . . . No person who now enjoys success, leadership or acceptance in our communities will continue to enjoy success, leadership, or acceptance should he aid in making more difficult our mission of maintaining segregation. . .

[2] We feel that an aroused and informed public will make it unprofitable and uncomfortable for any person to remain in our community if he is not willing to support the community in this matter.

★

IN SHORT, a day is envisioned when there will be bodies elsewhere known as Montgomerians-in-Exile.

It is plain that this kind of vicious idiocy would leave the Council making war, not on the Negro revolutionaries, but on white people.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Montgomery Advertiser p. 4

Your name and address must be given on letters ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Remember, no letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Thurs 10-22-59. p. 4.

A First Step

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Alabama owes a great debt of gratitude to Rep. Joe Goodwyn for his bold and vigorous sponsoring of HB 609 and its predecessor bills. By his sponsorship of these bills, he has not only pointed the way to the application of city and county responsibility in the caring for our older citizens, but he has stimulated widespread awareness and discussion of the need to explore new avenues to meet the needs of the aged. He has pioneered with Sen. Vaughan Hill Robison a program which, when it will be looked at in the perspective of history, may appear as significant as democracy itself.

He has himself recognized that HB 609 is first step, a social solution to a social problem:

¶ To promote a better understanding of the problems of aging by the general public in the community;

¶ To help the community develop and conduct programs and services designed to meet the needs of people before and after retirement;

¶ To utilize the local, state and national resources available to aid in the activities as determined by the community.

RUBIN M. HANAN.

Montgomery.

Answering Mr. Smith

Editor, The Advertiser:

I wish to say a few kind words in defense of Gov. John Patterson in answer to W. W. Smith.

Mr. Patterson was elected by the people of Alabama largely on his promise to keep segregation at all costs. He stated many times that segregation was the most important issue of our times. The laws he sponsored to implement his promise have all been passed and in force. What do increased taxes and other less important issues matter as long as he kept his most fervent promise on the issue he was elected on?

I am for more and better schools; more aid to the aged and the mentally ill. I pay some taxes too.

I. B. HOPSON.

P.O. Box 922, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Negro Editor Attacks Letters

Jackson Moderate Replies To Anti-Mixing Views

BARS NORTHERN WRITER

By United Press International

JACKSON, Miss., March 27.—A Negro newspaper editor who is considered a moderate Friday attacked anti-integration letters written by a Southern businessman.

Southern newspapers this week published two letters from Carleton Putnam of Washington, to United States Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers. The letters question Federal civil rights procedures.

Percy Greene, editor-publisher of the Jackson Advocate, said in an editorial, "We are constrained to say that what Mississippi, the South, and indeed the entire nation needs is the simple truth, and not Mr. Putnam's letters."

Cites Prediction

Green said he predicted before and after the 1954 Supreme Court integration decision that the NAACP stand for immediate school integration would "arouse the most reactionary forces in the nation and defer . . . the full emancipation of the American Negro."

Greene, who has long been an enemy of the NAACP, said Mr. Putnam's letters left no doubt that he was right.

Mr. Putnam's lengthy letters were also sent to President Eisenhower and members of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Putnam questioned whether existing inequalities of status and achievement between racial groups were due entirely to inequalities in opportunity.

Mr. Putnam particularly emphasized the lack of African adoption of Greco-Roman and Western European civilization, or something similar, long after other barbaric states had absorbed it.

It was apparently on this portion of the Putnam letters, that Greene centered his attack.

Lambasts British

"It is time for us to rid our hearts and minds of the falsehoods and distortions of both British-invented white supremacy and Russian Communism," Greene said.

"The salvation of Mississippi, the South and the nation, and the rest of the world as well," he said, "can be found in this simplest of all truths: out of one blood God created all the nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth."

Greene said he predicted became able to boast "the sun never rises nor sets on the British Empire" through atrocities committed against "other people" by English seamen, adventurers and pirates.

JACKSON ADVOCATE

EDITOR REGRETS RENEWED VIGOR OF NEGRO ISSUE RECURRING IN STATE POLITICS

Say Negro Voters Needed To Bring Healthy Progressive Politics To State

SEE CHARGE OF NEGRO BLOC VOTING TOTALLY UNFOUNDED

By PERCY GREENE

During the past few days as the current political campaign approaches its climax, and especially since a lot of newspapers in the state have been identified as supporting one or the other candidate for Governor of the state, from all sides we have been asked, for one reason or another to state what candidate the Jackson Advocate, or the editor is supporting.

In answer to that question we say in the outset here that the candidate in the governor's race, and in all the other lessor races in the coming election, who wins is the candidate of the Jackson Advocate and its editor.

In saying that our candidate in the race for governor is the winner, we mean that who ever is elected out of the four candidates, when he takes the chair as Governor of Mississippi, thus becoming the governor of all the people of the state, we are going to seek a way through which we may be able to work with him in helping to bring about a better day for the Negroes of the state, through working in cooperation with responsible Negro and white leaders at the local community level towards the accomplishment of those things which make for a greater future for the state.

Recalling the 1948 election when Negro voters of the state got their first heart-thrilling experience of voting for candidates in the race for governor, and nothing the decline in the use of the Negro issue in the subsequent campaigns, a result of the slow but steady increase in the number of Negro voters in the state, despite the fact that much is being said and done to discourage Negro voting, with the new vigor of the Negro issue recurring in the current campaign, it should be plainly evident to everyone, that an increase in Negro voting is the only way to bring about a healthy and progressive political atmosphere in the state.

Much is said and being said about Negro bloc voting. To us it is nothing more nor less than a cliche invented by those who, largely for their own political future, wish to continue to deny the Negro the right to vote, and political participation, and is in fact totally unfounded.

On the subject of Negro bloc voting we quote from an article by the distinguished southerner, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, published in the June 21st issue of the New York Times Magazine under the title: If the Southern Negro got the Vote.

Says Editor McGill:

The familiar bugaboo raised by those who oppose Negro suffrage and who create elaborately contrived legislation to restrict and discourage registration is the cry of "bloc vote," expressing fear of Negro domination through the ballot. The specter of Negro political rue is one constantly cultivated and exaggerated by those determined to maintain the status quo. Extremist demagogues make the most of it.

"You let the civil-rights do-gooders have their way and you'll have a nigger mayor, nigger police, a nigger sheriff, a nigger superintendent of schools and nigger tax collectors," wrote one of the more violent editors in a White Citizens Council pamphlet given general distribution.

Actually, in the less than 20 years that the Negro may be said to have been partially enfranchised, his voting pattern has proved to be just like everyone else's. If Negroes feel that their interests are directly involved they vote in a bloc—as do farmers, union members, business men, or as doctors do on any issue which seems to them to involve socialized medicine. But when racial questions are not at issue, Negro voters tend to split their votes just as consistently as does the rest of the population.

For example, Dr. Rufus Clement, able Negro president of Atlanta University, twice has been elected to the city's school board. Each time he carried the white wards as well as those heavily Negro. In the last election a successful, respected Negro business man was a candidate for another municipal position. His vote in the Negro wards was far less than that of Dr. Clement, strongly indicating that there is no bloc voting unless the Negro voters' special interest are at stake.

Naturally, once the Negro acquired the right to vote, he would use it to obtain his full civil rights. He would, in addition, become a pressure group in his community, seeking community services in exactly the way white voters have been doing all these years.

In Southern state elections the Negro voter would be a force behind expansion of schools and industry. He would provide, too, the possibility of creating a two-party system where today there is one. It is precisely this which adds to the fears of those who do not want him to vote and which causes them to try to picture the Negro voter as a dangerous factor."

In conclusion we say again that our candidate for Governor is the winner and anybody who tries either publicly or secretly to say differently is simply indulging in the lowest form of political demagoguery.

Negro Editor Speaks Out

IN TESTIMONY before a senate subcommittee, a Negro editor from Mississippi took a stand against so-called "civil rights" legislation. Percy Green, editor of a Jackson, Miss., Negro newspaper, said whites and Negroes were making progress in solving race relations, until the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Since that ram-it-down decree, he asserted there has been a "widening gap" which no kind of legislation would help close.

It has long been evident that you cannot inculcate amity and cooperation at bayonet's point, especially in dealing with a people having the proud heritage and traditions of the white South.

It is a tragedy that the crusaders refuse to recognize that fact, or rather refuse to act in keeping with it. For one thing, "there is gold in them thar hills." There are good-paying jobs for leaders whose role it is to foment dissension; there are votes to be garnered among the gullible.

It was gratifying, though, to see one leader of the race that is being duped speak out.

Survey shows '58 a year of 'firsts'

BY BAKER E. MORTEN

The year 1958, like many of its predecessors, was filled with many tales of pathos and tragedy.

But there were also stories of brighter events . . . success stories. The following are eminent among happy events throughout the year:

JANUARY

Daniel Diggs, in a precedent-setting ceremony, was sworn in as Brooklyn City Councilman. . . Louisville, Ky., Police Lt. A. W. Edwards was appointed to a police post in Liberia.

Milton S. [illegible] of Elkridge, Md., became Maryland's first colored state trooper when he was graduated from the Pikesville State Police Academy.

Cleveland's Judge Terry Sharpe won a third six-year term of office . . . Manhattan Borough President Hulan E. Jack of New York was sworn into office for a second four-year term.

Political history was made in Roselle, N.J., when George G. Woody Jr. was sworn in as a Borough councilman.

The Rev. William F. Houston, pastor of Evergreen Baptist Church, Huntington, L.I., N.Y., was elected president of the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York and Vicinity.

State Supreme Court Justice Harold A. Stevens was sworn in as associate justice of the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court, becoming the first member of his race appointed to such a post.

J. F. Phillips was sworn in as secretary of the Queens, N.Y., Borough. . .

FEBRUARY

President Eisenhower nominated Clifton R. Wharton of Boston as Ambassador to Roumania, a precedent-setting action.

The Rev. Dr. Gardner C. Taylor became the first of his race and religion elected president of the New York Protestant Council, representing 1,700 churches.

MARCH

Seventeen-year-old J. Thomas Jackson of Melrose, Mass., was nominated to the U.S. Naval Academy by Rep. Torbert H. MacDonald (D., Mass.)

Armand Hocker, 34-year-old attorney-engineer, was named head of the city street division in Toledo, Ohio.

Mrs. Verda Welcome of Baltimore was presented as Fourth District representative to the Maryland House of Delegates.

United Nations' Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche was appointed to the New York City Board of Higher Education.

APRIL

William W. Wright became director of the Ethiopian Evangelical College Bishoftu, one of the few secondary schools in Ethiopia.

MAY

Dr. Stephen J. Wright was inaugurated as the seventh president of Fisk University . . Mrs. Marguerite A. Wyke, former New Jersey teacher, was appointed to the Senate of the newly-inaugurated West Indian Federation Parliament.

New York Special Sessions Justice Myles A. Paige was appointed by Mayor Robert Wagner as a justice in the Court of Domestic Relations.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson was named president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. He was formerly director of the fund.

Miss Annabel Sawyer, executive director of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA in Richmond, Va., was named secretary of the West African Leadership Training Project under the Foreign Services Division of the national board of the YWCA.

Chicago attorney William R. Ming was re-elected national chairman of the American Veterans Committee.

Dr. Robert H. Johnson was endorsed to succeed himself as grand exalted ruler of the Georgia State Association of Elks.

Arthur Chapin of Washington, CIO human relations director, was named deputy vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Irvine I. Turner was re-elected to his city council seat in Newark, N.J., by 7,250 votes out of 12,524.

Rep. Robert J. C. Nix (D., Pa.) filled the vacant seat of Earl Chudoff in the U.S. Congress. Mr. Chudoff became a judge.

JUNE

District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission Chairman George E. C. Hayes was renominated for a second term by President Eisenhower.

Atlanta University political science instructor Dr. Samuel D. Cook received an $8,000 study grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Seventeen-year-old Ernest Green became the first of his race to be graduated from Central High School in Little Rock, Ark. He was later granted a scholarship to Michigan State University.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP, and the Little Rock Nine, were awarded the Spingarn Medal for distinguished achievement.

Mrs. Lois Patillo, told "to look for another job" after her 16-year-old daughter, Melba, attended Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., got her teaching job back at Scipio Jones High School.

Dr. Alonzo Smith of Washington received the Alumni Medallion for distinguished service to American medicine from the State University of New York.

Mrs. Vel Phillips of Milwaukee was elected national committeewoman by the Wisconsin Democratic Convention . . . Virgil Hawkins won admittance to the University of Florida, ending a court fight that started nine years ago.

JULY

Singer Paul Robeson won his long fight for a passport to travel abroad when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the State Department could not deny visas to citizens because of their beliefs and associations.

The Senate confirmed the nomination of George E. C. Hayes as public Utilities Commission chairman of the District of Columbia.

AUGUST

David M. Thomas was named Liberian Consul General in New York . . . Racial discrimination was ended in civil service jobs in Birmingham, Ala. . . . Dr. Clifford C. Smith became the first of his race appointed head of the Out-Patient Department of the Jersey City Medical Center.

Trenton, N.J., Deputy Attorney General Harold J. Ashby was named chairman of the New Jersey Parole Board.

The U.S. Senate confirmed the nomination of contralto Marian Anderson as a U.S. alternate delegate to the United Nations.

Lester B. Granger, National Urban League executive director, won the Elks Lovejoy award.

Dr. Catherine B. Coleman of Philadelphia was appointed director of the Bureau of Teacher education in the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

Rep. Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.) garnered 14,837 votes against 4,935 in routing City Councilman Earl Brown in the New York primary elections for the 16th District congressional seat.

F. F. Gayles, William F. Mullins, J. R. Booker, Dr. L. A. Davis and H. L. La Grone were among persons named to state advisory posts of the Civil Rights Commission. The posts were in Oklahoma, Arkansas, New Mexico and Arizona.

SEPTEMBER

Robert Mangrum was named deputy Commissioner of Hospitals in New York City.

Dr. Joseph H. Jackson was re-elected to a sixth term as president of the National Baptist Convention.

George A. Starke of Orlando, Fla., became the first colored student to register at the University of Florida.

Dr. T. C. McFall of Charleston, S.C., was named to the advisory committee for South Carolina of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, was elected president of the United Negro College Fund.

NOVEMBER

Randall L. Tyus was named vice president of the only colored owned and operated firm on Wall St., New York.

John F. Cushman of Falls Church, Va., was named director of the Office of Administrative Procedure in the Justice Department.

Mrs. Verda Welcome and Mrs. Irma Dixon became the first women of their race elected to the Maryland House of Delegates.

J. Alvin Jones was elected Maryland state senator from Baltimore's Fourth District.

Mrs. Charles White of Houston, Tex., defeated two white opponents in becoming the first member of her race elected to the city school board.

In other election results, Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) defeated Republican Dr. T. R. M. Howard by 23,816 votes to win his ninth term in congress.

Congressman Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.) won re-election to Congress over New York City Councilman Earl Brown by a vote margin of 55,335 to 5,619.

Michigan's Rep. Charles C. Diggs, a Democrat, beat out his Republican opponent, Charles T. White 57,233 to 21,107.

Philadelphia's Rep. Robert N. C. Nix got 62,574 votes to 23,491 by his Republican foe, Cecil B. Moore.

On the state level, Democrats Mrs. Bessie Buchanan and Williams Watson won New York legislative seats; Democrats Mrs. Susie B. Smith, Herb Arlene and Granville Jones were among Pennsylvania political winners.

William Robinson, J. Horace Gardner and Edward Graham, all Republicans, plus Corneal Davis, James Y. Carter, Cecil A. Partee, Kenneth E. Wilson, Charles F. Armstrong, Mrs. Floy Clement and Fred Smith, all Democrats, were elected to Illinois state legislative posts.

Democrats James T. Troupe, Leroy Tyrus, Henry D. Wheeler and James M. Neal, went into the Missouri legislature.

Democrats James Hunter and Jessie Dickenson won seats in Indiana's legislative body while Mercer Mance, an attorney, was elected a judge in the state.

In Kansas, James P. Davis, Democrat, went into office as did Augustus Hawkins, a California Democrat.

Theodore R. Hagans Jr. was elected president of the Nationwide Hotel Association in New York . . . Nivelle Beauvien, a bank official, was named chairman of the Rhode Island Civil Rights Advisory Committee.

Wilfred C. Johnson became the first of his race elected to the Connecticut General Assembly.

Dr. Ruffin N. Noisette of Wilmington, Del., was elected president of the Council of Churche of Wilmington and New Castle County— a first. County—a first.

DECEMBER

Frank Ellis was elected to a fourth term as president of the Delta Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in Baltimore.

Edward L. Wright set a precedent in his election to the Rahway, N.J., Board of Education . . . Coach Eddie Hurt of Morgan State College was appointed Coach of the Pan American Olympics at Chicago in 1959.

NEW YEAR BABY

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — The first baby born in Memphis in 1959 was a six - pound, seven-ounce boy, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Raiford Johnson. The baby was born at John Gason Hospital.

U. S. Court Hears Worthy Appeal

WASHINGTON — The U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C., has been asked to rule that an American citizen's liberty of movement could not be abridged by the State Department's denial of a passport as a tool of American foreign policy.

The constitutional argument was advanced by attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union in the case of newsman William Worthy.

They urged the appeals court in a legal brief to reverse a Federal District Court decision that Secretary of State Dulles' refusal to renew Worthy's passport was a proper exercise of the executive branch's conduct of foreign relations.

THIS POWER, the lower court said, gave the State Department the right to restrict the travel of citizens to certain geographic areas in the world.

Worthy, a foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, and special correspondent for the New York Post and the Columbia Broadcasting System, visited Communist China and Hungary in the winter of 1956-57 despite a State Department ban on travel to those countries.

His application to renew the passport was denied last summer, after almost a year and one-half delay at the department's administration levels, on the grounds that his travel to the barred countries were "prejudical to the orderly conduct of foreign relations and the interests of the United States," and that he would not promise in the future to abide by geographic restrictions.

File New Brief In Worthy Passport Case

NEW YORK. — The U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. has been asked to rule that an American citizen's liberty of movement could not be abridged by the State department's denial of a passport as a tool of American foreign policy. The constitutional argument was advanced, by attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union in the case of newsman William Worthy. They urged the appeals court in a legal brief to reverse a federal district court decision that Secretary of State Dulles' refusal to renew Worthy's passport was a proper exercise of the Executive branch's conduct of foreign relations. This power, the lower court said, gave the State Department the right to restrict the travel of citizens to certain geographic areas in the world.

Worthy, a foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American and special correspondent for the New York Post and the Columbia Broadcasting System, visited Communist China and Hungary in the winter of 1956-57 despite a State department ban on travel to those countries. His application to renew the passport was denied last summer, after almost a year and one-half delay at the Department's administrative levels, on the grounds that his travel to the bared countries were "prejudical to the orderly conduct of foreign relations and the interests of the United States," and that he would not promise in the future to abide by geographic restrictions.

Citing a January 11, 1958 public statement by Roderic O'Connor, the State department's security officer, that the power to withhold a citizen's passport is "designed as instrument of foreign policy," the brief asserted that the department's control over travel 'is utilized to stifle criticism or promote espousal of a particular foreign policy which is subject to sudden and frequent change at the whim or caprice of one official. It is China today which is off limits—tomorrow it may be Argentina, France or Indonesia."..

In supporting its position that the grant of a passport has no relationship to the conduct of foreign policy, the brief emphasized that Congress has never passed a law giving the Secretary of State the power to deny travel to banned countries. The 1926 passport law, under which the State Department's 1952 regulations imposing political and other tests for passport grants were made, was merely a reenactment of the original 1856 passport law the ACLU brief said. That law had a limited purpose, it stressed, to centralize the issuance of passports in the State Department.

Striking hard at this limited function, the brief asserted, "there is an easy fallacy in the assumption that because the Secretary of State is the officer of our government chiefly concerned with foreign relations and because he has been given the power to issue passports, there is a necessary connection between foreign relations and passports....The power to issue passports was given to the Secretary of State merely to centralize and administer the procedure of passport issuance. To that end this power could have just as easily been given to every federal marshal or to the Secretary of Agriculture."

Declaring that "in reality, travel control is thought control," the brief reminded that the decision to close off certain foreign countries to travel by American citizens "involves the relationship of the government to its own nationals and a restriction upon their liberty. This is not the matter of foreign affairs as it would be if it involved relations between this country and foreign powers."

The brief asserted that even if the Executive branch's right to conduct foreign relations covered the grant of passports, it would still be subject to the test that only the gravest national danger could justify an infringement of the constitutional right to travel. The reasons advanced to deny Worthy's passport do not "warrant the abridgement of constitutional rights." Worthy, the bried said, has a "special property interest in his occupation as a foreign correspondent of which he has been deprived without due process His right to travel also is clearly one of the unenumerated rights protected by the Ninth Amendment but here denied and disparaged."

The government's first reason supporting its refusal to grant the passport, that American diplomatic protection cannot be provided in the barred areas, is true, the brief said, but this cannot justify right. "To assert that the privilege of benevolent paternalistic protection is paramount to the constitutional right to travel is to take a step down the road of oppression."

The brief also answers the argument advanced by the State Department, that the isolation of Communist China is a useful adjunct to foreign policy because allowing persons to travel there would lower U.S. prestige in world opinion. "Yet what greater effect is there on our prestige abroad" the brief exclaimed, "when we confine a citizen of unquestioned allegiance and integrity within the borders of our own country!" None of the arguments, the ACLU lawyers said, given by the State Department support the test which would justify cutting into constitutional rights, "the gravest imminent danger to the public safety."

In attacking the standard laid down by the State Department in denying Worthy's application, that the passport grant would be "prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign relations and.... to the interests of the United States," the ACLU brief said the regulation denied procedural due process "by its hopelessly vague criteria,

papers, the New York Post and the Columbia Broadcasting System when he applied in 1957 for a renewal of a passport originally issued in 1955.

The 1955 passport contained a restriction against travel to Hungary and to five Red-controlled areas with which the U.S. does not have diplomatic relations. Mr. Worthy nevertheless traveled both to Communist China and Hungary.

The Negro newsman argued that the right to travel is a constitutional right. The refusal, he said, also was an abridgement of freedom of the press.

The court said it believes the designation of a foreign area as a potential trouble spot is a "foreign affair."

Reporter Loses Passport Plea

United Press International.

WASHINGTON, June 9.—The United States Court of Appeals today upheld denial of a passport to William Worthy Jr., Baltimore newspaperman who refused to abide by a State Department ban on travel to Communist China and other Iron Curtain countries.

"Merely because a newsman has the right to travel, does not mean he can go anywhere he wishes," the three-judge court held.

Mr. Worthy was accredited by the Afro-American News-

A Queer Decision

During his lifetime, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles gave exactly 14 different reasons why American reporters could not be permitted in Red China and why he was denying AFRO Foreign Correspondent William Worthy a renewal of his passport.

Last week, it remained for Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman of the District of Columbia U.S. Court of Appeals to supply another.

In upholding the State Department's denial of a passport to Worthy, Judge Prettyman said:

"A blustering inquisitor avowing his own freedom to go and do as he pleases can throw the whole international neighborhood into turmoil. Worthy's avowed intent is to seek especially stories that involve the risk of war."

We do not know whether Judge Prettyman numbers any journalists among his acquaintances. If so, they certainly have misled him about the function and purpose of the reputable members of the Fourth Estate we know.

His description of Mr. Worthy as a "blustering inquisitor" obviously is proof that he neither knows Mr. Worthy nor has he bothered to read any of the incisive dispatches he sent from Peking two and half years ago.

Moreover, how can Judge Prettyman, with a straight face, justify the denial of a passport to Mr. Worthy on such flimsy grounds, while the State Department is busily issuing them to senators, representatives, part-time newsmen and even former governors, to visit China.

Has he also accepted the State Department's premise that a newsman is not a "blustering inquisitor" if his skin happens to be the right color?

That is clearly the pattern in the Worthy case.

Two other journalists entered China two days after Mr. Worthy crossed over from Hong Kong. Yet their passports have not been withdrawn, nor have they been subjected to the punishment meted out to Bill Worthy.

The only difference we have been able to detect is that they were white. Mr. Worthy is not.

The only happy fact about Mr. Prettyman's queer decision is that his is not the final word. Fortunately, the Supreme Court must have its say. We are confident that its conclusions will be far different than those of Judge Prettyman and the Court of Appeals.

Uphold Ban On Scribe's Passport

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — The U. S. Court of Appeals Tuesday upheld denial of a passport to William Worthy Jr., Baltimore newspaperman who refused to abide by a State Department ban on travel to Communist China and other Iron Curtain countries.

The appeals court affirmed a judment by district court here that the Secretary of State had the power and right to deny Worthy a passport renewal.

"Merely because a newsman has the right to travel, does not mean he can go anywhere he wishes," the three-judge appeals court held.

Worthy was accredited by the Afro-American Newspapers, The New York Post and the Columbia Broadcasting system when he applied in 1957 for a renewal of a passport originally issued in 1955.

The 1955 passport contained a restriction against travel to Hungary and to five Red-controlled areas with which the U. S. does not have diplomatic relations. Worthy nevertheless traveled both to Communist China and Hungary.

The newsman argued that the right to travel is a constitutional right; that the Secretary lacks legal authority to deny a passport to bar such travel. The refusal, he said, also was an abridgement of freedom of the press.

The State Department argued in turn that the restricted areas are potential or "actual trouble spots" where American citizens might be in danger. It also contended that presence of U. S. citizens in these areas with official approval would endanger the conduct of foreign policy.

The appeals court concluded that the right to travel "like every other form of liberty, is in our concept of an ordered society, subject to restrictions under some circumstances and for some reason."

The Week's Newsmakers

MATTIWILDA DOBBS, the Atlanta-born coloratura soprano sang before an enthusiastically appreciative audience at the Moscow Conservatory in Russia Friday night and is scheduled for a series of recitals at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory and the Bolshoi Theatre this week. Her rendition of spirituals drew encore after encore.

* * *

MRS. VERDA WELCOME, a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, gave her personal check for $1,000 to the Democraaic Party "to support National Chairman **Paul Butler** for the magnificent job he is doing." She is the wife of **Dr. Henry C. Welcome**, a Baltimore dentist.

* * *

L.C. BATES, publisher of the weekly "State Press" at Little Rock, has suspended publication of his newspaper due to financial losses and inability to renew his building lease. His wife, **Mrs. Daisy Bates**, is president of the Arkansas NAACP.

* * *

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, prime minister of the Soviet Union, will be host to President **Sekou Toure** of Guinea this week. Mr. Toure is expected in Moscow after he concludes his visit in London as guest of Queen Elizabeth. He arrived in London from New York after a 16-day tour of the United States.

* * *

FRANK DAY, driver of a Little Rock school bus which crashed into a creek, explained his loss of control of the vehicle: "I just couldn't steer her anymore. I tried the brakes, but it just veered to the left and went down into a creek." Ten junior and senior high pupils were hurt, none of them seriously.

* * *

MARTIN B. McKNEALLY, national commander of the American Legion, has officially notified the 40 and 8 Society that it has until Dec. 1 to declare its intention to remove the "white only" membership clause from its constitution. If this order is not obeyed, the society will be denied use of the Legion name and Legion emblem, he said.

* * *

DR. M. A. JACKSON at the last minute, decided not to file as the first colored candidate for a seat on Little Rock's school board. His decision was not based on "the time is not ripe" argument made by some politicians, but for "personal reasons" he said. **I. S. McClinton**, Democratic leader, had cautioned against Jackson's candidacy "at this time."

* * *

CHARLES KNOTTS, a contractor, has filed as a candidate for the school board at Pine Bluff, Ark., currently embroiled in a dispute over desegregation. Knotts was the first person of his race to serve on the board in 1950.

* * *

MRS. ROSALIE JOHNSON found herself locked out of her third - floor East Harlem apartment with her three small sons inside and smoke seeping under the door. She hailed a passing police car whose two occupants b r o k e down the door, rescued the tots, summoned firemen and an ambulance and continued their patrol without bothering to mention their own names in their report.



MATTIWILDA DOBBS

VERDA WELCOME

Ruth Jenkins new Rich. AFRO editor

RICHMOND

Miss Ruth Jenkins, veteran AFRO newswoman, has been appointed managing editor of the Richmond AFRO-AMERICAN.

Her appointment was announced Tuesday by Cliff W. Mackay, editor.

Miss Jenkins, who comes to Richmond after serving for almost five years as editor-manager of the Philadelphia AFRO-AMERICAN, is



RUTH JENKINS

a 20-year veteran with the AFRO organization.

She began her newspaper career as a cub reporter with the Philadelphia AFRO in 1936.

TWO YEARS later she was transferred to Baltimore where she served variously as reporter, assistant city editor and city editor of the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN.

It was in November, 1944 when, by special permission of Maryland's then Gov. Herbert R. O'Conor, she became the first woman in the state to witness an execution.

She was appointed editor-manager of the Philadelphia AFRO on Jan. 1, 1955 where she served with distinction.

* * *

A NATIVE of Charleston, S.C., she is a product of the Philadelphia school system and is one of nine AFRO editors who have been selected to attend the American Press Institute at Columbia University.

In Richmond, she succeeds Rufus Wells, who has been transferred to the national desk of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers in Baltimore.

Ralph Matthews is Philly AFRO editor

PHILADELPHIA

Ralph Matthews, veteran AFRO newsman and world traveler, has been appointed managing editor of the Philadelphia AFRO-AMERICAN.

The appointment was announced Tuesday by Cliff W. Mackay, AFRO editor.

A 30-year veteran with the AFRO, Mr. Matthews succeeds Miss Ruth Jenkins, who had served in the Philadelphia spot since Jan. 1, 1955.

Mr. Matthews, the dean of AFRO reporters, and editors, has filled many assignments for the nation's largest weekly.

* * *

AS A WAR correspondent, he was in Korea in 1951, was on the Adali Stevenson presidential campaign train in 1952 and covered the coronation of the late King George VI in London.

Later he was assigned to tour America with King George VI and Queen Elizabeth when the British monarch and his queen visited this country and Canada.

He gave AFRO readers a graphic account of the Haitian revolution in 1950 and eight years before cheated death when the Pennsylvania Airliner plane on which he was a passenger crashed in a Detroit street.

HE WROTE a series of articles on the plight of the Japanese on the West Coast, particularly California in 1942 shortly after the outbreak of the war with Japan and was in Atlanta in 1947 when Georgia college studdents stormed the state capitol and hanged Herman Talmadge in effigy.

Mr. Matthews has always



RALPH MATTHEWS

had a strong love for the theatre and has written and directed many plays presented by the New Faces Guild, an amateur theatrical group which he organized.

* * *

A MASTER of satire, his editorial column, "Thinking Out Loud" has been a favorite with AFRO readers for a long number of years.

He was refused a visa by the Union of South Africa to visit that country in 1947 for a study of its social, economic and political life.

21 AFRO employees honored at 52nd stockholders' meet

Twenty-one AFRO employees and executives who have served a total of 285 years were honored on Friday when the AFRO-AMERICAN Co. held its 52nd annual stockholders' meeting at the Baltimore office, 628 N. Eutaw St.

Dr. Carl Murphy, president of the company, presided at the presentation ceremony, and at the meeting which followed.

He called the ruby and sapphire-studded pins which went to two 35-year men, 'the Ph.D. top honors." The 35-year men are Samuel Snowden, composing room supervisor; and Keith Brickhouse, linotype operator-machinist. Mr. Brickhouse received his pin in absentia.

Dr. Murphy also presented engraved watches to three employees who completed 20 years. They were: His executive assistant, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips; Miss Ruth Jenkins, editor-manager of the Philadelphia AFRO; and John Washington, composing room foreman.

* * *

IN ACCEPTING his award, Mr. Snowden commented: "I'm beginning, after 36 years to understand why they call it a newspaper game. It is more or less a challenge. It has been a pleasure working for the AFRO all these years."

Miss Jenkins, in her remarks, said: "This has been a most rewarding experience in this process of growing up."

Mr. Washington said: "It's been a pleasure working for the AFRO. I remember the first page I made up when I came here in 1938. It has been a pleasure working for the AFRO."

Mrs. Phillips said: "I always said after I worked 20 years, I wanted to come home. Now that day has come, I know now it is in my blood and I can't come home. I hope to be around here another 20 years."

* * *

EMPLOYEES WHO received 15 and 10-year diamond-studded pins were:

15 Years: Mrs. Beatrice Wilson, head proof reader; Samuel Hoskins, acting managing editor; Owen Lee and Robert Rea, distribution inspectors; Tazwell Lewis, photo-engraver and Samuel Lacy, sports editor.

Dr. Murphy noted that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Rea are both second generation employees. Mr. Lewis's father, A. L. Lewis, is a veteran composing room ad foreman; and Mr. Rea's father, the late E. B. Rea, was for many years AFRO theatrical editor.

* * *

10 YEARS: Robert W. Matthews, magazine editor; Mrs. Jean Harris, advertising salesman; and Mrs. Berine Gail, bookkeeper.

Five-year pins went to the following; Mrs. Monica Betancourt, cashier in the Washington office; Mrs. Madeline Tilghman, bookkeeper; Haywood Washington, stereotyper; Lloyd McDonald, proofreader; Walter Jones and George T. Johnson Jr., printers; and Ernest Brown, messenger.

Others who presented the service awards were: John H. Murphy Jr., assistant to the president, who marked 52 years as a director of the company this year; D. Arnett Murphy, vice president; John J. Oliver, production manager; John H. Murphy 3rd, assistant business manager; C. W. Mackay, editor-in-chief; Arthur M. Carter, editor - manager, Washington AFRO; Frank Phillips, art director and James H. Murphy, circulation manager.

* * *

AT THE meeting which followed, stockholders heard the president, Dr. Murphy, read his report for the 36th time.

In it, he praised younger executives and department heads for their progressive administration of the business which they have carried on during most of the year in the absence of the president and vice president because of illness or leave.

Stockholders adopted a memorial to the late Miss Francis L. Murphy, AFRO Clean Block lady, who was a stockholder from the company's inception in 1907 until her death in April 1958.

The resolution said in part: "Miss Frances became the 'clean block lady,' known and honored in every section of this sprawling city.

"Earnest, persistent, persuasive, diligent, eloquent, she was at home in the smallest house in Baltimore or in the City Hall.

"Miss Frances, denied marriage and children of her own by circumstance or by choice, became a guiding angel to the children of Baltimore, and they followed her as though she were the Pied Piper.

"...she was not known as Aunt Frances or Mother Frances, but as the Clean Block Lady, and she was a very great lady...."

* * *

AT THE MEETING, stockholders reelected the following members of the board of directors:

Carl Murphy, president; D. Arnett Murphy, vice - president and treasurer; Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips and Mrs. Mae Dyson, secretaries;

Also, John H. Murphy Jr., Howard H. Murphy, James Murphy, John Murphy 3rd, John J. Oliver, Mrs. Ida Smith and Mrs. Arnetta Lottier.



FOURTEEN OF THE 21 AFRO employees who have served a total of 285 years and received service pins and watches are pictured above. Photo was made at the 52nd annual stockholders' meeting in Baltimore. Left to right, seated, Mrs. Beatrice Wilson, head proofreader, 15 years; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, assistant to president; 20 years; Samuel Snowden, composing room supervisor, 35 years; Miss Ruth Jenkins, editor-manager, Philadelphia AFRO, 20 years; John Washington, composing room foreman, 20 years; Standing, second row,, Mrs. Berine Gail, bookkeeper, 10 years; Ernest Brown, messenger, 5 years; Mrs. Jean Harris, advertising salesman, 10 years; Samuel Hoskins, acting managing editor, 15 years; and Mrs. Monica Betancourt, cashier, Washington office. Back row, Robert Rea, distribution inspector, 15 years; Tazwell Lewis, photoengraver, 15 years; Owen Lee, distribution inspector, 15 years; and Robert W. Matthews 3rd, magazine editor. Not pictured are: Kenneth Brickhouse, linotype machinist, 35 years; Haywood Washington, stereotyper; Lloyd McDonald, proofreader, and Walter Jones and George T. Johnson Jr., printers, all 5 years; Sam Lacy, sports editor, 15 years, and Mrs. Madeline Tilghman, bookkeeper, 5 years.

SUCCESS: Often A Thing Of Many Faces

Survey shows '58 a year of 'firsts'

By BAKER E. MORTEN

The year 1958, like many of its predecessors, was filled with many tales of pathos and tragedy.

But there were also stories of brighter events . . . success stories. The following are eminent among happy events throughout the year:

JANUARY

Daniel Diggs, in a precedent-setting ceremony, was sworn in as Brooklyn, City councilman. . .Louisville, Ky. Police Lt. A. W. Edwards was appointed to a police [illegible] in Liberia.

Milton S. [illegible] of Elkridge, Md., became Maryland's first colored state trooper when he was graduated from the Pikesville State Police Academy.

Cleveland's Judge Perry B. Jackson won a third six-year term of office . . . Manhattan Borough President Hulan E. Jack of New York was sworn into office for a second four-year term.

Political history was made in Roselle, N.J., when George G. Woody Jr. was sworn in as a Borough councilman.

The Rev. William F. Houston, pastor of Evergreen Baptist Church, Huntington, L.I., N.Y., was elected president of the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York and Vicinity.

State Supreme Court Justice Harold A. Stevens was sworn in as associate justice of the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court, becoming the first member of his race appointed to such a post.

J. F. Phillips was sworn in as secretary of the Queens, N.Y., Borough.

FEBRUARY

President Eisenhower nominated Clifton R. Wharton of Boston as Ambassador to Roumania, a precedent-setting action.

The Rev. Dr. Gardner C. Taylor became the first of his race and religion elected president of the New York Protestant Council, representing 1,700 churches.

MARCH

Seventeen-year-old J. Thomas Jackson of Melrose. Mass., was nominated to the U.S. Naval Academy by Rep. Torbert H. MacDonald (D., Mass.)

Armand Hocker, 34-year-old attorney-engineer, was named head of the city street division in Toledo, Ohio.

Mrs. Verda Welcome of Baltimore was presented as Fourth District representative to the Maryland House of Delegates.

United Nations' Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche was appointed to the New York City Board of Higher Education.

APRIL

William W. Wright became director of the Ethiopian Evangelical College Bishoftu, one of the few secondary schools in Ethiopia.

MAY

Dr. Stephen J. Wright was inaugurated as the seventh president of Fisk University . . Mrs. Marguerite A. Wyke, former New Jersey teacher, was appointed to the Senate of the newly-inaugurated West Indian Federation Parliament.

New York Special Sessions Justice Myles A. Paige was appointed by Mayor Robert Wagner as a justice in the Court of Domestic Relations.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson was named president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. He was formerly director of the fund.

Miss Annabel Sawyer, executive director of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA in Richmond, Va., was named secretary of the West African Leadership Training Project under the Foreign Services Division of the national board of the YWCA.

Chicago attorney William R. Ming was re-elected national chairman of the American Veterans Committee.

Dr. Robert H. Johnson was endorsed to succeed himself as grand exalted ruler of the Georgia State Association of Elks.

Arthur Chapin of Washington, CIO human relations director, was named deputy vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Irvine I. Turner was re-elected to his city council seat in Newark. N.J., by 7,250 votes out of 12,524.

Rep. Robert J. C. Nix (D., Pa.) filled the vacant seat of Earl Chudoff in the U.S. Congress. Mr. Chudoff became a judge.

JUNE

District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission Chairman George E. C. Hayes was renominated for a second term by President Eisenhower.

Atlanta University political science instructor Dr. Samuel D. Cook received an $8,000 study grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Seventeen - year - old Ernest Green became the first of his race to be graduated from Central High School in Little Rock, Ark. He was later granted a scholarship to Michigan State University.

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The Senate confirmed the nomination of George E. C Hayes as public Utilities Commission chairman of the District of Columbia.

AUGUST

David M. Thomas was named Liberian Consul General in New York . . . Racial discrimination was ended in civil service jobs in Birmingham, Ala. . . .Dr. Clifford C. Smith became the first of his race appointed head of the Out-Patient Department of the Jersey City Medical Center.

Trenton, N.J., Deputy Attorney General Harold J. Ashby was named chairman of the New Jersey Parole Board.

The U.S. Senate confirmed the nomination of contralto Marian Anderson as a U.S. alternate delegate to the United Nations.

Lester B. Granger, National Urban League executive director, won the Elks Lovejoy award.

Dr. Catherine B. Coleman of Philadelphia was appointed director of the Bureau of Teacher education in the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

Rep. Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.) garnered 14,837 votes against 4,935 in routing City Councilman Earl Brown in the New York primary elections for the 16th District congressional seat.

F F. Gayles, William F. Mullins, J. R. Booker, Dr. L. A. Davis and H. L. La Grone were among persons named to state advisory posts of the Civil Rights Commission. The posts were in Oklahoma, Arkansas, New Mexico and Arizona.

SEPTEMBER

Robert Mangrum was named deputy Commissioner of Hospitals in New York City.

Dr. Joseph H. Jackson was re-elected to a sixth term as president of the National Baptist Convention.

George A. Starke of Orlando, Fla., became the first colored student to register at the University of Florida.

Dr. T. C. McFall of Charleston, S.C., was named to the advisory committee for South Carolina of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, was elected president of the United Negro College Fund.

NOVEMBER

Randall L. Tyus was named vice president of the only colored owned and operated firm on Wall St., New York.

John F. Cushman of Falls Church, Va., was named director of the Office of Administrative Procedure in the Justice Department.

Mrs. Verda Welcome and Mrs. Irma Dixon became the first women of their race elected to the Maryland House of Delegates.

J. Alvin Jones was elected Maryland state senator from Baltimore's Fourth District.

Mrs. Charles White of Houston, Tex., defeated two white opponents in becoming the first member of her race elected to the city school board.

In other election results, Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) defeated Republican Dr. T. R. M. Howard by 23,816 votes to win his ninth term in congress.

Congressman Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.) won re-election to Congress over New York City Councilman Earl Brown by a vote margin of 55,335 to 5,619.

Michigan's Rep. Charles C. Diggs, a Democrat, beat out his Republican opponent, Charles T. White 57,233 to 21,-107.

Philadelphia's Rep. Robert N. C. Nix got 62,574 votes to 23,491 by his Republican foe, Cecil B. Moore.

On the state level, Democrats Mrs. Bessie Buchanan and Williams Watson won New York legislative seats; Democrats Mrs. Susie B. Smith, Herb Arlene and Granville Jones were among Pennsylvania political winners.

William Robinson, J. Horace Gardner and Edward Graham, all Republicans, plus Corneal Davis, James Y. Carter, Cecil A. Partee, Kenneth E. Wilson, Charles F. Armstrong, Mrs. Floy Clement and Fred Smith, all Democrats, were elected to Illinois state legislative posts.

Democrats James T. Troupe, Leroy Tyrus, Henry D. Wheeler and James M. Neal, went into the Missouri legislature.

Democrats James Hunter and Jessie Dickenson won seats in Indiana's legislative body while Mercer Mance, an attorney, was elected a judge in the state.

In Kansas, James P. Davis, Democrat, went into office as did Augustus Hawkins, a California Democrat.

Theodore R. Hagans Jr. was elected president of the Nationwide Hotel Association in New York . . . Nivelle Beauvien, a bank official, was named chairman of the Rhode Island Civil Rights Advisory Committee.

Wilfred C. Johnson became the first of his race elected to the Connecticut General Assembly.

Dr. Ruffin N. Noisette of Wilmington, Del., was elected president of the Council of Churche of Wilmington and New Castle County— a first. County—a first.

DECEMBER

Frank Ellis was elected to a fourth term as president of the Delta Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in Baltimore.

Edward L. Wright set a precedent in his election to the Rahway, N.J., Board of Education . . . Coach Eddie Hurt of Morgan State College was appointed Coach of the Pan American Olympics at Chicago in 1959.

NEW YEAR BABY

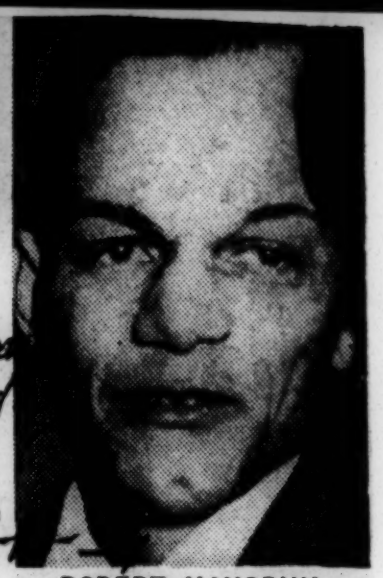
MEMPHIS, Tenn. — The first baby born in Memphis in 1959 was a six - pound, seven-ounce boy, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Raiford Johnson. The baby was born at John Gason Hospital.



CLIFTON R. WHORTON



MRS. CHARLES WHITE



ROBERT MANGRUM



Justice Harold A. Stevens



JUSTICE MYLES PAGE

Negro Publisher Files Libel Suit Against Afro-American

GREENWOOD (AP) — Davis Lee a Negro newspaper publisher, filed a two million dollar libel suit here Saturday against the Afro-American, a Negro newspaper published in Baltimore, and its South Carolina editor, John H. McCray of Columbia.

Earlier Lee had filed a five million dollar libel suit in Abbeville against the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People of New York, the Anderson county NAACP Chapter and six Negro leaders.

In the two million dollar suit, Lee charges that the Afro-American libeled him in an article published on or about Dec. 27, 1958.

He charges that the paper published in the same edition a letter he had written to his business associates on Dec. 15. In the suit, Lee said he believed the letter was not privileged.

He also charges that the paper ran a picture of him which was cropped to cut off a plaque which the paper had presented him for achievement.

The five million dollar suit charges Lee was libeled in articles published in December of 1958. He also charges the six Anderson Negro leaders with conspiring to put him out of business by attempting to boycott him.

The defendants have 21 days in which to file replies.

Lee claims he is opposed to forced integration and has taken that stand in editorials.

Lee moved to Anderson more than a year ago and started The Anderson Herald, a Negro weekly. He also owns the weekly Newark, N. J, Telegram and has a financial interest in other papers.

WHAT AFRO READERS SAY:

I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it—Voltaire on Helvetius

ON PARKS CLOSING

Montgomery, Ala.—Trace the history of Montgomery, Ala. parks back to the time they were built and chances are you'll find that colored labor went into the erection of them.

But colored citizens are not permitted to enjoy them. That being the case, it is good that they are closed down to prevent integration. Now no one enjoys them.

The class suit filed in Federal court by colored persons to desegregate Montgomery parks is indeed appropriate, timely and necessary.

I have yet to find anything, black, white, blue, yellow or polka-dotted, that's too good to share park facilities with his fellow man.

JOHN THOMATIS

Rahway, N.J. — They've closed the parks in Montgomery, Ala., rather than permit integration. Measured by any yardstick, this is progress. If all can't use the parks, then none need to use them.

A total of eight persons have filed suit to break down segregation in Montgomery parks, the AFRO reports. It also reveals that the Montgomery City Commission has said it "will never operate integrated parks."

Colored citizens in Montgomery pay taxes to support the parks and ought to be able to enjoy them. I say keep on putting the pressure on until the parks are either open to all or not opened again at all.

(Mrs.) MARJORIE PENHAM

AUSTIN, Tex.—Colored folks have finally forced the Montgomery, Ala. Park Board to shut parks to keep the Southern way of life. They did it by filing suits asking for integration of the parks.

I've followed this case ever since some Federal judge let colored people use white parks in New Orleans. Why don't the colored people wake up and stop causing trouble by forcing themselves on white citizens?

They've got good jobs, they're doing better than they've ever done before and they're getting good schools. What more can they ask for?

There's going to be hell to pay if they keep on pressing for more and more when they've got more than they know how to keep.

WILLIAM BRUNNER

THAT KISSING CASE

Miami, Fla.—I was against President Eisenhower's sending troops to Little Rock to enforce integration, but how he can sit back without helping to enforce justice and decency is beyond me.

Two colored boys are in reform school in Monroe, N.C., because a seven-year-old white girl kissed one of them while they were playing. Appeals for help have been made to the President.

But he has politely "deplored" the incident, while turning his back on the children. This is not a matter of segregation vs. integration. It's a matter of justice vs. injustice.

Yet, Mr. Eisenhower sees fit not to act. But then he's not a colored man ... how else could he feel?

(Mrs.) ADA RAWLINGS

Chicago—If President Eisenhower can sleep nights after refusing to use the power of his high office in helping two small colored boys in Monroe, N.C., jailed by the kiss of a white child, then heaven help us in our efforts to win Afro - Asian friendship.

The AFRO story last week reveals that Mr. Eisenhower "deplored" the jailing of the boys, ages eight and nine, but refused to help them. If I remember correctly, the President has done nothing but "deplore" racial incidents ever since he took office.

But deploring is of little help. The boys are still in jail, and nothing outrages any group of people more than the intimidation of its women and children.

Our prayers next Sunday in church should go out to the President. He needs them more than the two incarcerated children. God will look after them.

DUANE BERRY

Milwaukee — Two small colored boys were jailed in Monroe, N.C., because a little white girl kissed one of them on the cheek. Union County NAACP President Robert Williams appealed to President Eisenhower for help. The President closed his ears to the call.

He wired Mr. Williams his regrets, telling him he deplored the jailing of the boys, but also saying he would not take action in the case. This is a cross section view of the kind of President we have.

As a member of the human race, I wish to thank Mr. Eisenhower for nothing, and pray that none of his grandchildren become deeply tan in "that social jungle called Dixie."

A WEST INDIAN AMERICAN

POLICE TERROR IN ALA.

Meridian, Miss. — According to a front-page story in the Jan. 3 issue of the AFRO, a white Methodist minister was detained, fingerprinted, photographed and intimidated in Birmingham, Ala., by police when he lectured against segregation there.

As a white Methodist Mississippi minister who advocates the love of God (not segregation or integration), I deplore the action of the Birmingham police against the Rev. Glenn Smiley.

The South will never retain its way of life with intimidation and brutality. It will only succeed in mustering the nation's conscience against it.

And when Southern policemen stoop to attacking the pulpit, they no longer are dealing with materiality, but are seeking to overthrow the kingdom of God, a physical impossibility, doomed to ultimate failure.

A MISSISSIPPI CLERIC

Gary, Ind. — I once thought the race issue would eventually resolve itself through time and education. It's now obvious that no amount of time or education will straighten out the South.

Dixie has now turned its ire against integration on ministers of the gospel. Last week, a white Methodist minister was intimidated in Birmingham, Ala.

His crime: advocating nonviolent resistance to segregation.

I weep for the South, in Thomas Jefferson's words, "When I remember that God is just."

For we may be segregated here, but who's to segregate us in hell?

MARCUS DASH

NORTH VS. SOUTH

Boston—I want to thank you for publishing the brilliant explanation by Louis Lautier of what lies behind the filibuster fight.

For the first time it becomes clear why the Southerners are so determined to fight Rule 22. There's no reason why the senators should be dictated to by a recalcitrant little pack of Dixiecrats.

I am convinced the only way the Southerners have been able to get away with their strangling of civil rights legislation is because certains Northerners played ball with them.

PAUL COLLINS

Cordele, Ga.—I'm putting my money on Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia to preserve the right to filibuster in tact and kick those N...r-loving northerners in the teeth.

None of them are as smart as Dick when it comes to maneuvering and I believe he will twist them around his finger as he has always done when it comes down to the question of civil rights.

As far as I am concerned N----rs are not citizens and never will be.

JIM FORRESTER

Nashville, Tenn. — Let 'em go ahead and change Rule 22. We've still got our boy, Jim Eastland standing guard on the ramparts.

As long as our Mississippi darling has hidden pockets in is his coattails, no civil rights bill will get through Congress, no matter how many liberals the North elects.

(Mrs.) SOPHIE DUNMORE

Philadelphia — If President Eisenhower had not backtracked on his own civil rights proposals in 1957, all of this struggle would not be necessary in 1959.

When Section III was removed from the bill written by then Attorney General Herbert Brownell, the whole measure became meaningless and Eisenhower knew it.

I am convinced now that if the Congress passed a bill with teeth in it, Eisenhower would not sign it.

HAROLD RUSSELL

1958 PICTURE SUMMARY

New York—The twin picture pages with the big news stories of the year illustrated were wonderful.

The photographs were first-class, the layouts professional and the reproduction up to the usual AFRO high standard. Congratulations.

GLORIA MURRAY

Washington—I was surprised that in your two-page picture summary of 1958 highlights, the AFRO did not reprint the photograph of Prime Minister Nkrumah greeting President Eisenhower upon his visit to the U.S.

That was truly one of the big news events of 1958 and I hated to see my favorite newspaper fail in giving it the recognition it deserves.

CLAYTON TAYLOR

'WALK IN DIGNITY'

Birmingham, Ala. — The people of Tuskegee and Montgomery have shown us how effective a boycott can be.

It is time we rallied behind the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth and stopped riding the Birmingham Transit Co. buses.

As the minister said, "it is better to walk in dignity than to ride in chains."

Why should we have to ride segregated when we pay the same fare as whites?

The transit company is already on shaky financial grounds. A concentrated boycott should change their tune, especially when colored fares make up 60 percent of the BTC patrons.

JOHN DOE PUBLIC

The Weather

Jan. 7, 8, 9 — Windy, stormy.
Jan. 10, 11, 12 — Fair and warmer.
Jan. 13 — Mild.

JANUARY						1959
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
-	-	-	-	1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31
-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Last Quarter	Jan. 4	5:50	a.m.
New Moon	Jan. 9	12:34	a.m.
First Quarter	Jan. 16	4:26	p.m.
Full Moon	Jan. 24	2:32	p.m.
Last Quarter	Jan 31	2:06	p.m.
	Sun Rises	Sun	Sets
Wed., Jan. 7	7:13 a.m.	4:28	p.m.
Thurs., Jan. 8	7:13 a.m.	4:29	p.m.
Fri., Jan. 9	7:13 a.m.	4:30	p.m.
Sat., Jan. 10	7:12 a.m.	4:32	p.m.
Sun., Jan. 11	7:12 a.m.	4:32	p.m.
Mon., Jan. 12	7:12 a.m.	4:33	p.m.
Tues., Jan. 13	7:11 a.m.	4:35	p.m.

HOLIDAYS AND HOLYDAYS
Jan. 8 — Battle of New Orleans.

My Favorite Quotation

It has been left to our generation to discover that you can move heaven and earth to save five minutes and then not have the fainties idea what to do with them when you have saved them.—C.W.M. Joad

(Submitted by Miss Delores T. Wynn, Washington, D.C.)

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

Too many of us are talking and too few of us doing. If all the talkers could be turned into doers, the other fellow would have greater respect for us.

JOHN H. MURPHY SR.
Dec. 15, 1906

Alabama Dailies Rapped By Negro

TUSKEGEE (AP)—A Birmingham Negro newspaper editor said Tuesday night that Alabama's daily newspapers are failing to "develop and spread understanding" of racial matters.

Emory O. Jackson, managing editor of the Birmingham World, Negro weekly newspaper, addressed some 300 Negroes at a meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Assn.

He said Alabama needs to launch a campaign to help drive the disfranchisement sharks from their entrenchment."

He said Negro press is "perhaps the only segment of the total Alabama press to support the school desegration decision."

31 1959

ALBERT BARNETT

Retired newsman gets publicity post

CHICAGO — Albert Barnett, who retired as city editor of a Chicago daily recently after 30 years, last week was named Chicago representative for Steve Hensley Associates. As an account executive for the firm, Barnett will cover the colored market. Barnett handled publicity for Sheriff Joseph Lehamm during his recent successful bid for state treasurer.

31 1959

BLACK DISPATCH

Hank Moore Named Black Dispatch Editor



The Black Dispatch named Hank Moore, 1744 N. E. Euclid, city editor this week, announced John Dungee, general manager.

Moore comes to the post with a wealth of experience in the newspaper field. He was more recently advertising manager of the Dispatch.

Prior to his coming to the Black Dispatch in May of 1958, he served as advertising manager of the Dallas Star-Post, Dallas, Texas. Before going to Texas, Moore was editor-publisher of The Wichita Times, Wichita, Kans.

Following graduation from the University of Michigan School of Journalism, he was a free lance writer, with short stories appearing in the Saturday Evening Post and a few other slick magazines. He then joined the Oklahoma Eagle, Tulsa, Okla., as managing associate editor.

A native Oklahoman, Moore was born at Haskell and has lived at Taft, Bartlesville and Tulsa.

A World War II veteran, he served four years with the United States Air Force as a member of the famous all-Negro flying team under the command of Gen. B. O. Davis jr.

KING PUBLISHES NEW MAGAZINE

Former Miss. Minister Works as Porter

COMPTON, Calif. (UPI)—Clennon King, a Negro who was involved in two big integration escapades in Mississippi last year, has turned up here publishing a magazine and working as a porter.

The March issue of the African-American Free Enterprise Report is the first edition of the magazine. In the publication, King says the Urban League has found him a job as a porter.

King tried unsuccessfully to enroll as a graduate student at the University of Mississippi last summer. In September, he planned to attempt to enroll his daughter in a white Gulfport, Miss. grade school but his wife took the daughter and fled to her parents' home in Georgia.

Later King left Mississippi to talk with a Florida businessman about a job in Africa. But in his magazine he said he decided to remain in this country because he is "freer to speak and to be heard" in the United States.

King also wrote that Negroes are retarded in the United States but it "is not simply a matter of racial discrimination." he said "it is due to our own serious miscalculations."

"Our fear of the whites drives out our natural love for one another," he said. "Consequently . . . vital Negro enterprise is thwarted. . . ."

King first became a controversial figure while holding a professorship at a Negro college in Mississippi. In 1957, he wrote a series of newspaper articles disagreeing with the NAACP and he became a champion of some segregationists. But later he was fired and began his efforts to integrate Mississippi.

THE CALL Nears Its 40th Anniversary

(See Pictures on Page 26)

A series of events during 1959 will be presented by the Kansas City Call Company, Inc., to celebrate the 40th anniversary of THE CALL newspaper, Mrs. Ada C. Franklin, owner and publisher, announced this week.

THE CALL, established in 1919 by the late Chester A. Franklin, will mark its 40th year May 1.

Mrs. Franklin, widow of the founder, assumed control of the paper upon the passing of Mr. Franklin in May, 1955.

"THE CALL has always prided itself on being a family newspaper, one that can be read with pride and respect by every member of a family, from the youngest to the oldest," Mrs. Franklin said, in announcing the anniversary events. "And this year, during our 40th celebration, we are making an effort to bring THE CALL family—its management, staff and employes—even closer to the thousands of families we serve throughout the Midwest.

The first of the anniversary celebrations was a closed dinner given by Mrs. Franklin for CALL employes Saturday night in the Coronation Room of the Pickwick hotel.

Succeeding events will include a party February 14 for THE CALL Sweethearts, children of the employes, to be given at the plant; an open house to which the public will be invited in May, an agents' day, a special fete for agents from nearby communities; a party for newsboys and a public forum to be given later in the year.

Subsequent events will be announced from time to time, Mrs. Franklin indicated.

THE CALL will issue its special anniversary edition May 1. This issue, which will contain special features about the paper as well as general news, will be one of the paper's largest, 64 pages.

These and other plans for the anniversary year were outlined briefly by Mrs. Franklin at the dinner Saturday night.

Sixty guests, 52 of whom were employes, attended the affair. As a highlight of the evening service pins were presented to employes who had been with the firm five years or more. Pins were awarded in categories of five, 10, 15, 20, 25 and 35 years.

R. Carter Tucker, for many years a personal friend of the Franklins and an attorney for THE CALL, was the guest speaker.

Other guests were Mrs. Fannie L. Meeks, for many years a business "neighbor" of THE CALL, when she and her husband operated a print shop across the street from the newspaper office; Fred Brown, a former plant foreman; Mrs. Faye Warren, former bookkeeper, who retired after 25 years of employment; the Rev. D. A. Holmes, who gave the invocation and benediction and made brief remarks, and Mrs. Holmes, and Mrs. Alice Watkins, for many years a leading CALL carrier.

Recalling his long years of association with Mr. Franklin, Tucker congratulated the publication for its growth and its high reputation in the newspaper field.

THE CALL, he said, started 40 years ago as the dream of one man. Now, it is considered one of the leading weeklies in the country.

He encouraged his listeners to "continue in the spirit of Mr. Franklin of developing ideas and ideals in order to keep pace in this fast-moving age.

"Mr. Franklin," he said, "was one of the broadest-minded, most gracious, most liberal and most intellectual of men in the direction of his own energies toward the things he believed in."

He recalled the great influence which Mr. Franklin had on the community.

"Reputation," he said, "is what you have when you come to a community. But character is what you leave when you go away.

"Character," he explained, "is growth. Franklin never stopped growing," Tucker said, adding that "most of the trouble of today's world is caused by people who quit growing."

"Mr. Franklin started this paper 40 years ago with a good reputation of his own. And never during these 40 years have I heard a word spoken against the reputation or even the intention of the people who express their ideals through your printed page," Tucker said.

He indicated that when Franklin left, he had left the imprint of his own character on THE CALL.

Referring again to the dream which Franklin cherished, Tucker admonished his listeners to continue in the tradition.

"I wish you a long life and dreams so big that you know you'll never get there. But keep dreaming. Who knows but that when a fine ideal is printed in your newspaper, that ideal becomes lodged in the mind of a little boy or girl and sets them to dreaming. And they, like you, don't know when their dreams will be realized, but they will dream.

"Finally," he cautioned his listeners, "the only thing we have to fear is not knowing what we believe in and not being dedicated to a belief."

At the conclusion of Tucker's remarks, Miss Lucile H. Bluford, executive editor, and Mrs. David Phelps, business manager, made the presentation of service pins.

"The pins," Miss Bluford said, "denote loyalty and good service. To THE CALL these people are more than just employes—they are a part of the institution itself. Without them THE CALL could not have existed the 40 years it has."

Receiving a pin for 35 years of service was Maryland Raines, a member of the mechanical department. Mr. Raines, who is on leave and was unable to attend the dinner, was presented his in absentia.

In the 25-year group were Miss Bluford, Mrs. Phelps, Mrs. Adlissie Moore, bookkeeper, and Mrs. Ferne C. Gillum, circulation clerk.

In the 20-to-24-year class were Mrs. Faye Warren, Edward Biggins, Alpha Riggs and General W. Lowe.

Pins were awarded in the 15-to-19-year group to Mrs. Alpha Riggs, Elmer Baker, J. Reuben Benton, Frank Norris, Robert W. Buck, Alaska Howell and Arrelius Vonleggett. Howell, manager of the Denver branch of the paper, and Norris, also received their pins in absentia.

In the 10-to-14-year category were Mrs. L. E. Hatcher, Miss Jennie Dillard, Miss Norma Jean McHudson, Guiou Taylor, William Fambrough, Jesse Brown, Isaac Powell, John I. Johnson and Claudius Harris.

Employes honored for service of from five to nine years were Mrs. Estelle M. Wright, Miss Lena Rivers Smith, Mrs. Ruth Greene, Mrs. L. Annette Otey, Jacob William Armstrong, Eugene Mercer, Richard Williams, Rashey B. Moten Jr., Miss Marie Ross and John Lee Cannady.

The final event of the evening was a surprise for Mrs. Franklin, who had personally supervised every detail of the program. Rev. Holmes was about to pronounce the benediction when General Lowe asked for the floor and on behalf of the employes thanked Mrs. Franklin. As he spoke, Miss Dillard came forward and presented the hostess with a bouquet of red roses.

"These flowers are just to express our thanks and our love to the "mother of THE CALL family," Lowe said.

Our First 40 Years

THE CALL this week ends 40 years of service to the Kansas City community and begins a new decade leading to its first half-century.

To youngsters and young adults, 40 years is a long time. To older citizens, 40 marks just the beginning. But whether it is considered a long time or a short time, 40 years represent four decades and two generations.

Many, many changes have been brought about in Kansas City and in the nation since that day in 1919 when Chester A. Franklin started the publication of a weekly newspaper here.

THE CALL has lived through two World Wars, a great depression, a Korean skirmish, the discovery and use of the atomic bomb, a never-ending Cold War and, now, the invasion of space by man.

Through its columns, it has fought lynchings, the Ku Klux Klan and its modern counterpart, the White Citizens Councils. It has worked side by side with the N.A.A.C.P. and other agencies in decrying the evils of segregation and discrimination based upon race, creed or color.

It has protested the limitations placed upon Negroes in employment, in education, in housing, in recreation, in the armed services, in the use of public facilities and, in more recent years, in places of public accommodation. The CALL has fought for the equal treatment of Negro people in every field and it has been successful in many of its battles.

Although it may seem strange to the young people of today, when Chester Franklin founded THE CALL, Negroes in Kansas City were not called for jury duty. Constant crusading on the part of this newspaper finally broke down this barrier and, today, it is commonplace for Negroes to serve on both trial and grand juries.

In another campaign waged during its early years, THE CALL sought to end the wanton slaying of Negroes by Negroes. This campaign was carried on during the years when a killing a week and sometimes two was standard practice. For several years, the front page of each issue of THE CALL carried the picture of a gallows with the words, "Send the killers to the gallows."

Slayings by Negroes are still far too numerous but they are not the "every day" affair that they were 25 years ago.

THE CALL has fought through the days when Negroes seeking to purchase better homes were "bombed out." It led the fight when a J. H. Kindelberger said at

the beginning of the defense effort preceding World War II that Negroes would be employed in his bomber plant only in a janitorial capacity. Along with the Urban League and other community organizations, THE CALL helped sponsor two giant mass meetings in the '40's when thousands of Negroes swarmed into Memorial hall and later in the Municipal auditorium to protest the Kindelberger statement and to insist upon a war-time FEPC. As a result of the protests, Kindelberger's bomber plant hired hundreds of Negroes on skilled jobs and the FEPC became a reality.

In addition to the larger civic projects which THE CALL has sponsored and has participated in, we have performed another service which gives us great satisfaction. We have served as a "sounding board" to a lot of people who feel that they have been mistreated or discriminated against.

Many a person every week walks into THE CALL office or telephones the editor to complain about an incident which he did not think was right. It might be a case of mishandling by police. It might be impolite or unfair conduct on the part of a public official. It may concern a disagreement among neighbors. THE CALL always lends an ear to these complaints and takes action when indicated. We are glad that people bring their troubles to THE CALL. It lets us know that our readers have confidence in us and depend upon us for more than a weekly chronicling of the news.

During its 40 years, THE CALL has lived to see the attitude of the nation toward Negroes and race relations make a complete about-face. It has watched with gratitude and with pride as official America at long last embrace as public policy the principles and ideals for which Negroes—particularly the Negro press and the NAACP—fought alone so long.

The series of Supreme Court decisions which led to the breaking down of segregation would not have been possible without the consistent battle made by the Negro press and the NAACP through the years.

On the lighter side, THE CALL has delighted housewives with cooking schools and has promoted fashion and auto shows.

THE CALL has earned the reputation during its first 40 years of being a "clean" newspaper. It does not depend upon sensationalism, scandal and screaming headlines displaying crime news to attract public attention.

Its news policy is constructive rather than destructive. C. A. Franklin believed it better to play up the achievements and the worthwhile happenings among Negroes rather than to gain circulation by emphasizing the shortcomings of his people. He instilled this principle into the young people who worked with him and this has been THE CALL's policy through the years.

During the next 40 years—and 50 years and 100 years—it will continue to be the mouthpiece of the average citizen and we shall continue to stress the good rather than the bad. This does not mean that evils and injustices that occur will be ignored. We never suppress the news. If it's news, it's news. We cannot control what happens from day to day and from week to week. But we can and will continue to follow the constructive pattern drawn by our founder.

Roy Wilkins Remembers Early Days of THE CALL

By ROY WILKINS

(Mr. Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., New York, was a member of THE CALL staff from 1923 until 1931 when he went to New York to join the national staff of the N.A.A.C.P. He came here fresh from the University of Minnesota's school of journalism. In the following article he recalls some of his experience in working with C. A. Franklin during the early days of THE CALL.)

Forty years in a business is a long time and is a tribute to its founders and workers, but 40 years in a community service such as is rendered by a newspaper is a time to be honored.

When Chester A. Franklin came out of Colorado and decided to publish THE CALL, he envisioned growth not only for his group in the population, but for his city and state.

Editor Franklin never lost touch with his particular community, but, just as important, he never lost touch with Kansas City and its surrounding territory in both Kansas and Missouri.

He was first of all for the advancement of his group, for the removal of restrictions upon it, but he was for the larger community as well, realizing that no segment could advance unless the city advanced also.

Thus, he was both a good citizen and a wise and dependable Negro community leader.

Never Realized Dreams

It was my good fortune to join the staff of THE CALL in 1923 when it was four years old. Those were days of dreams and hard work. It seemed to us that no matter how hard we worked we never realized the dreams that Chester Franklin and ourselves had for the paper, the community and ourselves.

The circulation then was "about" 4,500 a week. The paper was set up, made up and locked up in our own shop, but was printed at the Western Newspaper Union. Then came our first flatbed press and another linotype machine.

Oh, the nights when that flatbed had us gnashing our teeth at its antics! But we stayed with it, we learned and the paper came out.

Fighter For Community

We fought for the community and the community supported the paper. We grew. In 1931 we advanced to a big Goss rotary press, a 32-page affair that put THE CALL in the big league of weekly publications. We added more machinery, more personnel, and gave still greater service.

THE CALL became the first Negro newspaper in the United States to have its circulation audited and certified by the Audit Bureau of Circulation and that meant that our circulation was now not "about," but "truly."

As I look back to 1923-31, my years with Chester Franklin and the paper, I know that I learned a very great deal in a very short time. I learned about work. There is no substitute for it.

One can dream and plan. One can be slick and clever. But unless one works hard at his dream, or his plan, nothing results. Chester Franklin worked alongside his employes. He was not a button-pusher and a front office man. He could do anything in his shop that any other man could do.

It was useful, very useful, for a young man fresh out of college to learn quickly that work is a part of education and that a degree on a piece of paper is only the beginning.

Learns To Spot Phonies

I learned about people, both as individuals and as members of an organized community. I learned to spot fakers and phonies. I learned that there are ninety times as many good people as there are bad, but that they don't shout as loudly as their no-good brethren. They are too busy looking after their jobs, buying their homes, rearing their children, supporting their lodges and churches and unions and civic clubs to be making noise for the sake of noise.

THE CALL fought for these people. It fought for opportunities for their children. It fought to remove discrimination and segregation so that the Negro community would have a chance to help make America.

We stayed with them in their joys and sorrows, in battles over police brutality, over the inequalities in Jim Crow schools, over mistreatment of their buying power by merchants in and out of the neighborhood, over bombings of their newly-bought homes in expanding districts, and over scores of other matters that affected their well-being.

We joined in their pleasure over Count Basie's nimble piano and organ at the old Eblon theater, over George and Julia Lee, Bennie Moten, Andy Kirk and the other personalities in the world of jazz.

We chronicled the doings of their churches, lodges, social clubs, businesses, and other community activities. We knew that such a people could not forever be held down and humiliated. The years of progress and increasing understanding have justified the crusading of THE CALL.

A Solid Foundation

Kansas City has taken the giant step of complying with the Supreme Court decision and has instituted a non-segregated public school system. That this has been done without bitterness, strife and tension is a tribute not only to the good sense and good will of Kansas City's white citizens, but to the foundation of community education and pride laid by Chester Franklin as editor-counsellor to his people.

The dividends in the form of prideful, confident and mutually respectful citizens of both races will be evident in the years to come, guaranteeing an increasingly successful assault upon the remaining problems in the field of race relations.

I am happy to join with others in saluting the newspaper on its 40th anniversary. Its life has been a good thing for the Negro community and a good thing for Kansas City. Under the ownership of Mrs. Ada Franklin and the direction of its chief staff members who grew up in the Chester Franklin tradition, it is certain to render even more significant service in the bright years of the future.

31 1959

Founded In 1919 by C.A. Franklin

Native Texan Started Paper 40 Years Ago

THE CALL, during the year 1959, is celebrating its 40th anniversary.

It was founded by the late Chester Arthur Franklin in May, 1919, and was owned and operated by him until his death on May 7, 1955.

During the four years that Mr. Franklin has been gone from the field of active service, his widow, Mrs. Ada Crogman Franklin, and THE CALL family of more than 60 employes, have attempted to carry on the paper in accordance with the ideals and principles set forth by our founder.

In founding THE CALL and developing it through the years into a publication of national reputation, C. A. Franklin fulfilled an ambition which a father had for his son.

Born on June 7, 1880, Chester Franklin was the only child of George F. Franklin, a barber, and Clara Belle Williams Franklin, a teacher. He was born at the time when Negroes were moving out of Texas in search of better educational opportunities for their children.

Some went to Los Angeles, others to Nicodemus, Kas. The Franklins set out for Nicodemus but changed their minds on the way and landed in Omaha, Neb., when Chester was only 7 years old.

In Omaha, the father opened a barber shop, housing his family in the rear. Since young Franklin was sure, even at that early age, that he did not want to be a barber, his father started a newspaper.

Mr. Franklin did not recall just why his father chose the newspaper business. He knew only that his father founded tthe Omaha Enterprise to give him his start in a new profession.

Young Chester finished high school in Omaha and attended the University of Nebraska for two years. He was forced to leave the university when his father became ill.

Takes Over Paper

At the age of 17, Franklin took over his father's business and found himself at once editor, printer and distributor. In an effort to help the elder Mr. Franklin regain his health, the family in 1898 moved to Denver where they bought the Colorado Statesman, later renaming it The Star because it was shorter and easier for the average man on the street to pronounce.

In 1901, the father died and the team of son and mother began, never to be dissolved until her death in December, 1945, at the age of 89.

The younger Franklin continued to publish The Star in Denver until 1913 when he decided to move to Kansas City where a larger Negro population offered more opportunity for a newspaper to grow. The people of Denver regretfully saw him depart for Franklin had become a leading figure in politics and in civic life of the Colorado capital.

Chester Franklin came to Kansas City with the definite plan to start a newspaper, but World War I delayed his plans. While awaiting the opportune moment to launch his career, he opened a job printing shop at 1308 Main street.

As he "kicked" the job presses there, he dreamed of the time when he would again have a newspaper to help fight the battles of his people.

In a few years, he moved to 1008 E. 18th street, closer to the growing Negro business area that he hoped to serve. Later he moved to larger quarters at 1309 E. 18th street.

In this location he got his first big printing job—an order to print the minutes of the 27th annual Communication of the United Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star for Missouri and Jurisdiction which met July 18, 19 and 20, 1917. The job was taken to him by Mrs. Minnie L. Crosthwaite, who at that time was grand secretary of the Eastern Star.

Mrs. Crosthwaite and Mr. Franklin remained friends through the years and worked together on many projects.

Later, Mr. Franklin moved his job shop to 1309 E. 18th street and still later to 1311 E. 18th where, in a little room 20 by 40 feet, THE CALL was born. It was a four-page sheet and 2,000 copies were printed that first week.

Gets First Readers

Franklin liked to recall how he got his first subscribers. In the days before Negroes took up golf, Franklin took exercise by playing volleyball at the Paseo Y. M. C. A. One day as the men were changing their clothes after a vigorous game, Franklin announced, "Fellows, I'm going to begin publishing a newspaper next week and I'd like all of you to give me a lift by subscribing to it."

"C. A." walked out of the Y with several subscriptions in hand. His reputation as a printer was such that the people of Kansas City believed in him. His word that he was going to publish a paper was as good as his bond. His friends did not have to wait until they saw it to subscribe.

The young Kansas City CALL had many obstacles to overcome during its first years. When Franklin set up his first typesetting machine, there was no one to run it. The local printers' union forbade experienced men to give him aid. Somehow, though, he and his printer helper learned to operate the linotype machine without outside aid and the paper grew.

"Mother" Franklin, as the editor's mother was called, worked side by side with her son in building the newspaper. She went from door to door in the evenings selling subscriptions to THE CALL.

The Sun Was Here

When THE CALL was started, there already was one newspaper in the community, the Kansas City Sun, operated by the late Nelson C. Crews, one of the city's most powerful orators and most influential civic leaders of that day. But because of the reputation that Franklin had built up during the six years that he had lived here and through his hard work, THE CALL thrived in spite of the competition from the older paper.

In 1922, THE CALL's present home at 1713-15-17 was purchased. In those days, CALL employes set their own type and made up their own forms but the paper was printed in outside shops, first by the Fuenstueck Press on Admiral Blvd. and later by the Western Newspaper Union.

Buys Own Press

In 1924, THE CALL purchased its first press. It was an eight-page Duplex, capable of printing 3,000 copies an hour. By 1927 this press was too small for the paper's growing circulation, so in 1928, a 32-page Goss, a rotary press, was installed.

Editor Franklin believed that this was as large a press as he ever would need. But in 1945, THE CALL had outgrown a 32-page capacity and the present 64-page four-unit Hoe press, on which THE CALL is now printed, was installed.

The press which you are watching today is capable of producing 30,000 papers an hour. It was installed in a new building erected adjoining the old CALL plant. This press will serve THE CALL's needs for many years to come.

In 1925, Mr. Franklin cast aside his printer's apron and journeyed to Philadelphia where he was married to Miss Ada Crogman, one of the three daughters of the late Dr. and Mrs. William H. Crogman. For many years, Dr. Crogman was president of Clark university in Atlanta, Ga.

Together, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin and Mother Franklin labored side by side, building one of the finest institutions in this section of the country.

Mr. Franklin attributed much of his success to the two women in his life, his mother and his wife.

Built Up Circulation

To "Mother" Franklin, THE CALL owes the solid foundation upon which its circulation system was built. It was this little old lady who developed the collection system which later qualified THE CALL for membership in the Audit Bureau of Circulations. She pounded the sidewalks of Kansas City, getting readers and collecting for subscriptions. She did not stop promoting THE CALL until ill health forced her to stop.

The Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) audits the circulation records of newspapers and guarantees that the circulation claimed is actual paid circulation. THE CALL was the first Negro paper to be admitted to ABC. Now most all of them are members.

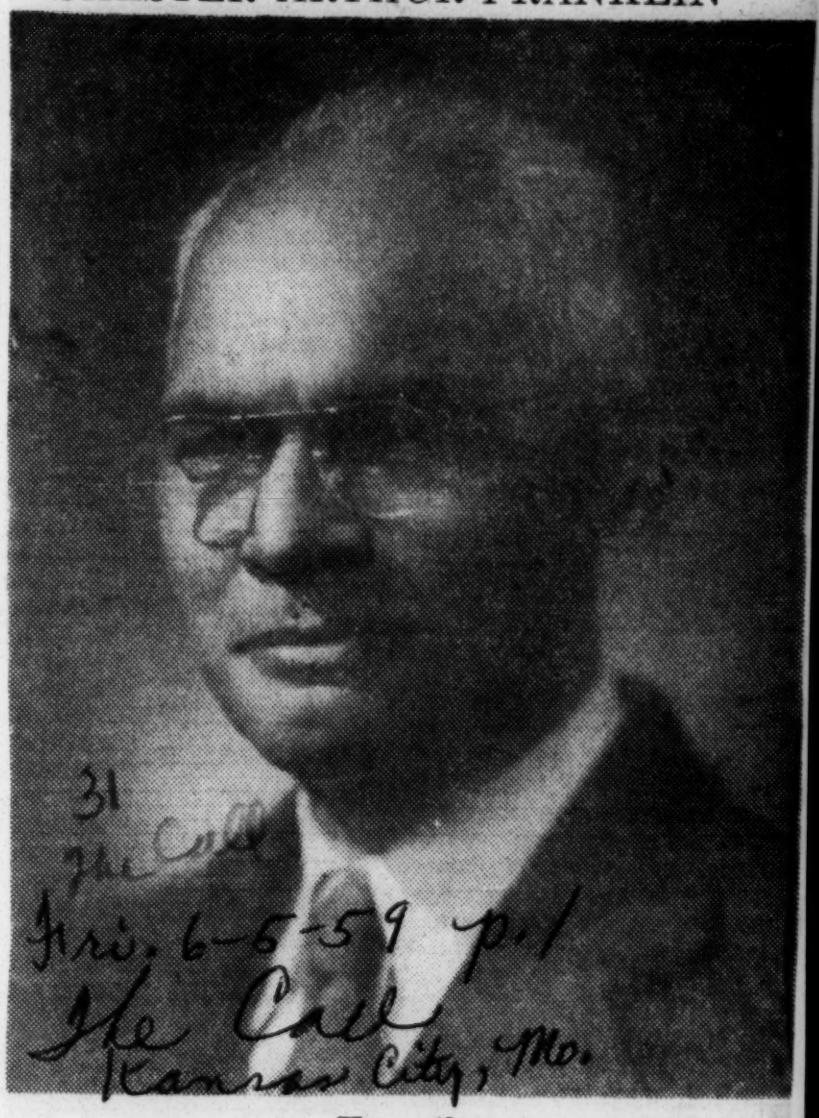
When Mr. Franklin first came to Kansas City, he immediately began to take an interest in and participate in civic and community affairs. He was active in the campaign to raise money to build the present Paseo Y. M. C. A. building. He was a former member of the branch's committee of management. He also was active in the effort to establish the Wheatley-Provident hospital, serving as chairman of the board of directors at the time the hospital was incorporated.

Through the years, THE CALL has continued to serve the community and to speak out on issues affecting the welfare of Negro people.

Chester Franklin's death four years ago was a great loss to THE CALL and to the Kansas City community at large.

Our founder and our editor is not with us now, but his memory and his spirit will never die as long as THE CALL lives. Every time a person picks up a CALL paper on Friday morning, he recalls the strong dynamic personality of the man who started it and who worked so untiringly to make Kansas City a better place for future generations to be born and to work in.

CHESTER ARTHUR FRANKLIN



Founder


THE KANSAS CITY CALL

Holly May Try Again

Q. E. S. Ends All Settled

Ovation to Charles Gilpin, the Race's Foremost Thespian

School Boy Honored

PLYMOUTH BIG BETHEL BEING BUILT BIGGER

U. S. Senate Votes "Nay"

Children's Ward Nearly Completed

The Call Kansas City Mo
Jan 6-5-5 9 p.1

AN EARLY ISSUE OF THE CALL.—This is one of the earliest issues of THE CALL on file. Notice the absence of streamer headlines and the scarcity of pictures as compared with today's paper.

Newsmen in Press Institute May 2

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat, 4-23-59 p 4

WASHINGTON — How the press can further help improve racial understanding will be taken up here by some of the nation's leading newsmen on May 2 at the Capital Press Club's second annual national press institute, Fannie Granton, club president, announced.

The institute will precede the club's annual awards dinner to be addressed by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, in the Grand Ballroom of the Willard Hotel.

Among those scheduled to take part in the all-day institute at the hotel are Douglass Cater, Washington editor of the Reporter and author of a new book, "Fourth Branch of Government," due off the press in May; Claude A. Barnett, founder and director of the Associated Negro Press; James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary; Harold Burt Meyers of Time magazine; Cliff Mackay, editor of the Afro-American newspapers;

Doris Fleeson, syndicated columnist; Alfred E. Sweeney, city editor of the Cleveland Call and Post; George Schuyler of The Pittsburgh Courier; Benjamin Muse, Washington Post and Times Herald; John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender; P. B. Young Sr. of the Norfolk Journal and Guide; Edwin Tribble, Sunday editor of the Washington Evening Star and William A. Fowlkes, managing editor of the Atlanta Daily World.

31 1959

CHICAGO DEFENDER

Defender Team Gives Unusual News Coverage

Aware of the present critical era in race relations in the United States, likened to that period of stress which existed during the Reconstruction after the War Between the States, the Chicago Daily Defender and Defender publications have taken an aggressive role as purveyors of the news.

Created to a large degree by die-hard Southern opposition to the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing public school segregation in the U. S., another Reconstruction period has resulted in this country. The high tribunal's decision has set off a chain reaction of heated racial tension, particularly in the South and in other parts of the nation as well.

The Daily Defender and staffers of Defender publications, realizing a need for aggressiveness in journalism to offset the propaganda tirades of pro-segregationists and rabid racists, strives to get behind the scenes of these momentous events having racial implications.

TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Typical of this aggressive spirit was the recent performance of Defender staff members in the Poplarville, Miss., lynching of Mack Charles Parker and the mass raping of a Florida A&M university co-ed by four white men in Tallahassee, Fla. Both cases found Defender staff members in dramatic roles while securing on-the-spot reports of these events.

L. F. Palmer, jr., editor of the Tri-State Defender, Memphis, Tenn., and Howard Pulley, also of the Memphis office, at the risk of personal danger brought a key witness out of Mississippi to allow him the privilege of revealing what he has stated is the truth in the Parker case. Lee Curtis Underwood, Lumberton, Miss., former brother-in-law of the lynch victim, disclosed in exclusive Defender accounts that he and other witnesses were forced to accuse Parker of the alleged rape of a 23-year-old white woman. Brought to Chicago, Underwood expressed the mental strain of having to "live with a lie."

Herman S. Rhoden, Defender staff photographer of the Chicago office, out-witted Mississippi security agents by sneaking into that state to score other exclusives. In addition to his photographs of Parker's body, Rhoden



RHODEN



PALMER

managed to bleed information from a white man who said he knew of the fake rape charges that were "cooked up" by the white woman to hide from her husband her secret love affair with another white man.

BEHIND THE SCENES

Rhoden then proceeded to do on-the-scene photographs of the Florida situation.

Burleigh Hines, jr., another staffer of the Memphis office, provided behind-the-scenes color stories of the Florida rape case. His work included personal interviews with residents of Tallahassee, giving an opportunity to express their opinions in the case accused of the alleged rape of the 19-year-old Florida A&M student.

These men have followed in the tradition of L. Alex Wilson, former editor of the Tri-State Defender and now editor-in-chief of the Daily Defender, who was instrumental in bringing a key witness in the historic Emmett Till case out of Mississippi in 1955. It was Mr. Wilson who defied the mobs at Little Rock, Ark., to get the facts during the Little Rock school integration crisis in 1957.

Helping Mr. Wilson to give Daily Defender readers effective presentation of the facts reported by the correspondents and photographers is Lee Blackwell, managing editor, the Daily newsroom staff, and other departments.

Thus the Daily Defender has a dedicated team, from the men on the scene to our pressroom, to bring you the COMPLETE PICTURE of major developments.



WITH GREAT PRIDE, Daily Defender publisher John H. Sengstacke exhibits prize award to paper to George Levitan, publisher and owner of giant Good Neighbor Co. plant in Fort Worth, Tex, and his editorial director, Mrs. Adelle Jackson, (right) and comptroller Mrs. Connie Feaster (left). Mr. Levitan, a multi-millionaire, praised huge expansion program of Daily Defender and complimented Sengstacke on his business acumen. Occasion was tour of new Defender building at 2400 S. Michigan ave. Monday by Texas visitors, guided by Mrs. Dan Burley, wife of Defender staffer. Staff photo.

31 1959

CHICAGO DEFENDER

Defender Papers Still Expandina

On the third anniversary of the CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER, the newspaper is in another phase of its million-dollar expansion program, according to John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher.

In disclosing the continuation of the newspaper's expansion program (announced three years ago at 50th anniversary celebration of the week end publication) Sengstacke also told of new appointments to his executive staff.

The DEFENDER, published by the Robert S. Abbott Publishing Co. now owns a 63,000 square foot building on Chicago's Michigan ave. The building is undergoing extensive remodeling for a move of personnel. A grand opening is scheduled for the fall.

New presses will be installed in the plant, as well as other new equipment and facilities.

To strengthen his executive team Sengstacke announced the appointment of Kenneth O. Wilson as advertising director, and D. Parke Gibson as promotion director.



Wilson

Wilson, who founded Kenneth O. Wilson Associates, sales and merchandising activities. He is a former assistant advertising manager for EBONY and JET magazines.

Gibson, who recently resigned as promotion manager for EBONY and JET to accept the DEFENDER post, will direct circulation and advertising promotion.



Gibson

The DAILY DEFENDER, celebrating three years of publication this month is the only two-edition daily newspaper published by Negroes. The only other Negro daily in the U. S. is published in Atlanta.

DAILY DEFENDER circulation figures ending September 30th, for successive years were: 1956, 16,997; 1957, 27,381; and 1958 26,241.

Increased services to advertisers are included in the paper's expansion. A new merchandising service includes retail calls by representatives, mass mailings to dealers in Negro areas, talks to salesmen and group demonstrations to housewives.

Advertisers may also make use of the newspaper's test kitchen, and determine consumer reaction through surveys and through the consumer panel, to be composed of members of the 2500-member Chicago Housewives Association, Inc.

L. Alex Wilson Named Daily Defender's Editor-In-Chief

Chicago—L. Alex Wilson, editor and general manager of the Tri-State Defender (Memphis), has been named editor-in-chief of the Chicago Daily Defender, according to publisher John H. Sengstacke.

Wilson's duties will also include editorial supervision of the Weekend National editions of the Chicago Daily Defender.

Lutrelle Palmer, director of News Bureau, Fisk University, has been named to succeed Wilson in Memphis, said Sengstacke, publisher of the newspapers.

Wilson who has been in Memphis since 1950, gained national and international attention during his coverage of admission of Negro students to Central High School in Little Rock in September 1957. He refused to run from a raging, howling mob.

A native of Lake County, Fla., Wilson is a graduate of Florida A&M University, and has also studied at the University of Wisconsin, and Roosevelt College.

His newspaper experience includes work on the Norfolk Journal and Guide as assistant managing editor; Ohio State News as state editor, and the Detroit Tribune as managing editor. He has also been a staff writer for the Weekend and National editions of the Chicago Defender.

Wilson won a Wendell Wilkie Award, while a Defender staff member, for best feature writing on "What Causes Crime" and "The Making of a Killer."

He served as a United Nations War Correspondent for the Chicago Defender and papers of the National Newspaper Publishers Association during the Korean War.

Wilson's awards include citations from the Department of Journalism of Lincoln University (Mo.), the Elks, and the National Newspaper Publishers Association. The Citations were for distinguished service and reportorial skill on his coverage of Little Rock school integration.

Lutrelle Palmer, 36, who takes over as editor and general manager, returns to the newspaper field after news work with one of the nation's leading Negro universities. A native of Newport News, Va., Palmer has been a reporter for the Chicago Defender and California Eagle (Los Angeles).

In 1953, he won the Chicago Newspaper Guild's Page One Award for feature writing.

Alex Wilson New Editor Of Defender



L. ALEX WILSON

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PALMER

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Negro Editor Named To Chicago Daily

MEMPHIS (AP)—L. Alex Wilson, editor of the Tri-State Defender, Negro weekly here, has been named editor-in-chief of its parent paper, the Chicago Daily Defender.

Announcement of his promotion was made Thursday.

The Chicago paper, for which Wilson formerly worked, is one of only two Negro dailies in the nation.

Lutrelle Palmer, director of the news bureau at Fisk University in Nashville, will succeed Wilson in Memphis.

Wilson covered the admission of Negroes to Little Rock's Central High School in 1957 and was roughed up by a mob of protesting whites near the school.

Interview Sengstacke For National Series

John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender, was one of several Chicagoans interviewed by a team from the University of Michigan Broadcasting service, which is conducting a nationwide survey to determine the effectiveness of various news media.

Teams of interviewers have fanned out across the nation to talk to men and women in the news field. They are attempting to find out if newspapers, radio and TV are doing the best job for which each is best qualified.

The survey will also seek to determine if the American public is adequately informed of what is going on in the world, and if they can recognize propaganda and slanted news in the reports they read and hear.

The tape - recorded interviews will be incorporated into a series of radio programs called "News in 20th Century America."

Among those who have already contributed interviews for this series are, in Washington, Fulton Lewis, jr., Howard K. Smith, Drew Pearson, James Hagerty Eric Sevareid H. R. Baukage, David Brinkley, Bob Fleeson, Martin Agronsky, and others.

In New York, John Daly, Pierre Huss, Gilbert Seldes, Pauline Fredericks, H. V. Kaltenborn, Quincy Howe, Mike Wallace, Sylvia Porter, Roy Larsen, and others were interviewed.

To aid in the production of this series the University of Michigan Broadcasting Service was given a grant-in-aid from the Educational Radio and Television Center. The series will be distributed to the member stations of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters on a non-commercial basis, and then to interested commercial stations as a public service.

Defender Names 1958 Honor Roll

Eleven individuals and three institutions, one of them a federal agency, are on the Chicago Defender 1958 honor roll made public this week by John H. Sengstacke, Defender editor and publisher.

Among the individuals listed, three are women, three are athletes, one is a minister and one is a businessman.

Of the three institutions, is the United States Supreme Court which was also on the Defender's 1954 honor roll.

An individual, Althea Gibson, and the Tuskegee Civic association were also on the 1957 honor roll. Giving them the unusual distinction of appearing on the roll two consecutive years.

According to Sengstacke, the awards are made annually "to those individuals and institutions whose performances during the year have contributed materially to the advancement of race relations and true democracy in this country."

1958 HONOR ROLL

STANLEY KRAMER — producer of the "Defiant Ones," a movie which has been called the best movie of 1958. co-starred Tony Curtis and Sidney Poitier.

REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH — for his continuing fight for civil rights in Birmingham in face of mounting reactionary opposition.

ALTHEA GIBSON — who was rated outstanding woman athlete of the year by sports writers.

MRS. VEL PHILLIPS — member of Milwaukee City Council and first Negro to be elected to the Democratic National Committee.

MARIAN ANDERSON — for her courage in speaking up, despite constraints, for social justice as a member of U. S. Delegation to the United Nations.

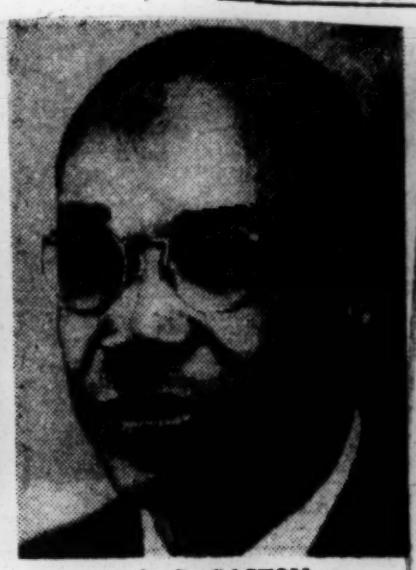
ERNIE BANKS — for his magnificant performance in the national sport baseball as the key player of the Chicago Cubs.

ARCHIE MOORE — for getting up off the floor to retain his light heavyweight title and to score the greatest number of knockouts in the career of any boxer. Voted "Outstanding Athlete of Year" by sports writers.

MAYER BENJAMIN WEST OF NASHVILLE — for doing the most distinguished job in any Southern city toward integration in 1958.



ALTHEA GIBSON



A. G. GASTON

A. G. GASTON BIRMINGHAM BUSINESSMAN — for underwriting movements in the South for racial advancement.

J. ERNEST WILKINS — for stellar role in vote probe of U. S. Civil Rights Commission in Alabama.

WILEY BRANTON — for spearheading the legal attack on Arkansas segregationists as legal counsel for the NAACP.

INSTITUTIONS AND GROUPS

ILLINOIS BELL TELEPHONE CO. — for enunciating a policy of making contributions only to groups that make no racial distinctions.

U. S. SUPREME COURT — for refusing to be intimidated and boldly reiterating its principal that no citizen should be deprived because of race of his constitutional guarantee.

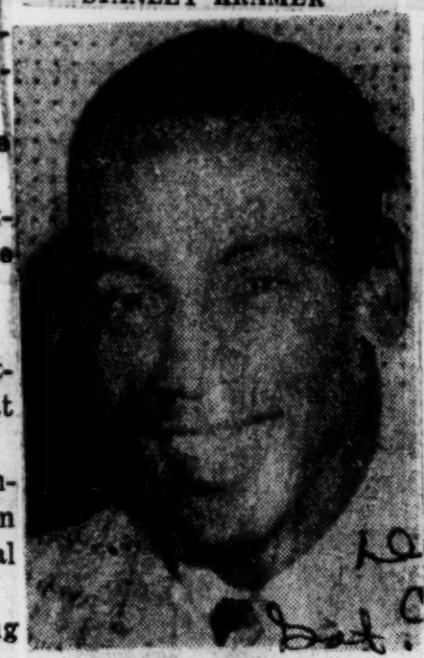
TUSKEGEE IMPROVEMENT ASSN. — for bringing economic pressure against enemies of democracy in Macon County, Alabama.



STANLEY KRAMER



MARIAN ANDERSON



ERNIE BANKS



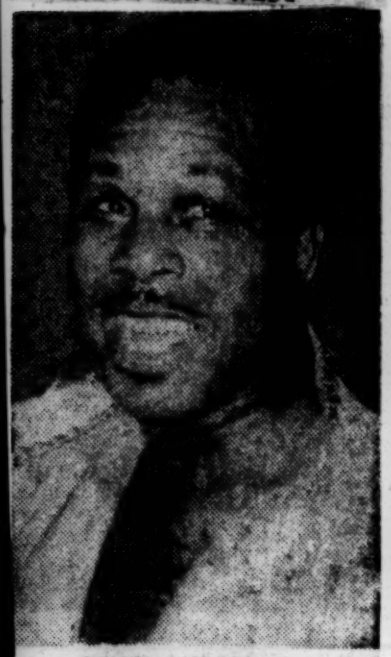
VEL PHILLIPS



MAYOR BEN WEST



REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH



ARCHIE MOORE



J. ERNEST WILKINS



APPRECIATION DINNER sponsored by a Committee of Friends in the Parkway Blueroom honors Enoc P. Waters, jr., (2nd from left) Chicago Defender executive editor who resigned after 24 years at the Defender. Waters' colorful career as a journalist included service in the Pacific as a war correspondent and coverage of many of the top stories in the U. S. With him in photo, presenting a citation, are (from left) Mattie Smith Colin, committee secretary; Charlie Belle Lewis, committee member, and Theodore Charles Stone, program director. (Defender staff photo)

31 1959

COURIER

'Bootsie' Cartoonist In Russia

PARIS—Ollie Harrington, Courier cartoonist and creator of the "Bootsie" cartoon usually stationed in Paris, Europe is now making a tour of the Soviet Union.

He rushed off from Paris with one shirt and a tooth brush and, from Moscow, cabled the Courier the following explanation:

"I was invited by Krokodile, the largest magazine in the USSR, to visit as their guest. They've invited in the past cartoonists from France, Italy, England, Sweden, Germany, etc., and somehow they got around to me through some Paris contacts.

"Everything went so fast I had to literally take off with a toothbrush and an extra pair of drawers. But after a three-hour flight non-stop from Paris to Moscow in a Tupelov Jet 104, I arrived in time for a reception for artists and cartoonists where I had my first lesson in the manly art of drinking Vodka at one throw. The trick is to eat a lot of caviar between gulps. If you don't care for caviar, you're sunk.

"At any rate, I'm to do drawings for Krokodile on a trip through Middle Asia, the republics of Kasakstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, etc. I'm writing this from Tashkent—and here I've seen integration but the real real thing!"

S. B. Fuller New Courier Board Member

Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president of the Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company, announced this week that S. B. Fuller, president of Fuller Products Company, Chicago, has been elected to the Courier's board of directors and made board chairman.

Mr. Fuller, 54, and a native of Louisiana, is a self-made man in the best American tradition and is one of the most successful and progressive businessmen in the country, regardless of color.

"We are hopeful that Mr. Fuller's genius at business organization and promotion," stated Mrs. Vann, "will help us to realize plans already on the boards to make the Courier a bigger and better instrument of public service."

Deny Fuller Purchased Courier

PITTSBURGH — Rumors that S. B. Fuller, multimillionaire Chicago businessman, had purchased the Pittsburgh Courier Newspaper were denied on Friday by Beverly Carter, publisher of the Courier.

In a telephone interview with the Chicago Defender, Carter explained that Mr. Fuller had been made chairman of the board and elected to the Board of Directors of the Courier.

Mrs. Jessie M. Vann continues as president of the publishing firm, he said. The Pittsburgh Courier was founded in 1910 by Robert L. Vann, an attorney. Since his death Mrs. Vann has continued to publish the newspaper which has 12 branch offices in major cities across the nation.

In addition to heading the rich Fuller products company in Chicago, S. B. Fuller is publisher-treasurer of the New York Age. He purchased the Age from the Defender some two years ago.

Fuller new board head at Courier

PITTSBURGH—S. B. Fuller, president of a Chicago cosmetics firm, Thursday, was elected chairman of the board of the Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co.

The announcement came in a formal statement released by Courier president, Mrs. Robert L. Vann. The statement followed publication in a New York column that Mr. Fuller had purchased the Courier.

There will be no immediate changes in the operation and staff of the Courier, W. Beverly Carter, the newspaper's publisher, told the AFRO Friday.

"We are hopeful that Mr. Fuller's genius at business organization and promotion will help us to realize plans already on the board to make the Courier a bigger and better instrument of public service," Mrs. Vann asserted.

* * *

"MR. FULLER, 54, a native of Louisiana, is a self - made man in the best American tradition and is one of the most successful and progressive businessmen in the country, regardless of color."

Mr. Fuller, reached at his Chicago plant refused to discuss the matter.

"We agreed that all announcements will come from Mrs. Vann," he kept repeating in response to AFRO questioning.

President of the Fuller Products Co., which does direct selling of cosmetics through door-to-door agents operating from branch offices throughout most of the nation. Mr. Fuller reputedly is a millionaire.

* * *

HIS FIRST venture into the publishing field occurred two years ago when he purchased the New York Age from the Chicago Defender Publishing Co. He has since operated the weekly, one of the country's oldest.

The Courier has been known to be experiencing some financial difficulties for the last several years.

One financial statement for the first six months ending June 30 1957, showed liabilities of $512.991 as against assets of $354,200.

A deficit of $106.791 with an additional $52, 000 representing the value of Courier stock was shown. The Courier income for the first six months of 1957 was $704,359.

THE PUBLISHING plant has a floor space of about 10,000 square feet and includes a five-unit Hoe press. The concern has approximately 150 full-time employees.

The newspaper was established in 1910 by the late Robert L. Vann and was under his direct management until his death on Oct. 24, 1940.

His widow, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, upon his death, was named president and treasurer, titles she still maintains.

Fuller Elected Chairman Of Courier Publishing Co.

In a long distance telephone statement Tuesday (yesterday) to the Atlanta Daily World, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, President of the Pittsburgh Courier, confirmed reports that S. B. Fuller, President of a Chicago, Cosmetic Manufacturing firm, was elected last week chairman of the Board of the Courier Publishing Company.

However, in making the statement, Mrs. Vann said there were no contemplated changes in policy or personnel of the newspaper organization.

Mr. Fuller, who is president of the Fuller Products Company, with headquarters in Chicago, which does direct selling of cosmetics by agents from door-to-door in many sections of the country, made his first venture in the newspaper field about two years ago when he purchased the New York Age from John H. Sengstacke, head of the Chicago Defender Publishing Company. Since this time, he has continued to operate the Age, which is one of the country's oldest weekly newspapers. Mr. Fuller is 54 and a native of Louisiana. He is considered as one of the race's wealthiest and most progressive business men.

The Courier was established by the late Robert L. Vann, who published the paper until his death in October, 1940, at which time, his widow was named president and treasurer, which positions she still maintains.

Fuller Named Head Of Courier Board

Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president of the Pittsburgh Courier, announced this week that S. B. Fuller, president of Fuller Products company, Chicago, has been elected to the Courier's board of directors and made chairman of the board.

She denied emphatically that he had purchased the nationally circulated publication. However, Mrs. Vann admitted that membership on the board requires ownership of some stock in the publication.

"That could be one share or 5,000," she explained.

"If Mr. Fuller had made an outright purchase of the Courier, we would have announced it; there would have been no need to withhold the fact," Mrs. Vann added.

She also explained that as chairman of the board, he does not replace anyone; the board had been without a chairman. Mrs. Vann retains her post as president of the ppublication.

In commenting on the deal in Chicago, W. Louis Davis, public relations director for the Fuller Products company, confirmed the fact that Mr. Fuller did not buy the Pittsburgh Courier outright.

He said the multimillionaire cosmetic dealer purchased some stock in the publication and has agreed to help the publication as much as possible through his own business.

Davis, speaking on behalf of Mr. Fuller, added that the deal between Fuller and Mrs. Vann was made about three weeks ago. At that time, he added, Fuller purchased some stock in the Courier, but it was not a controlling amount.

In addition to heading the rich Fuller Products company, Fuller is publisher-treasurer of the New York Age which he purchased from the Chicago Defender some two years ago.

The Pittsburgh Courier which has been having financial troubles for the past few years, was founded in 1910 by Robert S. Vann. Since his death, Mrs. Vann has carried on the operation.

There are 12 Courier branch offices in principal cities across the nation. W. Beverly Carter is publisher.

Courier Now Printing New Southern Edition

Editor's note: Readers of this newspaper who turn to the first page will discover that this is the SOUTHERN EDITION. It has been named the Southern Edition because we intend for it to be an intelligent, militant and pace-setting medium to serve our thousands of readers in the Southern states. Our Southern readers have been loyal to us. With their continued and increased support we intend to publish, progressively, a better newspaper that will serve their special interests. This means extended coverage and dedication to the special problems of the South.

Courier Errs, Apologizes To Kennedy

The Pittsburgh Courier was in error on Page 3 of its Oct. 24 issue, which referred to Senator John Kennedy as being present at a meeting where Democratic leader Mrs. Katie Wickham was allegedly insulted at a New Orleans hotel.

The Courier apologizes to Senator Kennedy for their reportorial error.

Mrs. Wickham, the lady involved, wrote The Courier as follows, regarding the incident:

"May I state that Senator Kennedy was never in a meeting at any time where I was insulted. The incident that occurred at the Roosevelt Hotel on Sept. 25 was of local concern, and the Senator was not present. Later I was invited to a meeting by Atty. A. P. Tureaud to meet Senator Kennedy. Due to our 40th annual convention in Philadelphia, I could not be present at this meeting.

"I do think that Senator Kennedy is a great liberal and may be endorsed for President by our organization at the mid-year executive board meeting in Washington, D. C., on Jan. 24, 1960. I think Negro leaders, particularly in the South, should invite candidates to their meetings rather than call a meeting and invite a candidate that has been invited by another group. These kind of invitations have not proved to be beneficial to neither the candidate nor the group.

"I have not authorized anyone to use my name against Senator Kennedy. To the contrary, I am considering the possibility of supporting Senator Kennedy if he is a candidate for the presidency."

Valdosta Negro Sues The Courier

VALDOSTA (AP) — A Valdosta Negro newspaper publisher Tuesday filed a one-million-dollar libel suit against the Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co.

Davis Lee, 56, filed the suit in the Wayne County Superior Court at Jesup, according to court clerk Stetson Bennett.

In his petition Lee charged that he was damaged by the Courier in an article which he said was "false and defamatory."

WILKINS QUOTED

The suit also alleges that the Pittsburgh Negro newspaper "tried to injure and destroy Lee in his business and cause his friends, neighbors and business associates to hate, ridicule and hold him in contempt."

The petition states that the article in question was headlined "Negro publisher in dutch with NAACP." It quoted Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as saying: "Mr. Lee does not favor Negroes fighting for their rights; he favors their being satisfied with segregation and with what white Southerners choose to give them. He also favors slandering the NAACP and stirring up dissension wherever he can."

ALLEGES BOYCOTT

Lee has been fighting against integration in his weekly newspapers—the Anderson (C.C.) Herald, Newark (N.J.) telegram and African World in Brooklyn, N.Y.

His suit says that he was invited to speak at a meeting in Jesup but that the meeting was boycotted after the article appeared in the Courier, a weekly which has considerable circulation in Georgia with a special edition.

Lee, who formerly lived in Anderson, now has his residence at 201 Florida Ave., Valdosta.

31 1959

DAILY WORLD

World Managing Editor Fowlkes On D.C. Panel

William A. Fowlkes, Managing Editor of the Atlanta Daily World, is appearing on panel discussions at the annual Capital Press Club Institute today in Washington, D. C.

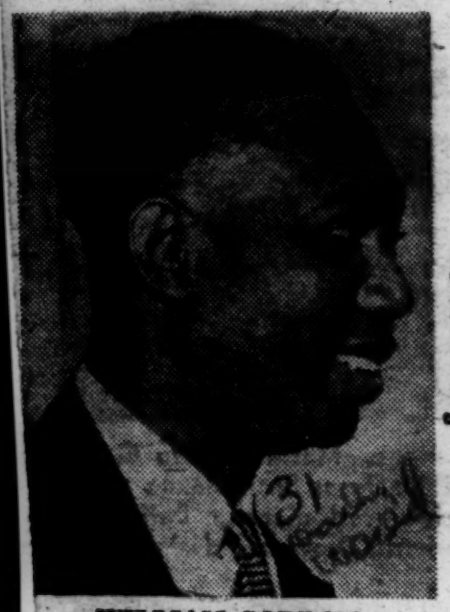
Editor Fowlkes is slated to discuss "Mass Media Failures in Areas of Racial Understanding" with special emphasis on "Imbalanced Reporting of Racial Matters by the Daily Press." On the panel will be Benjamin Muse, of the Washington Post; Halph Matthews, of the Afro American; Miss Doris Fleeson, widely syndicated columnist, and Richard L. Coe, of the Washington Post.

The institute has attracted a large number of nationally known newspapermen.

During the Awards Dinner at Hotel Willard tonight, Editor Fowlkes will present the "Newsman's Newsman Award in Journalism" to the winning Capital Press Club member.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, will give the main address at the awards dinner.

U. S. Ambassador Takes Negro to Party In South Africa



WILLIAM GORDON

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — United States Ambassador Henry A. Byroade has breached South Africa's jim-crow system in a way in which no high-ranking government official has had either the desire or the courage to do in the "white supremacy states" of the United States.

•In the past, the official family of the United States government here has kowtowed to South Africa's apartheid, racial segregation, system.

However, this week as Byroade, who is going to Afganistan, was given a farewell party, William Gordon, managing editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World, who is touring Africa, was a guest together with at least one South African cabinet minister.

South Africa has a strict social code which prohibits the attendance of whites and non-whites at social affairs.

The code is similar to that of the Far South of the United States.

LOUISVILLE DEFENDER STAFF MEMBERS WIN THREE AWARDS IN NNPA CONTEST

Los Angeles, Calif. — The Louisville Defender won three honors and two honorable mentions in the 1959 National Publishers Association Merit Awards which will be presented at the Association's Annual Merit Awards Banquet here Friday, June 26.

Frank L. Stanley, editor-publisher of the Defender, won his second consecutive first place award for Column Writing. Prior to last year's first place, Stanley had won second and third place with his column, "People, Places, and Problems."

Clarifying Light

In their critique, the judges said: Frank L. Stanley "throws clarifying light on the problems of his local community — praising where praise is due and condemning when necessary. It is columns such as these which deal with issues within the knowledgeable scope of one's readers, that represent a columnist at his best."

Clarence Matthews, Defender city editor, won second place Best Feature writing. He took "various locales in his distribution area" dealt with "education, business, political and social opportunities for its residents, thereby acquainting his readers with the advantages and disadvantages of living in their locale." Matthews wrote a series of articles on neighboring communities called "Kentucky Neighbors." Last year he also won second place with "Community Pillars," a series of articles on various professional and community figures.

Tops In Action

Thomas Washington, Defender photographer, garnered second place in News Photography with a basketball picture that caught Norman Stikes of Central High School out-jumping Lexington's Julius Berry in a tip-in during a game at Central's Gym. The judge said that although the personalities were of concern only to interested basketball fans, the "action was right at top." Washington is also a repeat winner, having succeeded in winning a photo award in 1954.

The Defender won honorable mention in General Excelence and also in Public Service for its series of articles on Teacher integration.

Eight member NNPA newspapers, two distinguished editors, and fifteen working newspaper men will receive forty-three plaques and trophies at the banquet.

NNPA Annual Distinguished Editor's awards, honoring the nation's two outstanding editors, were bestowed on Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution and P. B. Young, Sr., of the Norfolk Journal & Guide.

Russwurm Trophy

The Norfolk Journal and Guide became the fourth newspaper to win the coveted John B. Russwurm Trophy for all-around General Excellence by amassing the highest number of points. The Guide also won first honors in Public Service and Promotion. It placed second in Editorials and third in Typography and Make-up.

Scoring the second highest total points was the Cleveland Call-Post which won prizes in seven of 10 categories.

Third highest was the Kansas City Call which captured first place in Editorial and News Stories (Lena Rivers Smith) and second in Public Service.

Tied For Fourth

Tied for fourth were the Ohio Sentinel and Louisville Defender. The Ohio Sentinel's Wilhelmina Jones won first place in Feature Writing for the second time. The Sentinel also was third in Public Service, Editorials, Cartoons, and Promotion.

The Los Angeles Sentinel won top honors in Typography and Make-up, along with Honorable Mention in General Excellence.

The New York Amsterdam News took first place in Best News Photo and second in News Stories (George Barner).

The St. Louis Argus won second place in Column Writing (Howard Woods) and first place in Editorial Cartoons (William Freaman.

General Excellence 2nd

The Louisiana Weekly, one of the few NNPA papers using offset printing, won second place in General Excellence.

Other working newspaper men who received trophies were Charles Loeb, columnist, Cleveland Call-Post; Lin Holloway, feature writer, Norfolk Journal and Guide; Bob Williams, photographer-writer, and Grover Clayton, both of the Cleveland Call-Post, and Thomas Murray, cartoonist of the Ohio Sentinel.

The Committee of Judges, headed by Dr. Armistead S. Pride of Lincoln University's Department of Journalism, agreed that this year's entries were the best and most competitive in the history of NNPA Merit Awards.

Ebony Article Lauds Negroes In Hawaii

Globe Independent

Hawaii offers the Negro wholesome forms of self-expression not present in many other States of the Union, according to the July issue of EBONY Magaine. In an article called "Negroes in Hawaii" the magazine points out that the Negro is slowly being assimilated, not accommodated, and the process will be speeded when he loses or forgets the mainland pattern of racial mores and drops his hypersensitivity.

Nashville Tenn.

EBONY says that there is no discrimination in any Hawaii's schools, from Kindergarten through high school. There are several Negro teachers and Negroes attend the University of Hawaii.

P 4

In addition, there is no segregation in theatres or restaurants and Negroes attend any church of their choosing and live in all sections of Honolulu. Many an educated and cultured Negro is invited to dinners, receptions and parties at which he will find he is the only Negro present.

Hawaii 1-17-59

EBONY says that although there are now only 2,651 Negroes in America's newest state, Hawaii is rich in individual Negro assimilation. It dates back to 1810 with the arrival of Anthony D. Allen, who was born in slavery in New York. Allen eventually married a Hawaiian girl, raised a family, and acquired an extensive tract of land in the Waikiki section of Oahu. One of Hawaii's leading citizens today is a Negro, Nollie R. Smith, who is currently in Haiti with the State Department, where he is administering a $6,000,000 fund. Formerly, he served as a fiscal expert for the Governments of Ecuador and Puerto Rico. According to EBONY Smith was once an assistant county engineer of the City of Honolulu and, beginning in 1929, he was elected a member of the Territorial House of Representatives for several sessions. Later he was appointed assistant director of the Territorial Budget Bureau. At one time Smith was president of the Honolulu Lions Club.

Hawaii, says EBONY, exhibits more profoundly the basic principles on which the original 13 states were founded. She demonstrates the tenets of our so-called Bill of Rights that "All men are created free and equal."

Name Jarrett To English Journal

ATLANTA, Ga. — Dr. Thomas D. Jarrett, professor of English at Atlanta university, has received announcement of his appointment to the staff of the English Journal. Dr. Jarrett, a frequent contributor to the Journal, will write the monthly section on "Language and Literature."

The Journal is the official publication of the National Council of Teachers of English and is edited by Dwight Burton of Florida State University.

NEW MAGAZINE 'FAME' IS NOW ON NEWSSTANDS

The Chicago Weekly
New Pittsburgh Courier 3
Nov 11 1959

Something new and dynamic has hit the magazine publishing field with the advent of FAME magazine, just now reaching newsstands for the first time.

FAME is a digest-type magazine. Little in size but big in tone, says Mrs. Adelle Jackson, editorial director.

For years there has been an obvious need for such a publication, one that would chronicle the lore of the Negro race which has remained largely hidden through the centuries.

The objective here is to create a brand new conception of a Negro magazine deliberately aimed at the upper-class market. Therefore FAME is not just another picture magazine, nor is it a gossip, scandal type. There is a tremendous market of new readers to be developed in the great Negro middle class that so far does not have anything resembling adult, serious reading to turn to. FAME fills that void.

The Passing Of Arthur

HARRY ASHMORE, editor of *The Arkansas Gazette*, has resigned and will presently depart the South for California, there to take a choice job with the Ford Foundation. Thousands of Southerners are delighted, their delight being tempered only by the consideration that Ashmore will still be within the continental limits of the United States.

Those Southerners who are angry tend to oversimplify and personify their woes by the nomination of a few devils. Ashmore is blamed for Little Rock, as the Reverend Doctor King was blamed as the sole cause of the Montgomery trouble. As a matter of fact, they were merely agents and stimulants of a historical process.

★

WHEN Faubus and other critics went after Ashmore, it was in one respect hard to get their paws on his throat. The Lord help him were he an outsider. But he was a native of South Carolina, fieriest of the Confederate States. Both his grandfathers were Confederate soldiers. He himself was a soldier who advanced from lieutenant to lieutenant-colonel by means of battlefield promotions. He had distinguished himself as an editor before Little Rock. He was a dogmatic Democrat who wrote speeches for the party's standard bearer.

His paper, *The Gazette*, was among the country's oldest and had circulation and influence throughout Arkansas. Its owner, J. N. Heiskell, was a high-minded, benign but stout old gentleman up in his eighties. He was one of the most conscientious publishers in the country.

Wrong, Ashmore, Heiskell and *The Gazette* might be, but their backgrounds were immaculate.

PERSONALLY, Ashmore is a delightful person, though he is afflicted with oral eroticism. Few men love to talk as he does. Immediately upon encountering anybody, he commences to tell anecdotes. These are particularly relished by Northerners as the stories are usually strictly from Dixie. But however tedious these windbags may be, they are formidable in debate since one good story that elicits a guffaw is the answer to five volumes of fact and logic.

Elements of the antic and smart-aleck plunged within Ashmore, but these he held in a restraint sufficient to let gravity and formal discourse dominate.

★

THERE was never any reason to doubt his boldness and courage in any and all situations. All apart from his position on the Little Rock bayonets, he had to endure personal harassment beyond the strength of most men to endure. Possibly his life was endangered.

The editor has known Ashmore well for years and never in private or print was he heard to advocate race mixing, for he knew full well there wasn't going to be much for a long, long time to come, and perhaps not then.

The Gazette's position was not approval of the Supreme Court decision and lower court orders, but obedience to them as a matter of law and order. We believe that *The Gazette* made an organic mistake on this, and it may be that Ashmore's phone conversations with Washington had something to do with putting bayonets in the bellies of his subscribers. Further, nothing was happening that could not have been handled by Little Rock police, who had made 40-odd arrests of whites just before the troop drop.

★

THAT brings Ashmore to age 43. He now goes to California to undertake work of another nature. Be certain that you will hear his name again.

Legal Moves Spread To Extend Protection To Reporters Who Refuse To Give News Source

KENNETH WHITING
ted Press Staff Writer

reporters for newspa- and television should ...same safeguarded rela- ...ship with news sources as lawyers have with clients and doc- tors ... patients. An Illinois lawm... ...d before introducing a bill in the state Legislature.

The ... law, by Rep. Michael ... D-Chicago, is part of a w... ...d move to extend protecti... ...porters who refuse to na... ...ource of the news they ...

Pro... ... laws or amendments ... introduced in the U.S. H... ...epresentatives and at lea... ...e Legislatures in the wa... ...idely publicized Marie ...

10 DAYS

Miss ... radio-TV columnist fo... York Herad Tribune, se... ...day jail sentence for co... court. She declined t... ...e source of comment a... ...tainer Judy Garland sh... used in a story. The publicity spurred attempts to detail just how far a newsman may go in protecting his sources.

Four separate bills are pending in New York state, scene of Miss Torre's trial and conviction.

They provide that (1) no newspaper publisher, editor or reporter could be compelled to disclose the source of information committed confidentially; (2) persons who gather, publish, broadcast or televise news could not be punished for criminal contempt for refusal to disclose news sources; (3) newspaper, radio and television personnel could not be compelled to testify or disclose sources at any proceedings of any court or government agency and (4) news reporters would have immunity from disclosing sources only if they had pledged secrecy to the source and the information could not have been obtained without such a pledge.

12 STATES HAVE LAWS

Twelve states already have laws which are generally similar and two of them, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are considering revisions to extend such protection to radio and TV reporters.

The first state to provide legal protection for newsmen was Maryland in 1896. Similar statutes are in effect in Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, California, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Just last week a trial judge reaffirmed a reporter's right, under the California law, to refuse to reveal the source of a newspaper story.

Fred Sorri, reporter for the Peninsula Herald of Monterey, invoked this section of the state's civil code in declining to answer a question at a perjury trial.

The California Supreme Court previously upheld the constitutionality of the law.

Besides Illinois and New York, new measures have been dropped into legislative hoppers in Iowa, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont and Utah.

State Rep. Evo A. Lucchina (D-Barre City) said the bill he cosponsored in the Vermont Legislature was designed to aid newsmen in obtaining information particularly from government agencies. He said some news sources are drying up because of the possibility they may be named later as informants of reporters.

U.S. Rep. Francis Dorn (R-NY) has introduced a bill in Congress which would provide national coverage. It would exempt newspaper, radio and TV reporters from being compelled by federal ocurts to disclose their sources except in cases affecting the national security.

ANOTHER POINT

Another point which arose in connection with the Torre case is whether the identity of news sources involves press freedom as established by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The newspaper trade publication "Editor and Publisher" took note of this in an editorial Feb. 14.

It said in part: "It is contended by some that freedom of the press is involved in this issue. Perhaps it is. People, including newspapermen, can still write what they please within certain legally defined limitations. There is no prior restraint on publication. But it seems to us there is a conflict when people (reporters) are punished for not revealing who told them something even though the information as reported is correct.

"No other profession is expected to put into print for others to read everything it can learn that is fit to print and of interest to the general public, and thereafter to stand responsible in the courts for its accuracy. There are many times when the public interest requires publication of information even though the source cannot be identified."

L. U. Releases Publication List for '59

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The 1959 directory of newspapers in the United States has just been released by the Lincoln University Department of Journalism.

The directory, the only complete publication listing circulations, was compiled after a nation-wide survey conducted by the journalism unit.

Listed are 152 newspapers, of which three are dailies, six semi-weeklies, and 143 weeklies. Aggregate circulation for the group of papers is 1,601,497. Thirty of the publications belong to the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

SEVEN STATES — Alabama, California, Illinois, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas — account for more than half (77) of the newspapers and slightly more than a third of the total circulation.

The 1959 directory falls short of the 1958 totals by 20 newspapers and 96,063 copies per issue. Six religious weeklies were dropped from the 1958 list.

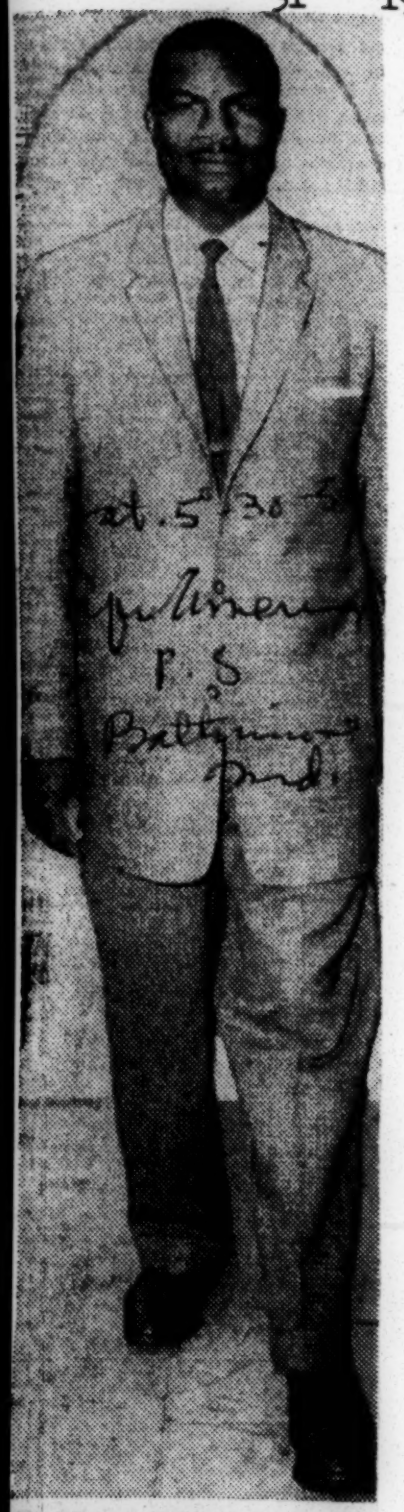
The directory, arranged by cities within states, gives circulation figures, address, frequency, and name of publisher or editor of entries.

Directory of Negro periodicals

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A 1959 directory of Negro newspapers, magazines, and publications in the United States has been published by Hi-Hi, Inc., a business advisory service.

Edgar G. Harper, executive director of Hi-Hi, reports that the directory has been widely distributed to manufacturers, advertising and publicity agencies, and to mail order firms interested in reaching the Negro consumer market.

The directory lists 240 publications in 129 cities and 37 states, and may be bought from Hy-Hy, Inc., Suite 469, 55 W. 24nd st., New York 36, N.Y.



AFRO VISITOR in Baltimore last week was Peter C. Doss, former executive of the now defunct weekly newspaper the Omaha Guide, Omaha, Neb Mr. Doss is temporarily residing in Washington, hopes to resume operation of the newspaper soon.

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ANDERSON (S.C.) HERALD

Negro Publisher Files Suit Against NAACP

ANDERSON, S. C. —(AP)— A Negro newspaper publisher who says he is opposed to forced integration has filed a $100,000 slander suit against the president of the South Carolina chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Davis Lee, who publishes The Anderson Herald, a Negro weekly, seeks the damages from the Rev. I. B. Quincy Newman of Spartanburg, NAACP South Carolina president.

Lee charged that he was slandered in remarks Newman made at a meeting of 250 Negroes here Feb. 13.

Lee previously filed libel suits totaling seven million dollars in Abbeville and Greenwood. The suit at Anderson for five million dollars is against the NAACP of New York, the Anderson County NAACP chapter and six Anderson Negro leaders.

J. Robert Smith added to staff of Pasadena daily

J. Robert Smith, former managing editor of the Los Angeles Sentinel and once a columnist on the Los Angeles Daily News, has joined the staff of the Pasadena Independent Star News as its first Negro editorial employee.



J. ROBERT SMITH

In addition to his reporting assignments, Smith will write a weekly column and work in the circulation department on promotion. The Star News is a daily paper.

For the past two and a half years, Smith has published his own newspaper in Pasadena and has given the Negro community of the city, leadership, breaking down racial barriers to employment in the City Hall and the public library.

He formerly published a paper in Riverside and San Bernardino and he worked on the Baltimore Afro-American and New York Amsterdam-News before coming to Los Angeles. In 1949 he won a national Urban League award for exposing the Smart Rental Racket case, and last year he exposed an ad man on his own paper as wanted by the police of Illinois and California for impersonating a dead lawyer and representing the lawyer's clients in court.

Smith's employment by the Pasadena daily was hailed by the NAACP of Pasadena. Mrs. Ruby McKnight Williams, branch president, said "The Independent Star News could not have selected a more qualified and representative person than Mr. Smith in its initial steps to integrate. He has contributed much to Pasadena."

Pasadena Daily Hires First Negro Newsman



PASADENA, Calif. — J. Robert Smith, ex-former editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, New York Amsterdam News and the Los Angeles Sentinel, was named to the staff of the Independent Star News, only Pasadena morning and evening daily newspaper last Monday.

Smith, who becomes the first Negro to be employed by the paper as a white collar employee was hired as a feature writer whose editorial assignments will include all racial phases of coverage. He will write a column and also be assigned to desk work.

To State Court—

Negro's Libel Suit Remanded

MONTGOMERY, Feb. 5 (AP)—A former Negro college football player's $100,000 libel suit against the publishers of Jet magazine and a Montgomery newsdealer was sent back to Montgomery Circuit Court today.

U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., remanded the suit brought by Edward Davis, 24, a school teacher, to the state court where it originally was filed last Dec. 22. It had been sent to the Federal court on motion of the defense.

Davis was acquitted on a charge of assault with intent to murder a Montgomery Negro integration leader, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, last Fall. He charged that Abernathy made improper advances to his (Davis') wife.

His libel suit contends that an article in the Sept. 18 issue of Jet entitled "Rev. M. L. King's fine paid by police commissioner" libeled him.

King was arrested outside City Court during the Davis trial. Later, Police Commissioner Clyde C. Sellers paid the Negro minister's fine, explaining that he did so because King was seeking publicity.

South Carolina Negro Files Suit Against Jet Magazine

GREENVILLE, S.C. (AP) — Davis Lee of Anderson, Negro weekly newspaper publisher, has filed another libel suit here for $500,000 with the clerk of U.S. Court for the western district of South Carolina.

The suit against Jet Magazine and the Johnson Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill., brings the total amount being sought by Lee in three actions in U.S. Court to a total of two million dollars.

In the suit filed Friday the plaintiff charges the alleged libel was printed in 1955 by Jet Magazine, a weekly news magazine with a worldwide circulation, according to the complaint.

Davis claims the statement allegedly printed about him in Jet Magazine was "false, libelous, defamatory and was published for the sole purpose of destroying the plaintiff with members of his race through the nation."

Defense Calls Former Coed In Libel Suit Against Jet

By ALLEN GUNN

A former coed student of the county training school in Greenville testified Thursday that Edward Davis, then a teacher in the school, took her on a country road late at night and attempted to make love.

The girl, Dorothy Jean Sanford, was called as the first defense witness in the $250,000 libel siut against the Johnson Publishing Co. of Chicago, publishers of Jet magazine, which was brought by Davis and which came to trial Thursday in Circuit Court before Judge Walter B. Jones and an all-white jury.

Davis charged he was libeled by an article in the Sept. 18, 1958 issue of Jet which said in part that he "resigned in June from a Greenville, Ala., grade school following charges of having sex relations with students."

DROVE TO DIRT ROAD

Miss Sanford testified that while she was a ninth grade student in the training school, she went to Luverne for a basketball game and rode home "with several other girls" with Davis. She said "Coach Davis" then took the other girls home and drove her to dirt road off a highway about six miles out of Greenville.

Davis was driving and she was in the back seat, the girl said. After he stopped, Davis "got in the back seat" and started to make advances at her, Dorothy Jean said. "I pushed him away," she testified.

She said that Davis threatened to make her walk home, but "after about 15 minutes" he took her home. She said she told her aunt with whom she lived and the aunt protested to school authorities.

Davis testified earlier that he resigned from the faculty of the Greenville school of his own accord. He denied having sex relations with anyone other than his wife while he was in Greenville.

Silas Garrett, associate superintendent of Montgomery County schools said he hired Davis as a teacher in Montgomery after he left Greenville. Garrett said he asked Greenville School Superintendent H. L. Terrell about the rumors concerning Davis and students of the school and Terrell said he had investigated and found the rumors false "as far as he could tell."

CLEARED DAVIS

David W. Self, former Butler school superintendent now in Russell County in the same capacity, said there had been charges of "molestation" made against Davis, but not of sexual relations, in connection with the Sanford girl. He said, however, that he investigated and cleared Davis any charges and that he hired the accused man, a former star athlete at Alabama State Teachers College in Montgomery, for the next school year as a physical education teacher.

George Gaffney, Greenville, one of the trustees of the school, told of going with a group to see Terrell in June, 1958, to complain about Davis' activities with girls in the school. Gaffney denied being present in the office of Iverson Lloyd, principal of the school when coed students were called in recently to talk to defense attorney Robert. E. Varner. He also denied going with Varner to talk to other prospective witnesses in the trial or talking to any of them about the case.

Four other witnesses, however, said that Gaffney had talked to them about the trial, some in the company of Varner who appeared quite upset about Gaffney's testimony.

While Gaffney was under cross examination by attorney M. Roland Nachman Jr., Varner asked that Nachman's questions to Gaffney be clarified. Nachman and his associate Truman Hobbs protested that Varner was trying to coach his witness.

OUT ON LIMB

"If you're trying to get him out on a limb," Varner retorted, "you have already done it."

At the conclusion of the presentation of the plaintiff's case, attorney T. B. Hill Jr. of Hill, Hill, Stovall and Carter moved that all evidence as to his client, defendant Leon S. Levine, local distributor of Jet, he excluded.

Judge Jones granted Hill's motion and dismissed Levine as a defendant.

Levine had earlier testified that he had no prior knowledge of the contents of the disputed issue of Jet nor did he have any control over the contents of Jet or any other magazine he distributes.

The distributor said he was notified by letter of a demand by Davis for a retraction of the alleged libelous matter contained in Jet, and that he passed the letter along to the publishers.

Representing Davis in the case are Nachman, Hobbs and Walter J. Knabe. Varner and Robert B. Stewart of the law firm of Jones Murray and Stewart are defending the suit.

Jury Awards Negro Teacher $67,500 In Libel Judgment

By ALLEN GUNN

A Montgomery County Circuit Court jury Friday decided that a Montgomery Negro school teacher was libeled in the amount of $67,500 by an article in the Sept. 18 issue of Jet magazine.

The jury deliberated about two hours before returning the verdict in favor of Edward Davis, 25, and against the Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., of Chicago, Ill. Davis had asked $250,000.

Immediately after the jury verdict was announced, defense attorneys asked Judge Walter B. Jones to require the jury to give special findings of fact in connection with their decision. Judge Jones ruled that a state law which allows a judge to require such findings in certain cases does not apply to this case.

The two-day trial was spiced with many unusual occurances including an admission by defense council that one of their witnesses had lied extensively on the witness stand.

In his summation to the jury, defense attorney Robert E. Varner said he did not ask and would not expect the jury to believe all the testimony of witness George Gaffney who Thursday testified that he had not talked to any of the prospective witnesses in the case about the suit since the article appeared in the case about the suit since the article appeared in September.

Gaffney denied accompanying Varner when the attorney was talking to the witnesses and said he had never talked to Varner before the trial.

Attorney M. Roland Nachman

Jr., representing Davis along with Truman Hobbs and Walter J. Knabe, sketched to the jury the charges in the article which allegedly libeled Davis. The first charge was that "Davis had attacked Rev. (Ralph D.) Abernathy with a hatchet and pistol."

Nachman noted that Robert E. Johnson, managing editor of the weekly publication and a surprise witness in the Friday morning session of the trial, testified that his magazine saw no difference between saying "Davis had attacked" and "Davis was accused of attacking."

The attorney reminded the jury that an earlier circuit court jury cleared Davis of assault to murder charges arising out of the incident. Nachman said to him there was a vast difference in the two.

Charles that Davis "resigned in June from a Greenville, Ala., grade school following charges of having sex relations with students," were also attacked by Nachman. He discounted the testimony of a co-ed student of the school that she had in fact had sex relations with Davis by pointing out that she admitted transmitting to another co-ed a suggestion that the second could get a college education or $2,000 in cash if she would testify that Davis was the father of her illegitimate child.

Johnson denied that a casual connection was intended between "resigned" and "following charges" but Nachman disagreed with him. The attorney said that the close juxtaposition of the two insinuated such a connection.

AFFAIR ALLEGED

The charge that "Montgomery Negroes speculated he (Davis) was the pawn of persons seeking to embarrass Reverends Abernathy and (M. L.) King" also drew fire from Nachman who noted that the altercation between Davis and Abernathy arose because of an alleged affair between the Negro integration leader and Davis' wife.

"This could not have been a more intensely personal thing between Abernathy and Davis," Nachman said. He said Jet had lashed out to discredit Davis because "when Davis struck at Abernathy, he struck at the throne."

Nachman asked the jury to show by their verdict that "we don't want any more of this garbage in the state of Alabama." He indicated that by "garbage" he meant libelous matter in Negro publications.

Defense attorneys Varner and Robert B. Stewart argued that the article was "substantially true." Noting that a retraction of the charges had been demanded by Davis of Jet, they said the retraction would have varied to such a slight degree that it was not worthwhile.

Another defendant, Leon S. Levine, doing business as Montgomery News Co., was cleared by the jury on a directed verdict. At the conclusion of the plaintiff's case Thursday, T. B. Hill Jr., representing Levine, moved to exclude evidence as to his client since Levine had acted only as distributor for the magazine and had no control over or prior knowledge of the contents of the disputed issue of Jet. Judge Jones granted the motion.

Noted Negro Publisher Sees No Escape From Racial Identity And Heritage

Southern Grads Told To Create A New And Good Image Of What A Negro Is

Baton Rouge, La., June 2 — "There is no escape from the racial heritage and identity to which you were born; therefore, for purely selfish reasons, if no others, it is your responsibility to create a new image of what a Negro is . . . a good image," stated John H. Johnson, president, Johnson Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois, as he delivered the 45th Annual Commencement address at Southern University, Monday evening in the University Gymnasium.

Dr. Johnson, whose company publishes TAN, JET, EBONY and HUE magazines told the 417 members of the graduating class "Never was it more true that only to the degree that we can advance the position of the little man, can we all feel secure."

He said, "Let me disassociate from your mind the possibility that any one of you can escape the badge of color. The prospects of individual emancipation are a fool's dream. There are no special Negroes. We are all in the same pot of stew. It does me no good to accept some special privilege while the man next to me receives a slight or rebuff."

The speaker, who called the class a privileged group, graduating at a time when the people of the world and particularly the colored people are enjoying their greatest harvest of economic, social and political success, continued, "You must be concerned with the unlimited opportunities available to you. Whatever you can do well there is a place for you to do it."

Dr. Johnson pointed out that EBONY magazine, which was started in 1945, had an established policy to do articles mirroring the brighter side of Negro life by featuring progress and achievement in terms of money, education and the material things which we believed to be society's standards at that time. "But," he said, "our concept of the meaning of success has changed for we have come to realize that the attainment of success is inherent in anything a person sets out to do. Now it is not the rich and affluent who are successful in our book, but the mother who has raised a large family against great odds; the child who has overcome pain and suffering to learn the joy of walking again; the man who breaks a bad habit . . . these are success stories."

"Grandioso achievement is no longer the total measure, for in the long run every man is a success in relation to the contribution each can make toward the improvement of life for all men."

In closing, the noted publisher, who was selected by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the 10 outstanding young men of 1951 said, "All of your integrity and vigor must be pressed into the service of your community and your people for no matter where you go or what heights you attain, you will not be able to escape your racial identification. Therefore, the privileged among you can no longer sit still in the face of any form of bigotry or discrimination . . . whether it be directed at you or at others. It is the responsibility of the self-respecting man to protest.

"There is no place in today's world for those who sign nothing, say nothing, resist nothing, pledge nothing. The end result is certainly to be . . . NOTHING."

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FREEDOM'S JOURNAL
FIRST NEGRO NEWSPAPER

One Hundred Thirty-two Years

31

This week the Negro press of this country is celebrating its 132nd anniversary; the first Negro newspaper, Freedom's Journal, having published its initial issue on March 16, 1872, at No. 5 Varick St., in the City of New York.

The United States was only 51 years old when the Virginia-born Presbyterian minister, Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, bought the $14,000 building in which the newspaper was born and secured John B. Russwurm, 28-year-old Jamaica-born and the first Negro college graduate (Bowdoin, 1826) to edit it.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Unfortunately, the two young men were soon in conflict because Rev. Cornish believed in integration while Russwurm believed in emigration, and became sole editor six months later.

Sat. 3-21-59

In 1836 Russwurm became first governor of the State of Maryland in Liberia, where he died of fever; while Cornish, in 1837, launched The Weekly Advocate, an abolitionist-integrationist newspaper which soon changed its name to The Colored American, and survived many years.

P. 12

Freedom's Journal was not only the first Negro newspaper in the United States but in the entire world, and it is significant that it was published and edited by educated Negroes who owned it with no strings attached to the slave power which then dominated America.

Many Negro newspapers have come and gone since then, but those who published them were dedicated Negroes with a burning desire to speak to and for their underprivileged, persecuted and enslaved brethren, and to make this country, even against the popular will, a land of the free.

Intelligent Negroes have always understood the vital need for a Negro press, and that is why they have suported it from the earliest times, right down to the present, knowing it could be trusted.

In some ways the Negro press today has greater problems than in the past because of the increasing complexities of economic operation (from which all newspapers, daily and weekly, suffer), but it is a tribute to its strength and influence that most of the leading Negro newspapers of a half-century ago are still going strong.

Whether old or new, these newspapers have, in the main, survived economic difficulties that have floored innumerable white newspapers, adjusted themselves to the changing times both in news gathering and business operation, and today they do not have to take second place to any, editorially or typographically, although sources of income are restricted.

Owned and operated by Negroes for Negroes from the 1827 beginning, we think the Negro press has a lot to celebrate.

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Edits First Contemporary Negro History of Kentucky



LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Two hundred invited guests who represented all walks of life filled the standing-room-only assembly room of the Church of Our Merciful Savior last Wednesday evening, January 14, to help celebrate the formal announcement of publication of Kentucky's newest book, "Kentucky Negro Journal" edited by John Benjamin Horton. It was also the publication day for the first and only book ever to come off the press which relates the contemporary achievements of Negroes of the Commonwealth in all categories of worthwhile living. The book was published by J. Benjamin Horton and Associates, Inc., advertising and public relations consultants of this city.

When the autographing party began, guests rushed over to greet the editor of the book who in turn autographed each copy.

J. Benjamin Horton Releases New Kentucky Negro Journal

The first edition of the Kentucky Negro Journal was released Wednesday, January 14. Published by J. Benj. Horton & Associates, Inc., advertising and public relations consultants, the book is believed to be the first account of the present-day achievements of Negroes in Kentucky.

To formally announce the publication of the book, an autographing party was held in the assembly room of the Church of Our Merciful Savior. A host of friends and well-wishers attended the affair to extend congratulations to the editor, J. Benj. Horton.

The Journal, which sells for $2.50, deals with the progress of Kentucky Negroes in religious, civic, business, professional, social, and fraternal life. It contains the autographical sketches of about 100 prominent Negroes.

Horton, editor of the publication, is an old newspaperman. He owned and published two Omaha, Neb., newspapers prior to coming to this city where he became advertising director of the Louisville Defender in 1941. He served in this capacity until 1954 when he organized the advertising and public relations firm of J. Benj. Horton & Associates, Inc.

He holds positions of national director of public relations for both the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity and national Frontiers of America, Inc.



J. **BENJAMIN HORTON,** (seated), editor of the newly released Kentucky Negro Journal, autographs copies of the book for well-wishers at an autograph party held in the assemblyroom of the Church of Our Merciful Savior Wednesday night. To be published annually, this journal deals with the accomplishments of contemporary Negroes within the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

NEGRO FAMILY

featured in Ladies' Home Journal

Now all America will be inspired by Helen and Arthur Matthews of Hartford, Connecticut.

In the July Journal, Helen tells how family and friends helped her recover from a serious illness, overcome a physical handicap and regain confidence.

You'll read the part Arthur played in helping Helen recover, discover how, when she was in the hospital, Arthur managed the house, caring for children and his job — thanks to a precisely clocked schedule.

And you'll read how Helen now manages her household chores in a new way . . . still cooks, bakes and carefully attends to the needs of a growing and loving family. Be sure to real "One-Armed Mother."

Davis Lee Files $100,000 Suit Against S. C. Editor Arthur Aiken

COLUMBIA, S. C. (SNS) — A $100,000 libel suit brought for newspaper publisher Davis Lee against Arthur W. Aiken, editor of the Palmetto Leader, was filed in Richland County Court here recently.

Lee, publisher of The Anderson Herald, a weekly newspaper, charges Aiken with re-printing "malicious and defamatory" statements about him. The story upon which the suit is based accused Lee of using The Anderson Herald to exploit race relations in South Carolina for his own personal gains.

Lee has filed other suits against newspapers and individuals who have opposed his methods of operations in the controversy over segregation.

The Anderson publisher notified Editor Aiken on February 18 that a suit would be filed. His action last week was a follow-up to the earlier notice. Lee alleges in the suit that Aiken "intending to injure and destroy the plaintiff in his business, did enter into a conspiracy with other NAACP officials to publish, with malice statements about the plaintiff which were false, libelous and defamatory," that "a copy of a letter which he (Lee) sent to business associates" was not "privileged, but was published to further degrade, defame and injure him in his business."

Lee's newspapers have consistently attacked NAACP actions in breaking down segregation barriers and have editorially accused the NAACP of 'setting the Negro back' and hampering the Negro's progress by pressing for integration.

Earlier this year, Lee filed libel suits totaling $7,000,000 against the NAACP, Roy Wilkins and The Afro-American. Later he brought a $100,000 suit against Rev. L. DeQuincy Newman, state president of the South Carolina NAACP branches, for alleged slander.

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LOOK MAGAZINE

NEW YORK- DR. JOHN BROWN is a col red eye surgeon. He is on the staff of a top-flight hospital, drives a new Cadillac and own a 22 foot cabin cruiser. .... He can and does operate on the eyes of white men, but he can't sit next to them in the movies. . . . . WHY, THEN, does he choose to remain?
In an article in the current issue of LOOK MAGAZINE, Dr. Brown answers simply: We're are not satisfied. Segregation is here. But you can't run from it. A man should work for progress where he is, not run.

Afro-American
Sat. 4-4-59 p.2
Baltimore, Md.

St. Clair And Look Magazine

A CIRCUIT judge in St. Clair county has issued a temporary injunction against circulation of the magazine "Look" in the county. The leader in seeking this injunction is a St. Clair county editor Ed Blair and the organization which sought the injunction is known as the "St. Clair County Committee for Better Race Relations."

It is charged that the magazine is guilty of "infamous distortion of the truth," and that it has circulated "untrue, misleading, libelous and malicious matters" about members of Congress and especially those representing Alabama. These statements in the magazine are "causing friction, disharmony, distrust, breaches of the peace and other serious and irreparable social and economic damages to both white and Negro races in St. Clair county."

The offense of magazines with the race policy of Look with its aggressive campaign in favor of universal integration is no doubt hard to tolerate in an Alabama county, and yet the refusal to permit the magazine's circulating within the county will be seized upon by anti-South elements as evidence of our unwillingness to face facts. Such censorship of what we shall or shall not read cannot be approved. Every individual is supposed to decide for himself what he shall read. The very fact that Look magazine is so radical, so extreme and so untruthful in its handling of race subjects should be enough to make St. Clair county citizens cease reading it of their own accord without a prohibitive injunction issue by the courts.

Judge Orders Look Banned In St. Clair

PELL CITY (AP)—A circuit judge Saturday ordered Look Magazine banned from St. Clair County on charges of "infamous distortion of truth" in the racial segregation controversy in the South.

Judge L. P. Waid signed a temporary injunction taken out by a group known as "The St. Clair County committee for better race relations."

The group filed suit against Cowles Magazines, Inc., of Des Moines, Iowa, publisher of Look Magazine, and Jefferson News Co., Inc., of Birmingham, which distributes the magazine.

Judge Waid said the temporary injunction would remain in effect until a hearing on the suit is held.

The complaint contends that Look circulated "certain untrue, misleading, libelous and scandalous matters in regard to the status of, prowess and political influence and strength of Southern members of the U. S. Congress and in particular such Alabama members."

The suit charges that the statements caused "friction, disharmony, mistrust, breaches of the peace and other serious social and economic damages to both white and Negro races in St. Clair County.

Court orders Look kept out of St. Clair

PELL CITY, Ala., Aug. 22—Publishers of Look magazine have been ordered to keep the publication out of St. Clair County.

Circuit Judge L. P. Waid signed a temporary injunction here Saturday which forbids Cowles Magazines, Inc., of Des Moines, Iowa, the publishers, and Jefferson News Co., Inc., of 2320 Second-av, s, Birmingham, their agent, from "distributing, selling or delivering" the magazine anywhere in the county.

The order will remain in effect until a hearing is held on a suit filed Saturday against the two firms. It was filed by a group of St. Clair citizens known as "The St. Clair County Committee For Better Race Relations."

Distortions charged

CIRCUIT REGISTER in Equity Mrs. Mattilee Dorough said date for a hearing will not be set until the defendants have answered the complaint.

The suit charges Look with "infamous distortions of truth regarding the so-called 'integration and segregation problems' in the South and in particular in the state of Alabama."

The complaint claims that Look has circulated "certain untrue, misleading, libelous and scandalous matters in regard to the status of, prowess and political influence and strength of Southern members of the U. S. Congress and in particular such Alabama members."

It states that these actions are causing "friction, disharmony, mistrust, breaches of the peace and other serious and irreparable social and economic damages to both white and Negro races in St. Clair County."

Headed by publisher

THE COMMITTEE maintains that Look has distributed editorials in St. Clair County claiming among other things to show the poor status of and conditions of race relations between the white and Negro races in the South and particularly in St. Clair County.

In addition to the request that Look be kept out of the county, the committee requests the court to determine whether any damages have been suffered and if so, what relief should be granted.

The St. Clair County Committee is headed by Edmund Blair, publisher of two weekly newspapers, The St. Clair News-Aegis in Pell City and The Leeds News at Leeds. Their attorney is John Martin, of Pell City.

The committee is an unincorporated organization and all members are residents of St. Clair County.



LOOK MAGAZINE ORDERED OUT OF ST. CLAIR COUNTY
. . . Atty. John Martin, Judge L. P. Waid signing order

Weekly
N. O. Louisiana



LOUISIANA WEEKLY PUBLISHER AND DEPT. HEADS – During The Weekly's open house held Friday evening various heads of departments gathered in the office of the publisher, C. C. Dejoie, seated, where this picture was made. Pictured, left to right, H. L. Wilcox, director of advertising and vice president; Henry B. Dejoie, make-up department; Mrs. Mildred Montegut, business manager and C. C. Dejoie, Jr., editor. Publisher Dejoie and all of the heads of the various departments of the paper reported that they were pleased to see so many of the paper's advertising clients, readers and friends at the affair and personally thank all who sent letters, cards, telegrams, flowers, plants, together with the many congratulatory display advertisements which appeared in the paper's 34th anniversary edition. (Marshall Photo).

'Open House' At La. Weekly Gay Affair

Open house was celebrated by the Louisiana Weekly Publishing Company last Friday evening in the new air-conditioned and modern building of the paper which is now located at 640 South Rampart, corner of Girod.

Many of the paper's subscribers, friends, advertisers, civic, educational, professional, religious, fraternal and business leaders as well as people from other walks of life, turned out for the festive event.

All of the departments were a profusion of color and floral designs. The president and publisher of the company, C. C. Dejoie and members of the staff were all on hand and happily welcomed and greeted the crowd.

The staff members were on hand at the main entrance which led into the foyer and into the general offices where the staff conducted guests on a guided tour of the entire building, including the second floor, rental offices.

Mrs. Christine Warren's catering service provided the guests with delicious and tasty sandwiches and punch from a silver service.

The Weekly's new building was completed last winter when the paper was forced to move from Dryades and Lafayette to make way for the widening of Dryades Street for the approaches to the new Mississippi River bridge.

Although the open house did not officially begin until 5 in the evening, a steady stream of telegrams and flowers came throughout the day and also on Monday.

Many firms, business places, institutions, clubs and indiviudals placed a record number of congratulatory advertisements in the paper's 34th anniversary edition which was published last week. Scores of others phoned and mailed cards of congratulation wishing the paper, which has been through the years in the forefront of civic progress and community advancement.

Governor Brown Honors Negro Publishers with Luncheon

SACRAMENTO, Calif., March 7—Democratic Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown honored the publishers of California's Negro newspapers with a luncheon on Friday, March 6, at Sacramento's Hotel El Mirador.

The Governor's personal invitation to discuss "matters of mutual concern" marked the first time a California Governor had ever met with the Negro press.

Governor Brown stated that he was confident that his FEPC measure would pass the heavily Democratic Legislature and assured the newsmen that his civil rights milestone was just the beginning of his program to guarantee minority groups a fair chance to participate in California's economic growth.

He further stated that he would order all department heads to make an immediate review of hiring policies to correct alleged discriminatory practices within the State civil service.

Governor Brown was introduced by Cecil F. Poole, extradition and clemency secretary to California's chief executive.

Publishers attending were Loren Miller, California Eagle; Leon Washington, Los Angeles Sentinel; N. M. Young, San Diego Light House; E. A. Daly, California Voice, Oakland; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, San Francisco Sun-Reporter. Other newsmen attending were: D. Donald Glover, Louis Johnson and Harry Cox, representing Jet Magazine; Atty. Geo. R. Vaughns, Lawrence LaMor, Negro Press Bureau; E. F. Joseph, Pittsburgh Courier; and Andrew Hatcher, press assistant to the Democratic State Central Committee.

Following the luncheon the guests toured the Governor's offices and met with his press assistants to discuss methods for more effective servicing of the Negro press.



A LUNCHEON—California's second-month-old Governor Edmund G. Brown in center, is flanked by Negro Publishers who were his honored guests recently the first time in history that a California Governor has invited members of the Negro Press to hear his views as far as minority groups are concerned and to hear their suggestions and recommendations to make his administration a fair and practical one for all peoples. The Governor, practical in his expressions, stressed the point that he had anticipated more speed on his FEPC program for the state, however he seemed confident that the bill will be passed without much more delay. He spoke favorably for more appointments for qualified Negroes in every branch of the government under his administration. Pictured are: (seated from left to right) Leon Washington of the L. A. Sentinel; Cecil Poole, who is the Secretary to the Governor on Clemency and Extradition; The Governor; Loren Miller, Publisher of the California Eagle in L. A. Standing are Mr. N. M. Young, Editor-Publisher of the San Diego Lighthouse; E. A. Daly, Publisher of the CALIFORNIA VOICE;; Dr. Carleton Goodlet, Publisher of the S.F. Sun-Reporter and Mr. Louis Jonson and Don Glover of the Johnson Publications. —(E. F. Joseph Photo)

Miami Editor Hits Limits On Negro Rights

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — A leading southern editor Tuesday night said he thinks newspapers are not doing a good job of informing the people.

Bill Baggs, editor of the Miami Daily News, said "I do not think you newspapers do a good job. I don't think I do a good job." Baggs addressed the Atlanta chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic fraternity.

"Unless people are well informed they aren't to do anything," Baggs said. The outspoken editor said "What press has been bold enough to do that basic job to be informing? Very few, very few."

Baggs said "Segregation is a form of slavery." He asked what newspapers have pointed out this assertion.

Baggs challenged fellow editors to tell that "a Negro, to get citizenship, needs more than integration. He needs to know capital laws, sanitation and better schools...."



GETS THE 'GO, AHEAD' SIGNAL . . . Balm Leavell, editor and publisher of the New Crusader, Chicago weekly which is sponsoring the first annual Negro Business, Culture Exposition in Chicago during May, recently received the endorsement of two of Chicago's leaders, Mayor Richard J. Daley and Cook county board president, Daniel J. Ryan. The exposition will be held at the Coliseum, May 14-19. — (ANP Photo)

National Negro Newspaper Week Slated March 15-21

National Negro Newspaper Week will be observed March 15-21.

The observance, sponsored by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, celebrates the 132nd anniversary of the Negro-produced press in the United States of America. Freedmon's Journal, the first Negro newspaper, was published March 17, 1827 in New York City by John Russwurm and the Rev. Samuel Cornish.

Theme of the 1959 observance is, "The Negro Press, Guardian of Your Freedom."

Birmingham World is one of the NNPA-affiliated newspapers which is participating in sponsoring National Newspaper Week. Emory O. Jackson, managing editor of the Birmingham World is a member of the board of directors of NNPA.

Brighton High School is presenting a Panel of Editors as a feature of the observance at 10 o'clock Friday, March 20. Participants will be Editor Jackson, Publisher J. Howard Williams of the Birmingham Mirror and the Rev. R. H. Radney, editor of the Baptist Leader, oldest Negro publication in Alabama.

The Brighton program is sponsored by the school's Journalism Club of which Miss Mary Lockett is president. Miss Pauline Smith is sponsor of the club and Prof. Charles A. Brown is principal of the school.

N.C. College To Honor Negro Newspaper Week

DURHAM, N. C. — William O Walker, president of the National Negro Publishers Association, will deliver a forum address in North Carolina College's Duke Auditorium at 10:30 a.m. on Monday, March 16, in a program commemorating the 132nd anniversary of Freedom's Journal, the first U.S. newspaper to be published by Negroes.

Walker, publisher of The Call and Post newspaper, is a former Republican City Councilman in Cleveland. He is presently a member of the Ohio Republican State Central and Executive Committees.

Walker also directed publicity campaigns for the late Senator Robert A. Taft and for Governor-Senator John W. Bricker.

A native of Selma, Ala., Walker received his education at Wilberforce University and Oberlin Business College. He is currently serving on Wilberforce's trustee board.

His newspaper career began with The Pittsburgh Courier in 1919. Since that time he has been city editor of The Journal and Guide, managing editor of The Washington Tribune, which he helped to found, and guiding light behind The Call and Post.

He took over The Call and Post in 1932 when it was a defunct newspaper with no assets or equipment and developed it into a business with 56 employees, an ABC circulation of over 24,000; a plant and assets valued at $250,000 and an annual payroll of $160,000.

Walker is active in many phases of the civic, educational, and religious life of Cleveland.



APPOINTEE — Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, former professor of sociology at Arkansas A. M. and N. college, has accepted the chair of the department of sociology at Atlanta university. Dr. Cothran will also be editor of Phylon, the Atlanta university review of race and culture.

The educator received his undergraduate degree at Arkansas A. M. and N. college, his master's degree at Indiana university and his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. He is recognizeed as an outstanding sociologist and educator. He was for a short time professor of sociology at Dillard university.

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WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD



Courier P.5
Oct. 1-17-59
Pittsburgh
Pa.

News Hawks—Oliver W. Brown, right, editor of the New Jersey Herald News, congratulates Luther P. Jackson Jr. on his appointment as a reporter for the Washington Post & Times Herald. Mr. Jackson was city editor of the Herald News before serving seven years as a reporter for the Newark Evening News. Mr. Brown was among the Newark business and civic leaders who gave Mr. Jackson a reception before he assumed duties in his new position.—Ackis Photo.

Paper suspended

LITTLE ROCK — The State Press, the weekly, newspaper operated by Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates, has suspended publication and there are no present plans to resume, it was announced.

Financial losses growing out of the integration fight made by Mrs. Daisy Bates, wife of the publisher, and the loss of the lease on the State Press building were blamed for the suspension. The newspaper must vacate the structure by Jan. 1.

Daisy Bates' Paper To Cease Publication

Little Rock—Announcement was made here this week that the State Press, local weekly operated by Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates, will suspend publication within the next two months.

It was reported that financial losses which grew out of the legal battle for integration is the principal reason for suspending publication. It was also learned that the Bates' have lost the lease on the building which houses the newspaper offices.

Mrs. Bates indicated that the loss of the lease on the State Press building was inseparately tied up with the fight to have Negro children enter the Little Rock Central high school and this led to the loss of many businesses which heretofore had advertised in the State Press.

31 1959

Troy State Publishes New Student Maaazine

TROY—The first issue of a new student written magazine at Troy State College has been published and was released to the student body Tuesday.

The new publication is entitled "351." The title is the catalogue number of a creative writing course which was taught in the fall quarter by Professor Jack Solomon of the English department. The literary material selected for the magazine is the work of students who took this course.

The publication has the qualities of a literary review. It presents a selection of short stories, short shorts, sketches, poems and two items that might be classified as essays or editorials.

SELECTION BOARD

A selection of the material for "351" was made from the work of the creative writing class by a faculty board chosen by the class.

Stories and sketches were contributed by Rex Vance, Troy; Stephanie Bryan, Bellwood; Billy Scott Long, Brewton; James Bowlin, Dothan; Thomas Woodard, Opp; Bette Powell, Troy; Joe Young, Elba; Roland Tew, Brewton, and Lan Waller, Greenville.

The poems were written by Anne Bond, Newville; Marilyn Williford, Montgomery; Helen Wood, Georgiana; Jack Burkett, Kinston; Blenza Glover, Phenix City, and Bette Powell.

The two essays were by Joe Young and Neal Presley, Bay Minette.

Professor Solomon says the appearance of the magazine met with interest and enthusiasm upon the part of the students and that the 800 published copies were insufficient to meet requests for them. Solomon hopes that the magazine may be published annually in the future or perhaps semi-annually.

U. S. embassy moved—

Time magazine article stirs riots

WASHINGTON, March 3 —The State Department said today the staff of the U. S. Embassy in La Paz, where anti-American riots occurred last night, has moved to the outskirts of the city "for better protection by the Bolivian army."

The riots followed publication by Time magazine of an article quoting an unidentified U. S. Embassy official as suggesting the way to solve Bolivia's economic problems is to abolish the country.

The official was quoted as saying neighbors should "divide the country and its problems."

PRESIDENT HERNAN SILES went on the radio last night to tell the Bolivian people that American officials had denied the magazine story.

Mobs had stoned the U. S. Embassy.

A State Department official said the possibility of additional disturbances caused all embassy personnel to be removed "to a place on the outskirts of town. At that place, it was felt the Bolivian army could offer better protection."

He said there are 1800 U. S. citizens in the country but that no figure was available immediately on the number of persons in the embassy.

AT THE CAPITOL, Sen. Styles Bridges (R., N. H.) told newsmen he favored sending U. S. troops to La Paz if mob violence continues. He also said foreign aid to the country should be stopped.

Bridges said the mob demonstration showed the lack of appreciation of Bolivians for American aid.

"I would stop all foreign aid to Bolivia and use American military strength to protect American lives there," Bridges said.

"After all of the money we have poured into Bolivia, to help them balance their budget with our funds, this mob action is unjustified, uncalled for and unappreciative."

DURING LAST night's rioting, a 15-year-old student was shot fatally. There were no injuries reported to Americans but Bridges said the lives of "hundreds of Americans were endangered."

THE QUOTE in question appeared in the current hemisphere edition of Time, which circulates in Latin America, but not in the U. S. edition. A spokesman at the magazine's offices in New York indicated a statement might be issued later.

Angry mobs burned issues of Time in front of the embassy. A police cordon was thrown around the building and along the neighboring streets, but about 200 youths broke through and demonstrated.

Later stone-throwing mobs broke many of the windows in the embassy. Others stoned the offices of the U. S. Information Service (USIS) two blocks away and broke into the USIS library, destroying books and magazines. A jeep outside was overturned.

Carl T. Rowan Speaker For Urban League

Final plans near completion for the Oklahoma City Urban League Annual Meeting to be held on Dec. 5 at 7 p.m. in the Main Cafeteria at Oklahoma City university.



CARL T. ROWAN

Mr. Carl T. Rowan of Minneapolis, Minn., will serve as guest speaker for the League's annual affair. Mr. Rowan is a reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune. In a decade as a reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, Mr. Rowan has won more than a score of major honors and citations. He is the only newspaperman ever to win three successive annual medallions from Sigma Delta Chi, the nation's most prominent organization of journalists. In 1954, the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce selected him as one of the nation's ten outstanding young men. That year he accepted the assignment from the U. S. State Department to travel thruout Asia as a lecturer on American newspapers and their role in promoting social change.

Mr. Rowan is the author of several books published by Random House: The Pitiful and the Proud; South of Freedom; Go South to Sorrow.

Aside from his regular reporting assignment on the staff of the Minneapolis Tribune, Mr. Rowan writes for such national magazines as Saturday Evening Post, Readers' Digest, Look, Redbook, and Ebony.

He has studied at Washburn university, Topeka, Kans.; Oberlin college, Oberlin, Ohio, and the University of Minnesota. He was awarded a master's degree in journalism from the University of Minnesota.

Mr. Rowan's civic activities include serving on the boards of civic organizations like the Hennepin County (Minneapolis) Community Chest and Council and the Minneapolis Urban League.

'Uncle Sam Wears Three Faces, Says Editor L. F. Palmer

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — (SNS) — The editor of the Tri-State Defender, L. F. Palmer, Jr., called for a "strong protest of all injustices, stronger Negro press and decent white people to join the fight for freedom," when he was the principal speaker at the close of the O. W. Evers Legal Defense Fund drive at the Elks Rest at 319 Beale St., last Monday evening.

O. Z. Evers, 3018 Crystal Ave., was officially dismissed from his outspoken comunity personality, postal transporation clerk job last Friday (Nov. 27) on the charges that he violated the Hatch Act by actively campaigning for a city Commission job preceding the Aug. 20 General election. The drive was sponsored by the Binghampton Civic League, of which Evers is president, to raise funds to aid him in taking the case to court.

Palmer entitled his speech "The Three Faces of Uncle Sam." He said the title of the speech had reference to "America in general, the South in particular, and Memphis specifically." He went on to explain: "Uncle Sam wears a face—a false face—for the world, which he tries to sell himself on when we proudly sing the National Anthem —referring to the land of the free and home of the brave...when children pledge allegiances to the flag—and when they talk about liberty and justice for all.

"Our statesmen like to include in their speeches here in America and abroad beautiful words of such sacred documents as the Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights. They like to refer to the 14th amendment which states...no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law nor to deny to any person the equal protection of the law."

The editor said that the second face was a made-up face. It is a face Uncle Sam wears for the white man who receives all of the glitter and glamour of everything—best jobs, best housing, and best education, etc.

The third face was termed a "face of shame' by the editor. He said "this is the face Uncle Sam wears for the Negro. He cited case after case of police brutality, lack of respect for Negroes, poor housing and menial jobs."

Palmer concluded: "In truth Uncle Sam has only one face..and if we are to help bring the true face to light, we must do three things: fight injustice, build a strong Negro press to act as a spokesman and watch dog; and pray for more militant Negroes and for decent whites to comes from behind their walls of silence and join us in the fight for freedom."

The main speaker was introduced by Mrs. Jean Williams. Others giving brief remarks included: Atty. Ira Murphy; Eliehue Stanback, chairman of the drive; Rev. T. R. Fugh, and Evers who said: "Many Negroes here have expressed strong feelings about my dismissal. However, despite my dismissal I will not slow down my pace in fighting for civil rights for all."

UPI Terms

School Struggle Top Story Of 1958

NEW YORK — (UPI) — The continuing struggle over the racial integration of schools was chosen by editors of United Press International today as the biggest news story of 1958.

They noted that the battle was waged all the way from the Supreme Court of the United States to remote hamlets in the South.

Integration confronted the American people with one of the most acute sociological problems since the days of reconstruction.

The other nine top stories picked by the editors:

2. American and Russian probes into outer space, bringing within the range of possibility interplanetary travel by human beings.

3. The Democratic victory at the November polls, giving the party the biggest congressional majority since the high tide of the New Deal.

4. Anglo-American intervention in Lebanon and Jordan.

5. The resignation of Sherman Adams and the indictment of Bernard Goldfine on charges of contempt of Congress.

6. The death of Pope Pius XII and the election of John XXIII.

7. The economic upturn in the United States.

8. The Red government's consolidation of its rule over the Chinese mainland, and the bombardment of Quemoy. It was a year in which Peiping appeared to have won equal status with Moscow in directing the strategy of world Communism.

9. The Chicago school fire.

10. The stabbing of Johnny Stompanato by Lana Turner's daughter.

Other stories that won prominent mention: The Berlin crisis; the cruise of the Nautilus under the North Pole; DeGaulle's rise to power; the railroad disaster at Newark Bay, N. J.; Pasternak rejects the Nobel Prize; Alaska wins statehood; the Springhill, N. S. mine disaster; plane collision over Nevada kills 49; death of Mike Todd in an airplane crash.

Dulles Action Blasted by Worthy's Lawyers

WASHINGTON

The issue of whether the constitutional rights of an American citizen can be violated to accommodate government foreign policy is the paramount question to be decided by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of AFRO correspondent William Worthy which was argued here Friday.

With Justices Miller, Prettyman and Burton constituting the panel the case for Mr. Worthy who seeks the renewal of his passport which was denied after he visited Red China, was presented by William M. Kunstler of the American Civil Liberties Union.

He was opposed by F. Kirk Maddrix of the Justice Department who presented the side for the State Department.

Both attorneys discussed briefly some of the main arguments contained in their formal briefs which were filed with the court for later consideration.

* * *

THE ESSENCE of Worthy's appeal is that in the absence of war, the Executive Branch of the government has no right to take unilateral action that would curtail the freedom of an American citizen which is guaranteed by the Constitution.

* * *

MR. KUNSTLER conceeded that during time of war certain geographical locations could be placed off limits on the acepted theory that during hostilities citizens forego certain rights in the national interest.

He contended, however, during times of peace no such forfeiture of rights is either given nor to be exacted by any one branch of the government without destroying the Constitution itself.

War, he contended, is a just effort in which both the Legislation and executive branches of the government are mutualy engaged, but the administration of foreign policy lies wholly with the Executive.

* * *

SINCE THERE is no way to determine what trend it will take and what factors will enter into the formulation of foreign policy, citizens can not be forced to give up their constitutional rights or make their freedom subject to whim and fancy.

If this were accepted there would be nothing to prevent the State Department from declaring the whole world off limits upon the most flimsy pretext or caprice, he insists.

"Our basic premise," Mr. Kunstler declared, "is that any American Citizen has a constitutional right to travel to any area in the world he may desire, a right protected by the First, Fifth and Ninth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, and that this right can only be curtailed by a countervailing public interest at least as strong as this constitutional right.

"Fortunately, the times have been few in our long history when it has been thought necessary to curtail our traditional liberties because of some overriding external danger.

"The nub of the insant case is whether the present international situation is such as would justify such a curtailment.

"The secretary, of course, is committed to the affirmative of this question in order to justify his claimed power to close certain areas of the world to travel by American citizens. It is Worthy's position that this decidedly is not the case and that, if the Secretary's contentions are upheld, our constitutional protections will be serious — and perhaps permanently damaged."

Mr. Kunstler attemped to prove that instead of helping to advance American foreign policy the restrictions on travel imposed by the Secretary of State had the diametrically opposite result.

He contended that instead of hurting America's world position, Mr. Worthy had rendered a valuable service to his country by going behind the iron curtain in search of the facts.

* * *

"WE HAVE ALREADY discussed the flimsy nature of the Secretary's reasons for barring travel to Red China (they are even flimsier when Hungary is considered)" he declared.

"They become even more unreasonable when on considers that the travel ban to Red China hurts no one but ourselves.

"At a time when we dsperately need all the information about that enigmatic country as we can get, we are forced to rely upon foreign sources for the little we do get. We must rely on Canadian or British reporters or dispatches from the connsular offices of friendly countries, neither of which sources may be wholly sympatheic to American interests.

"The real loser is the American people who are forced to make monumental decisions in the foreign relations field without having the information necessary for intelligent choices.

* * *

"IN OUR OPINION, there is nothing more fundamental than the right to travel. It is inextricably tied in with those rights enumerated in the First Amendment. Freedom of expression becomes meaningless without the ability to gather the necessary information to transmit or to reach the point of transmission. Of what value is the right to speak in a vacuum? Speech only has significance when there is something to say and someone to say it to.

"To say to our citizens that they have the right to speak or write freely and, at the same time, to prevent them from obtaining the data to make their expression meaningful or to curtail their ability to express themselves where and to whom they desire, is to limit freedom of expression to an extent never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution.

"We are not saying that there are not some reasons which can justify area restrictions. When the United States is at war, it is, of course, obvious that travel to enemy countries can and should be curtailed. Furthermore, when armed conflict is raging in another country, we will go so far as to say that Americans can be prevented from visiting such areas. But further than this we are not prepared to go.

"Today, we are living in a peaceful world, no matter what the stresses and strains of the Cold War, which will probably continue through this generation. The emphasis of our government has been on more contact, particularly with countries behind the Iron Curtain."

From a Reporter's Notebook

Dateline: Georgia

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON
(Courier Roving Reporter)

COLUMBUS, Ga. — There is a dilemma here which rates more than passing attention: Ed Jenkins, prominent and active civic figure, tells us it is almost impossible to find any qualified Negroes who will apply for the presently available jobs for Negroes on the Columbus police force. Other citizens emphasize what he says and agree.

Surely in a town as large as Columbus and where there are so many young Negro men to be seen on the streets when they could be working—if they had jobs—there must be some young Negro men who are interested in these jobs. Yet, there seem to be none.

Mr. Jenkins said he has tried every avenue of locating qualified Negro men, but they aren't to be found. This is a tragic situation, for here are good jobs going begging. We can hear the criticisms that Columbus now has no Negro cops, when it really could have and should have. But my informants say this is the fault of Negroes themselves. How about it, mates? Anybody wanna be a cop? You can—easily, if you meet the requirements.

■

IN FULTON COUNTY recently 25,952 registered voters were knocked off the rolls for not voting during the past two years and ignoring requests to let the registrars know if they wanted to stay on the rolls. The board mailed letters to 30,000.

The purged included 19,443 whites and 6,519 Negroes. Of these 17,159 whites and 6,275 Negroes live inside the Atlanta city limits. They simply cancelled out the heroic work of the All-Citizens Registration Committee, through carelessness or indifference. They'll never send James C. Davis back to Stone Mountain that way. And they could do that, if they voted!

■

THE BRUTALITIES in Birmingham, Ala., have not frightened Negroes there, but have brought Negroes closer and closer together and hardened their spirit to resist to the bitter end the efforts to keep them second-class citizens. If the whites were smart they would stop all the brutality. They're helping the Negro cause that way.

It proves that the perpetrators are simple-minded persons who lack intelligence enough to think out the situation. They have only one resort, and that is violence. But they won't win. They can't.

SAM SMITH, the Alabama who heads the Class "A" Sally League and hails from Dothan Ala., should have been in Columbus recently when the Negro players of the Columbus Pirates were introduced. He'd have heard from the stands—white and Negro—the answer to his slurs on Branch Rickey and Negro players in the Sally.

Incidentally, the colored players on the Columbus club are serious young men, thinking of their future, if their strict observance of training habits is any yardstick. They eat at the Tally-Ho and all take milk or fruit juices with their meals. Not once have we seen one get a beer.

And that stumpy Reggie Hamilton, shortstop, is like Jackie Robinson — a Georgian — on the bases, in addition to being a classy shortstop. The major league Pirates think well of him. Negro patronage of local games was enthusiastic and packed the stands which makes the cash register feel good.

■

NOT ONE NEGRO in Birmingham has any sympathy for Claude Odom, 42-year-old pipe and foundry worker, who hoaxed a story of having been kidnapped beaten and robbed by two white men. They think it heinous that he should tell such a tale at a time when tensions are so great in Birmingham.

■

WHENEVER you hear a white Southern politician or segregationist making a lot of noise about segregation take a close look to see from what angle he is making money or otherwise benefiting from the "coverup noises," and you'll be sure to find something somewhere.

The biggest sucker is the poor white who is being duped by his own politicians and hasn't enough savvy to see through what they're doing.

Let me mention that on April 20 reports showed Arkansas Louisiana Gas stock closing at 6[illegible]. Now if Governer Orval Faubus takes that reported 100,000 shares they reportely credit him with getting at an option of $12 a share, he'd have a clear profit of $53 a share, a total of $5,300,000. Who wouldn't holler segregation to divert attention from a killing like that?

And look what they keep bringing out on the Marvin Griffin administration in Georgia. Yes, it pays to take a close look behind the covers of these segregationists.

Poor whites ought to read "Killers of the Dream," by Miss Lillian Smith, white, of Clayton, Ga. They'd learn something about their noisemakers and headline grabbers — and some of their newspapermen. Selah.

From a Reporter's Notebook

Dateline: Georgia

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON
(Courier Roving Reporter)

ATLANTA, Ga.—What strikes me as the most ridiculous and idiotic thing in the world is the continued practice of "head writers" on Southern white daily papers who persist in using the irrational term "race mixers" in their feeble and losing — efforts to inflame the minds of non-thinking whites.



Mr. Anderson

Negroes and their friends who seek the ending of racial discrimination haven't the slightest thought of "mixing" the races. As a matter of fact, just about all Negroes wish that Southern white men would quit chasing our women and trying to mix our race.

Remember, the reporters who write the stories do not write the "heads" which are supposed to tell the readers what the story is about. There are special writers on the desks who do this job. It is these hate-breeders who have sought to stir up racial animosity by using a term carefully calculated to inflame the emotions of those who read.

All we want is to be treated like all other human beings and be given the respect our human dignity and abilities call for.

On that latter subject, Negroes of Georgia — who don't get to study Negro history in their schools — can take pride in the achievements of Georgia Negroes. No Georgia Negro has to hold his head down in any company. His illustrious black sons and daughters have truly carved out niches which belong only to the great, and they have done it on their merits, not favoritism or toleration.

Take the little town of Albany, where segregationist editor James Gray holds forth. What other single town its size anywhere can boast of having given the United States its only Negro ambassador to a foreign nation, Dick Jones, Ambassador to Liberia? Or a topflight Congressman and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, like Bill Dawson of Illinois? Or a rights crusader who sparked Negro progress in Florida like Sam B. Solomon?

Or a distinguished educator like Dr. Jeanne L. Noble, head of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority? Or a blues-shouting, revival-type singer like blind Ray Charles? Or a business leader like C. W. King and his seven sons? Or a labor executive like ILA "biggie" Judge Henderson in Miami? Or a tycoon like Henry Wynn, now in Atlanta? All these from Albany, Ga.

Then look further around Georgia. From Cairo came the greatest of all baseball players in my book—and by far the most exciting—the man who could do anything on the diamond, Jack Roosevelt Robinson. And from St. Simon's Island came the greatest football player of all time, Jimmy Brown of the Cleveland Indians.

The mind goes ecstatic when it recalls the great tenor from North Georgia, Roland Hayes; the brilliant Metropolitan Opera star, Mattiwilda Dobbs from Atlanta; Dr. John W. Davis, college builder, and Dr. M. L. King Jr., crusader. These are Georgians of color who have achieved—on their ability.

Look down Sweet Auburn Ave. in Atlanta at the successful Negro business there, and salute men like Clayton R. Yates, Lorimer D. Milton, Teddy Alexander, Jesse Blayton and W. A. Scott Jr. Move to the West Side and salute Q. V. Williamson, W. S. Cannon, Dr. Miles Amos and others.

The educational centers boast names like Mays, Clement, Brawley, Cunningham and others, and Georgia Negroes ought to know right away that they are the

A White Barber Cuts Claude's Hair in Africa

By CLAUDE A. BARNETT

CONKRAY, Guinea (ANP)—Funny things happen in French West Africa. Traveling rapidly, there had been no opportunity to get a haircut.

Descending to the entrance of the quite-swank Hotel de France, I sought a taxi to take me to a barber shop. There was no taxi, but an enterprising young African, when I asked a question, answered in perfect English.

He proved to be a 20-year-old seaman from Sierra Leone who served on a Norwegian line which plies between West Africa, Europe and the United States. He stayed too long ashore and his ship left him.

• "I'll be glad to escort you, sir," he said. "There's a shop not too far away." We walked about nine blocks down through a section half native and half business when I demurred.

• "How much farther?" I demanded.

• "The next block," he replied, as he hailed various people in French. It's rather odd to be in a country like Guinea where 98 per cent of the people are black and speak only either French or a native dialect.

He led me to a store whose sign said "Coiffeur for Dames and Messieurs." It was divided in half, with two barber chairs in the men's side and with a half-curtain hanging in a doorway on the other side where there were four or five women in various stages of hair curling and shampooing.

■

THE PLACE was neat and quite attractive. All customers and barbers were white.

"I thought you were bringing me to an African shop," I protested in a whisper.

• "Here the Africans work out on the street and you would not like that," he replied. "Many of the African officials and big men get their work done here." I climbed into a chair, remembering meanwhile that though I have visited Rome, Paris, London, Munich, Stockholm and Copenhagen, I had never had my hair cut by a white barber. Somehow I assumed they did not know how to cut my particular kind of locks.

But I climbed into the chair and the French tonsorial artist started to work. He asked how I wanted it cut and I made signs to show where I wanted it short.

■

HE WAS FAST and he was good. I must admit, despite my fears, that I have never had a better hair trim. He held a glass so I could view the back and I murmured approval.

To pay my bill, I had to go in the ladies' side where the wife of the proprietor gave me my change. I paid in francs. The women in the chairs eyed me pleasantly, recognizing I was a stranger, or so I imagined.

As we walked back to the hotel, I remarked to my seaman guide that the price of a dollar, 200 francs, seemed low.

"They charge according to the amount of hair you have," he said, looking up at my bald pate. "You don't have much."

His comment seemed logical as I thought of the bushy hair of many of the Africans I saw.

Just then we passed a Mohammedan squatting on the sidewalk while a barber shaved his head with a Gillette-like razor. Everybody to his taste, I thought.

'WE MUST FIGHT BACK'

Courier Pittsburgh Pa Sep. 5-30-59

But . . . With What and How?

By NANNIE H. BURROUGHS

IT IS reported that Robert Williams, now the suspended president of the Monroe (N. C.) NAACP branch, told the members of his local organization not long ago, that "We must fight back." Continuing, he said, "I still believe that there can be no progress without friction or some violence. In the fight for freedom, we must be willing to pay the price. There is no cut-rate freedom."

Robert Williams is exactly right. "There is no cut-rate freedom." Whoever makes up his mind to "fight back," must know the strength of his enemy and he must also know with what and how much he himself has to "fight back" with and how he is going to use his weapons of defense.

FREEDOM COSTS far more than physical conflict. Reckless advice, without counting the cost, makes about as much sense as telling the Negroes of the South to commit suicide and thus have the whole ungodly thing over with.

It is reported that the national secretary, Roy Wilkins, suspended Williams, and the national board sanctioned the act of its secretary. This summary act on the part of the secretary and the board can certainly divide the thinking of N e g r o people throughout the country. Divided, we cannot win. Many may think that this act of Secretary Wilkins and the board is a gesture on the part of the secretary and the board to gain some of the favor that the NAACP has apparently lost in the South because of its consistent militancy.

This is certainly no time to divide the thinking of Negroes on the question of justice. The advice to "fight back" physically might be zeal, but certainly not according to knowledge.

IN A CRISIS such as the kind that we are passing through the South, it is the plain business of the NAACP to spell out in plain United States English the most effective way to "fight back." Advice to "fight back" physically is not only unintelligent but it arms the ignorant whites of the South with a first-hand excuse for using any weapons at their command, in so-called, self-defense. All they want is the least excuse for united action to fight on all fronts and with everything they have, against all Negroes.

One of the most effective ways to fight your enemies is to find out what they want you to do and don't do it. To find out how they expect you to act and do not act that way.

This is not the time for physical combat or to use dastardly words of resentment. Neither is this the time for Negroes to cringe or to take low. Races are not doing that now. This is the time for the NAACP to teach the people what the right weapons are and how to use them effectively.

MR. WILLIAMS' advice sets only a death trap for unwary Negroes. It simply means that with or without the slightest provocation, the cruelly oppressive whites would make pastime of the tortures perpetrated on Negroes by them. In their ignorance and viciousness, low-down whites would turn some areas into unmitigated Aceldamas.

The only way in a crisis, such as the one through which Negroes are passing, in America, is to take the civilized, Christian, God-ordered, stand, which is not low, but is supremely high. Some people think that a soft word means taking low. The Bible teaches exactly the contrary.

"A soft answer turneth away wrath: but grievous words stir up anger.

"The tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright; but the mouth of fools poureth out foolishness."—Proverbs 15:1,2.

"The word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (Hebrews 4:12).

"Come bodly . . . and find . . . help in time of need (Hebrews 4:16). There is nothing cringing about that.

THERE ARE many white people in the South who are "fighting back" and to good effect—with the weapons of interest, intelligence, understanding, influence and dedication to the cause of justice, determination and goodwill.

Of course, proper human behavior cannot be learned in a day, but there are people, in America, who know from both sacred and profane history that it is the only sure way UP and OUT. They believe with a faith that will not compromise that wrong was made to LOSE and that right was made to WIN. In this faith, they stand fast or press forward under the leadership of One who has never lost a battle and cares nothing about race or color.

In this crisis, "fight back" with 2nd Corinthians, 10th chapter, fourth and fifth verses, and do it like it's nobody's business, but yours and God's—"for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds" of prejudice and injustice. Intelligence, calm and a faith that will not shrink are the weapons with which to fight.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

LIBERIA

AMBASSADOR Richard E. Jones has departed from Liberia for what has been described as "an extended vacation." Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Monrovia, he left Monrovia with his family. Appointed to the diplomatic corps as Director of the U. S. Operations Mission by Harold Stassen in 1953, he was made Ambassador on the death of Jesse D. Locker in April, 1955, and has served since that time. Now in his 66th-year, it is assumed that he will return to his business in Chicago.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

■

NIGERIA

To a small dinner party at the home of Mrs. Ruth Wilson, well-known for her interest in setting up a school for Nigerians, and back the next night to visit the Governor of Michigan and his family with whom we travelled to Liberia last year—the Governor and the writer as guests of the President of Liberia.

■

GREENWICH VILLAGE U. S. A.

To an art exhibit, where one of the contributors was my long-time friend, Tanya Duane. She has made great progress and appears to have much natural talent, but still feels that she should confine herself to "Sunday painting" and continue her owner-managament of a large reporting and stenotyping service.

■

BELGIUM

Possibly it is not the good five-cent cigar that the U. S. needs, but a king. I do hope we can find one as charming and agreeable as Baudouin, whom we entertained at the Overseas Club. His Majesty seemed actually to have welcomed the questions I asked concerning the Congo. I was encouraged a bit by his answer, but sadly, it appears that there is no "time-table" as yet.

■

INDONESIA

Twice recently, I have been with Indonesia's Dr. Ali Sastroamidijojo. One of the most popular of the U. N. Ambassadors, on this occasion he was guest at the final meeting of our United Nations Correspondents Circle. "Democracy is one of the most misunderstood terms," he said, and it was clear that Indonesia was determined to abandon so-called liberal democracy as it is practiced in the West, preferring a form of democracy "more suited to the Indonesian character." Their answer is found in "democracy with leadership" or "guided democracy." "It is not communism, but rather based on Indonesian identity. Among its characteristics are mutual aid, everything done by way of consultation and mutual consent—living as one family and doing everything as members of one family," said Dr. Ali.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

To lunch with Mr. Rogosin, young producer of an extraordinary film on the sad land of South Africa, which he made to express his indignation over things he saw there. The film will be entered in the Film Festival in Italy and then he hopes to show it on the continent. There is the possibility that he might make a film in West Africa if adequate arrangements can be made. A Yale engineering grad, he is a disappointment to his father who hoped that he'd enter the family's multimillion-dollar textile business. The father appears not to be totally without social impulses for in the mail the next day the Israeli Digest announced that a second five million dollars had been added by Mr. Rogosin to the plant there. "Perhaps your dad will put up a plant in Africa," I suggested.

■

MICHIGAN, USA

Premier Nnamdi Azikiwe is to receive another honorary degree. This time from Michigan State University where he is to be a guest for four or five days during his forthcoming visit to the U. S. This columnist has been invited by the President of Michigan State to attend the round of festivities given in his honor, and it is our intention to accept. In the same mail came an invitation to a party, where we saw many old friends, including the Adolph Heninbergs, Designer Sara West and Author Ellen Tarry, among others. Two Nigerian scholars were among the guests, one of whom is the Betsy Barton Scholarship winner working at Dr. Rusk's Rehabilitation Hospital.

■

NEW YORK, USA

As an itinerant-teacher-for-hire, my next speaking date was at the New School for Social Research, where I lectured to a large group of club women on Israeli-African Relations.

World Backdrop

EVEN THOUGH this column will not appear until long after the incident of which I write is banished from the front pages of this moment there is only one event with which I could occupy this space. I refer, of course, to the presence in our town of Chairman (of the Supreme Soviet Council of Ministers) Nikita Khrushchev.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

■

Due to my accreditation to the U. N. in the name of The Pittsburgh Courier, and my custom of keeping all credentials up to date, I not only gained entrance on the great day, but had what may have been called a front row seat, a privilege granted to relatively few. To gain entrance one had to pass through a closely guarded gate where credentials were examined and all packages checked. Once inside, identification papers were given further expert analysis.

Only those of us long familiar with the U. N. could fully appreciate the sheer magnitude of the planning and precautions. Rehearsals had begun earlier in the week and we were asked for identification cards by guards who had known us by sight for over a dozen years.

For the occasion, day passes, temporary passes, permanent passes, passes for the wallet, for the lapel, for cameras, had to be available at all times. The organizational genius behind all this was a former Connecticut state trooper named Begeley, a balding, round-faced, ubiquitous man, noted for his thorough knowledge of his job, his fairness and common sense. His 64 unarmed, multi-racial guards and 24 extras deserved the biggest bouquets of the occasion.

■

INCIDENTALLY, it was this same man to whom Ralph Bunche says he owes his life. At the time of the Count Bernadotte assassination, one of the bullets intended for Bunche was intercepted by Begeley, who carries the scar on the side of his head to this day. (I also learned from Bunche that, although he was leaving for Vienna this week to attend the atomic energy meeting, he, Bunche, would dine twice with Khrushchev, once at the Secretary General's dinner and again at the Mayor's luncheon.)

■

As to the top Russian, himself, he is a small, stocky man whose "mobile dynamo" qualities were impressive. I felt that he and his family looked rather better than photographs of them I'd seen. I also did not feel that he was as coldly received as most newspapers led one to believe. According to my observation, most applauded him unabashedly. The Los Angeles police reported only eight letters were received opposing his visit. In Philadelphia, an anti-Khrushchev rally, widely advertised with thousands expected, was attended by only a few hundred. The page ads taken by Freedom House and other special interest groups were a flop also. The Nation, which ran an ad welcoming him, revealed that one company who financed an anti-Khrushchev ad had defense contracts.

For a long time the Hungarian pickets have hurt their cause by their shenanigans, with some police who originally hated the Russians now having sympathy for them. (The Russian consulate is opposite the college where I teach, hence, I can understand this.)

■

THESE SO-CALLED Freedom Fighters have continued their fighting in this land that has offered them haven, and the dozen or so mounted New York police, plus about a hundred on foot, had to step in when they tried to rush the motorcade which carried the Russian visitors. For the first time I heard counter yells of "Fascist" during the picketing: "You want war, we want peace."

"Shut up, you Communists," cried the Hungarians.

"Don't call us Communists, this is a free country and we can speak."

The Hungarians advanced menacingly towards the youthful hecklers, but the police intervened. Stocks on the signs the Fighters carried were forbidden, thus they all were unarmed.

I felt that the entire visit was a propaganda gain for the Russians, and for Khrushchev.

As to his actual speech, while clever and a propaganda gain, I still had the "this-is-where-I-came-in" feeling. It seemed too general and deceptively simple. He prefaced his proposals with an hour's narrative on the horrors of war—but here there is universal agreement. However, the U. S. must face up to the fact that we do not live in the world alone. The speech sounded good to millions of Asians and Africans, and we cannot afford to brush it aside as merely propaganda, or with grumbling about lack of inspection control. It must be treated with diplomatic skill and a plan worthy of consideration in the spirit of Senator Humphrey, who feels it must be carefully and objectively pursued. Western cynicism is not universally shared.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

NEW YORK, U. S. A.

WE WERE honored to accept membership in the Commission on International Affairs of the American Jewish Congress. Attendance at its dinner-meeting and becoming acquainted with the distinguished roster of fellow-members caused me to feel that I had very much more to gain from the association than I'll be able to contribute. Set up "to bring to the attention of all interested citizens the meaning and background of important international issues affecting the welfare of democracy and the security of the Jewish community, "I accepted the invitation because I consider these last two objectives inseparable. I appear to be one of three female members out of a group of 25.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

■

LIBERIA, AFRICA

Attended a private dinner party in the lovely New Rochelle home of Ambassador and Mrs. C. T. O. King. I enjoyed enormously the visit, and once again was impressed with the increasing amount of attractive Liberian leadership and talent. Some of the guests fit into this category, including a most charming young physician who will complete his training this year and return to the West African state.

■

HAMPTON, VA., U. S. A.

A storm raged and all planes were grounded. The result was a hurried call from the Lecture Bureau. President Al Moron of Hampton was to have been the speaker for the Madison-Chatham Adult School in this high-income area of New Jersey. I was just about able to make it by automobile over the Skyway, but on arrival, the full attendance and challenging, alert audience caused me to feel it was worth the effort. The group did not seem to mind getting prunes when they had come for strawberries. For their sake, I hope the fates are kinder next time.

■

ISRAEL

This appears to have been another week for international emphasis. Also, I attended the luncheon meeting of the Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee, of which I am a member. The attendance list included such names as Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse and Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, present and former members of Congress; Roger Baldwin, long-time Civil Liberties leader; Drs. Pollock and LeSourd, both deans, at the two universities from which I have degrees; also, commentator and former president of Rutgers, Frank Kingdon; plus Eric Johnson, who, incidentally, presented a most interesting report.

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE, USA

We had dinner at the lovely, white-carpeted Park Avenue apartment of Pete and Violet Fox. Their guests included some long-time friends who took this occasion to present their off-spring who, now, are adults. Naomi, one of these I had last seen as an early teenager. Now, she is a medical doctor, married to a doctor and the mother of twins and two other children. Yet, she still looked like the same slim, green-eyed youngster I remembered so well. The other girl, Laura Maslow, is much younger. She wore pigtails and was at primary school age when we met, last. Now a student at Radcliffe College, she is a tall, statuesque, ever-so-attractive blonde. She seemed to be a thoughtful, scholarly young person, poised and unaffected, outgoing and friendly, with quiet charm, but, also, a degree of reserve and, perhaps, even youthful conservatism. I was captivated by her, for she was such a fine representative of the products turned out by our ivy-covered, New England colleges with their generations of culture and high ideals of scholarship.

■

NIGERIA

"Dear Dr. Cartwright: During your visit to this school, we discussed the urgent need for books for the library. This letter is to bring the matter up in your mind, again, and to thank you for your interest and the promise to help us ... Sincerely, V. O. Ibeneme, Principal, Zik's School of Commerce, Sapele, Nigeria, West Africa."

It would be a wonderful thing if each reader of this column were to mail a small package of books (even three or four would be welcome) to the above address. The cost in time and postage would be negligible in comparison with the good that would be accomplished.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

INDIA

To the dinner given in honor of India and its new Ambassador to the U. S. Hon. M. C. Chagla. His son and daughter and their Consul General to New York, M. Gapala Menon, were also present. Over a dozen beautiful saris were distributed to fortunate guests, drawn by lots, but I was not one of the lucky ones.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

HARLEM, U.S.A.

Recently visited the Schomburg Collection, that part of the New York Public Library containing the priceless collection of books and other cultural items by and about the Negro. My purpose was to lay ground-work for some contemplated future research. Once there, the pleasant chat with its curator, long-time friend and schoolmate, Jean Hutson, caused the information I sought to become less important. I had not seen Jean in a long time, and she is now a widow. Though youthful and attractive, one receives the impression that she is more interested in her work and her little girl than in thoughts of remarriage.

ISRAEL

To the luncheon given by by the UN Press Association to honor Ambassador Abba Eban, who is departing in a few weeks to return to Israel and enter politics. Generally regarded as the most gifted and articulate member of the UN, he is at his best when appearing before groups. I have found him shy, cold and remote on closer contact, and considered by many to have a seeming sense of superiority which endears him to few. If magnificence of language, keen, orderly, concise logic, and clear thinking are what the Israeli voters desire, he will be a success. Of the many Israelis I know, there is only one whom I like less. However, I do wish him well in his new venture. He has much to contribute to his plucky, small nation.

AFRICA

"Dr. Cartwright, I have been in advertising, and now have more money than I ever expect to necd. I am going to stop my regular work and try to find some way in which to put my particular talents to some good use. Can you suggest anything?" I felt that this young woman might devote herself to publicizing Africa and making its people better understood. I was assured that this was an acceptable idea. It is with interest that I await the outcome.

NIGERIA

The budget for the Eastern Region of Nigeria for the fiscal year of 1959-60 is nearly 55 million dollars. Of this, 16 million or over 30 per cent, is slated for education, while another 7 per cent is earmarked for health services. Road and bridge building, water supplies, agriculture and industrial development will aecount for nearly $23 millo, or 43 per cent, leaving only about 20 per cent of the budget for all other phases of Regional Government. Although it is actually the smallest in area and population of the three regions, it has, under the dynamic leadership of Premier Azikiwe, set a pattern of progress for the other regions to follow. The budgetary distribution in the other regions is along the same lines, and, as independence approaches, one cannot but be impressed with this overwhelming emphasis on education, health and economic development. Surely, this new nation, to be officially born on Oct. 1, 1960, which, with its 40 million (to Ghana's four million), will rank 13th in population among the nations of the world, will speak in a powerful voice.

VOX POP

Complaint Department to The Pittsburgr Courier: "Marguerite Cartwright's articles immensely interesting and kiinly written. Her topics reveal wide travel and continuing contacts with prominent personalities ... The only literary flaw ... is her sometimes clumsy use of the editorial 'we.' There is nothing wrong with the pronoun 'I' which, of course, should not be employed excessively. Dr. Cartwright should not spoil an excellent style with such an obtrusive and somewhat phony use of 'we.' Very truly yours, J. W. Haywood Jr., Washington, D. C."

Dear Mr. Haywood. The editor passed your letter on to me. I should first like to thank you for your interest and let you know that I am most pleased that you are such a thoughtful and observant reader. The point you make has been a source of discomfort to me for a long time. I dislike and have found it difficult to adhere to this clumsy convention ... and have done so only as a concession to editorial desires. Perhaps now that you have registered your complaint, I can forego this grammatical inexactness. Most sincerely, Marguerite Cartwright.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

BIRMINGHAM, U.S. SOUTH, POSTSCRIPT

We have actually seen it with our own eyes! In the airport, in plain view, two drinking fountains, one marked "White," the other marked "Colored." We have long been aware of the segregated facilities found in these more backward areas of our land, but somehow we were unprepared for this concrete evidence of ignorance, bigotry and superstition in the open for all the world to see. That the city fathers have so little self-respect was what came as a shock. While the purpose is, of course, to humiliate Negroes, it does seem so obvious that what they really accomplish is to bring shame on themselves. We had a 40-minute wait and sat near these strange objects to be found in a democracy. During that time, not one Negro used the fountain. In trying to figure out the difference between white and colored water, we noted that the colored fountain was a bit shorter and the white one was supplied with cups. In the spirit of research, we would have sampled each had we been thirsty, but, as most readers who have our amount of pigmentation know, all water is taboo when traveling in the South, for those other facilities down the hall are also designated "White Ladies," "Colored Women."



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

■

EGYPT

Our UN Correspondents Circle had as guests a half-dozen or so petitioners from the Cameroons, including the articulate lady delegate Madame Ouandie, who created such a stir at Accra; Felix Moumie and Dr. Mbida, ex-Premier. Dr. Diallo Telli, current Ambassador from Guinea, the brother of Sekou Toure, and others of the Guinea mission were also present. Those familiar with Cameroonian politics know that the presence of Moumie and Mbida together was a prime example of strange bedfellows. Simon Malley, our host, an Egyptian Jew and top reporter for Colonel Nasser's newspaper, Al Goumhouria, arranged one of his famous Arabian Nights buffet suppers. He and his attractive U.S.-born wife have such great personal charm that we generally have to avoid them to maintain our proper degree of indignation regarding his boss. He is universally liked and — well, we have to face it — clever fellow, that guy Nasser!

■

CAMEROONS

Speaking of the Cameroons, we were pleased to become better acquainted with Dr. Endeley, their first Premier, during his recent visit. We took him to the homes of friends, to the Press Club, and everywhere he made a most favorable impression. In the House of Assembly election in January, he and his Coalition party lost (12 to 14 seats) to Mr. Foncha, who had opposed him on a number of tribal, local and regional issues, including his advocacy of unification of the British Cameroons with Nigeria. At the Press Club, we arranged for three of the Cameroonian leaders to appear. Their presence together impressed the newspeople and their guests and showed that politics in Africa had come of age. All three presented their case and handled the close questioning with skill. Dr. Endeley, who is in favor of unification with Nigeria, expressed concern over staff shortages, language problems, poor communication, difficulty in bringing in capital, plus how Mr. Foncha's policy was going to be implemented. Mr. Foncha did not make it clear as to precisely what the Federal form of unification with the French Cameroons would be, but he still impressed the group with his sincerity and natural talent for politics.

■

AFRICA

Visit from George Norford, NBC producer, to discuss forthcoming TV series on Africa. We also asked David Jones to drop by to fill in the details on modern Ghana which we were unable to supply.

And speaking of Africa, Lester Granger's return was celebrated by a reception given by the Mayor of New York. He sent word by our husband, who was present, that he brought back numerous messages for us, which we hope to collect at an early date.

■

MILWAUKEE, U.S.A.

We were delighted to welcome our long-time friend, Ernestine O'Bee, who had come to our town to attend a United Church Women meeting. On urging, we managed to get her to remain a day beyond the sessions and, with great joy, took her on a professional tour of the UN and introduced her to numbers of delegates. We would love to spirit her away more often, but she prefers to confine her good works to Milwaukee and remain at home caring for her businessman husband, Emile.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

WHEN I received the invitation to speak at Howard—I was exceptionally pleased—it being my first visit to this elite among Negro schools. My topic was the "Role of African Women," and I knew that I'd have an interested though discriminating audience, as Howard has long filled a vital role in African education. The great Nigerian nationalist, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, has written of his early experiences—of how he was encouraged by Howard's Dr. Aggrey, honored when his first letter to America was answered by President Durkee — the then president, and later, inspired by Dr. Johnson, the present incumbent.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

It was a happy occasion, also, to meet so many long-time friends, many from my native Massachusetts, such as Dorothy Ferebee, Lois Jones Pierre-Noel, Ruth Worthy, etc. A French teacher stopped me on the Howard campus and said: "I lived next door to you and knew you as a little girl, while I was attending Radcliffe."

People came to the lecture whom I had known during every stage of my development, from Professor Hansberry, who was at Harvard during my babyhood, to Mme. Evanti, whom I had last seen in Yugoslavia. It was a delight also to have the great Mordecai Johnson, whose name is so revered in Africa, attend. The Women's Faculty Club had thoughtfully arranged for Embassy representation, providing an opportunity for me to meet a number of Ambassadors and representatives, including the new Haitian Ambassador and his wife, and newly arrived, but long-time friend, Ethiopian Ambassador Heywot.

■

MY HOSTS did me great honor to have gathered together such an academically distinguished audience—people to whose lectures I had listened, whose books and other writings I had read, and whose opinions I so respected, such as Dr. Caliver, Dr. Kittrell, Dr. Tate, Dr. Crawford, Dean Lindsay, Elsie Austin, and many, many more.

While in Washington, I also did a radio interview with Dr. Ferebee, Howard's Chief of Medical Services, distinguished clubwoman and well-known physician in her own right. I visited her lovely new home, was guest at a delightful private dinner party at the home of my long-time friend and once fellow club-member, Lois Jones Pierre-Noel, who, since our last meeting, has taken unto herself a husband—one of the most charming men I've ever met. There were a few who I associate with Howard whom I sadly did not see—including Ed Frazier, Frank Snowden (last seen in Rome), Margaret Just (last seen during our college days), and Howard's charming Dental School Dean.

As the speech took place on Mother's Day, and it was the official Mother-Daughter weekend, I also met a number of the proud parents at the luncheon given for them.

One final expression of gratitude must go to the well-known press personalities for their attention and gracious comments, such as Matthews, Harrison, Taylor and others.

■

PORTSMOUTH, Va., USA

From Washington, still on the speaking trail, I set out for Norfolk, then Portsmouth, Va., where I spoke for Vivian Mason and the I. C. Norcom High School. I was tremendously impressed by the large modern school and extremely bright and alert 1500 student body. The level of their interests, as revealed in the question period, was mature and advanced, more so than that I've seen in many college audiences.

The school has an exceptionally fine choir and a spotless, large, excellent lunch room that is run by students under supervision. Mr. Waters, the principal, spoke with enthusiasm about his students and their accomplishments, and it was plain that he placed great confidence in them. He obviously is proud of his school, and his admiration and respect for his young people is, of course, precisely why he has been able to bring out so much of the best that is in them.

In my discussion of Nigeria, I learned that Mr. Waters was in school with Dr. Azikiwe, and at my request, he penned a brief note on the back of the program for me to send the Premier.

A plane to Newark brought me home safely, though less than 12 hours later, the same type plane, same airline, same route and destination was not so fortunate—freak storm and all on board killed. However, it was not my time.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

RETURN TO THE USA

WE ARE writing from our home in New York, after spending the past six weeks in Africa, dividing our time fairly equally between Monrovia, Liberia, Accra in Ghana and Lagos and Enugu in Nigeria.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

On Christmas Eve we attended the annual holiday party given by President Tubman for his adoring populace. During the day we had driven about a bit and observed some of the Liberian day-before-Christmas atmosphere. In the center of town our driver had to proceed at a snail's pace. Street hawkers were out in droves, peddling everything conceivable—many had the tiniest stock imaginable. Just four or five T-shirts, a few silk head cloths, or Japanese toys of some sort, and one was in business. As may have been expected, before-Christmas prices were inflated at every level, often the quality was very low, but what was lacking in a material way was compensated for in the joyous spirit.

We decided also to investigate the more high-class shopping areas. One shop, run by an attactive European woman with a German accept, had a delightful supply of imported items, in good taste and beautifully displayed, but the prices were exorbitant: a tiny evening bag, $34:00; a small fan of chicken feathers, $16.50; a nylon half-slip, $15:00; costume jewelry priced as though it were of precious or semi-precious stones, instead of glass.

On Christmas Day we expected to be quite lonely, confined in a hotel room and so far-away from home, but the customary hospitality of various Liberian friends went into action, and we ended up with more invitations than we were able to accept.

Not long thereafter it was farewell to Monrovia, and again Robertsfield, Dakar, Lisbon, Santa Maria which we slept through), Boston and Idlewild International Airport, Queens; then New York, Manhattan. We were back at our old routine . . . which, of course, included a speaking date.

■

NEW JERSEY, USA

Back from Africa, at home less than 24 hours, and we were out of the state again. However, this time only over in New Jersey. Actually, we had hurried back to keep this speaking date in Plainfield for the NAACP, which we'd made before the trip to Africa.

This pleasant little city, its intelligent, militant Negroes, their nice homes and cars, their intense zeal in making democracy work through the NAACP, and the need for such an organization, reminded us once again that we really were home and a part of the life we must live here in the U.S.A. Our cultured school teacher host and the rest of the local branch had a very tired speaker, indeed. We felt that, if we did live up to the occasion—and they kindly said that we did—we received our stimulation from them and their fine accomplishments —"over on the Jersey side."

■

GENEVA

According to the International Review of Diplomatic and Political Science, the last war cost:

"Over 21 million young men killed in battle. 15 to 20 million women, children and old people killed in air raids. 29½ million persons wounded, mutilated, or incapacitated for work.

Over 21 million persons lost their homes through air raids. 45 million people were evacuated, deported or interned. 30 million homes were reduced to ashes.

150 million people were left without shelter, prey to famine and disease.

Up to 1946 the second World War cost three times as much as the first."

■

MORE PAINFUL: "The cost of the war could have provided a $12,000 home; $4,000 worth of furnituref1 and a $20,000 cash present to every family in the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Germany, Ireland and Belgium.

"In addition, every city over 200,000 inhabitants could have been given a cash donation of $25 million for libraries, $25 million for schools, and $25 million for hospitals."

■

GREECE

What the above reminded us of was the claim we once heard made by a Greek socialist concerning U. S. aid to Greece after World War II. The amount was so great that it could have provided every man, woman and child in Greece $1,000, and if it had been distributed in this way, communism would have been defeated for all time.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

CUBA

I HAVE been taken to task because I failed to report on my encounter with Fidel Castro as a sister columnist had already presented her reaction to the Cuban leader, my own seemed to have lessened in importance. However, I now present what I wrote at the time:



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

"This has been very much Fidel Castro week. The UN Correspondents Association gave a luncheon for him, the Cuban Mission to the United Nations gave a reception, and the Overseas Press Club gave a luncheon attended by 3,000. Never within memory of oldest reporter has any recalled such unrestrained adoration or a New York reception of such enthusiasm. This was due to many causes, among them, as Pauline Fredericks, president of UNCA, put it: 'He rekindled among us belief in some of the virtues so rarely found—among them personal courage and belief in himself.'

This obscure intellectual from the Sierra Maestro mountain fastness, who in two years managed to free his country, explained his own success simply: 'We have faith in what we are doing.'

Somehow, everything about him appeared to ring true—from his beard, forage cap and fatigue clothes to his painfully halting English, all of which have become his trademark. At the UNCA luncheon, in spite of an earlier remark he had made to this reporter that he would use an interpreter, he apparently changed his mind, for when he rose to speak, he said: 'Today I was a-thinking to a-speak in Spanish. It is so important that to you I speak clear. I would a-speak better, but English is not my language. I do not want to lost time (i.e., by using an interpreter), so I do my best to speak in English, the most konwn language between you here."

After a brief speech he took on all-comers—answering questions, some of which were difficult and some downright hostile. They varied from recognition of Red China ("the UN has not been able to solve this in 14 years, and we have just come into office") and justice for Algeria ("we naturally have sympathy for those struggling for freedom, but we realize also that this problem is very complex") to his feelings about having the Havana Sugar Canes (baseball team) leave Cuba and go to New Jersey (they have distributed more sports equipment since being in office than in all the preceding years; he, himself, likes baseball, but he was "no Baby Ruth"). Is it not true that you are subsidizing the press? ("Our reporters receive only $22 a week.")

Asked one questioner: "Why could you not conduct your reforms under a democratically elected government? You claim the people do not want an election now; how can you know this?" And another: "When will you return to the use of the regular civil courts?" etc., etc. He replied to every question and finally added: "We believe we are the most democratic people in the hemisphere. Our people are agreeing with one thing—the ending of tyranny. Ours was not a coup d'etat, but a People's Revolution. I am a lawyer, not a general . . ."

Castro, now 32, is from a well-to-do Cuban family of landowners in the Oriente Province, a mountainous area where he waged his two-year war against Batista.

He attended private schools, and finally entered the University of Havanna, where he was active in campus politics and the Federation of University Students. He holds the degree of Doctor of Laws, and thus is correctly addressed as "Doctor" Castro, because this is the Cuban custom.

He ran for the National Legislature on one of the occasions when Batista called off the elections, and a year later he and his brother took to the hills with a small band of followers. On July 26, 1953, he captured the Oriente Province barracks and gave his movement its name (also the date on which Liberian Independence is celebrated).

However, he and his followers were soon overpowered and jailed, but were later released, and went to Mexico, where they planned a new effort to free their homeland. When he landed with some 80 men on the south coast of Cuba in 1956, most of them were killed or captured by the Cuban Army, but Castro and 12 men escaped to the Sierra Maestra. The success story of how this little band grew to a force of thousands and freed Cuba from Batista's rule is now well known.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

"THE Secretary General of the All-African People's Conference has the honor to invite . . ." began the impressive gold-engraved invitation, adding that we were "to take part . . . as a Fraternal Delegate." As it turned out, the conference failed to live up to the latter part of this agreement.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

There has been much speculation about the amount of Soviet influence exerted at the conference. Chaired by Tom Mboya, whom many considered hand-picked by Dr. Nkrumah, an anti-Communist stance was taken from the beginning. Then, allegedly, to insure that Communist fraternal delegates did not receive undue power to run things, all Fraternal Delegates were not only barred from committees, but were not able, even, to sit in on the committee sessions to observe. This meant that those who were in this classification and had travelled a great distance, like this writer, were able to attend only the morning public plenary sessions. (Of course, there were those who were quick to point out that there were more Americans present than Russians, and the disbarment worked both ways.)

■

THE CONFERENCE scheduled for Dec. 5 to 12, 1958, in Accra, Ghana, was not to be a meeting of members of governments, but rather of representatives of political parties, labor, women's and youth groups, agricultural cooperatives and organizations interested in Africa.

The non-official status of those attending made possible the widest representation, including leaders of outlawed political groups and exiled nationalists. When the final tally was made, it was the most all-inclusive assembly of nationalists yet seen, with 62 groups from 28 countries who sent some 300 delegates.

The official host was the Convention People's Party, led by Kwame Nkrumah. The moving spirit in the conference, generally, was understood to be the man regarded as the chief theoretician of Pan-Africanism, George Padmore.

The date for the opening of the meeting coincided with an economic conference called in Cairo by the Afro-Asian Solidarity group, which includes Russia and Red China. The Accra Conference chairman, Tom Mboya, took pains to point out that this meeting was in no way connected with the Cairo conference, and on another occasion, he said that the Africans in Cairo did not represent Kenya.

The Egyptian affair was overshadowed by the Accra meeting, and Nkrumah remained in the lead as spokesman for the independence drive in Africa. This, in spite of the fact that for some time Col. Nasser, with his far-flung network of Egyptian teachers and active propagandists, plus his Voice of Free Africa via the powerful Cairo radio, has tried to gain a beachhead as leader of African as well as Arab nationalism (e.g. Nkrumah's "African Freedom Day" was matched by his "Quit Africa Day," but the latter was a flop).

■

PRIVATELY, MANY held that Nkrumah long had been suspicious of Egyptian intentions, that all was not quite harmonious between the two ambitious African leaders. Nkrumah had, of course, committed the cardinal crime of having commercial, cultural and diplomatic relations with Israel, and even a joint shipping line.

Nkrumah's increasing stature caused no rejoicing in pro-Arab circles. Yet, the UAR sent an impressive delegation of 11 to the conference, composed of intellectuals, writers and professors, including two Syrians. But if their intent was to dominate the conference, grab the spotlight or to check the aggrandizement of Nkrumah, they failed. The Prime Minister of Ghana's stature grew, and he became more than ever firmly entrenched as current spokesman for African liberation.

The aims of the conference were set forth, clearly. First, it was hoped to provide a blueprint to serve as a guide in the freedom struggle. Nkrumah had proclaimed that independence was meaningless unless it was linked with the total liberation of Africa. This was echoed by the Ethiopian delegate, who, recalling the experiences of his country between the end of the 19th Century and World War II, said that there was "no security or safety for Africa anywhere so long as these evils (imperialism and colonialism) were allowed to exist . . ." Tom Mboya, the conference chairman, who frequently paraphrased Nkrumah, noted that "no African can feel proud of himself so long as other Africans are still being despised and trod upon."

We will report, further, on who was there, next time.

World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

Accra Conference—Conclusion

WHEN THE conference concluded and the smoke of battle had cleared, numerous insights were gained. As one publication noted, it was by no means a gathering of obedient party liners. Nor was it merely a conference of agitators or conspirators. Most were highly intelligent and responsible men of rising aspirations, clearly able to articulate their views. A greater understanding was created with both themselves and the world outside, at least that part of the world that cares to listen.



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

While not cohesive, homogeneous group, there was sufficient agreement on the big issue (which was freedom) to make them a force that would have to be reckoned with. Most of their demands were clear-cut and just, also moderate. There was a common desire for independence, even if there were disagreement on how to get it. Though Tom Mboya spoke of "programming from Africa," no time table was set.

■

IN GENERAL, those countries which, already, had won their freedom had learned, also, that political independence was not enough. Aid was needed for economic development. Olympio likened independence to his own position when he was released from prison at the end of the Vichy regime in World War II. "The jailor told me, 'you are free.' But what kind of freedom was it when the jail was in the desert, hundreds of miles from my home and no petrol for the truck I was to travel in.")

The enlightened African wants to be released from colonialism and move on to political and economic cooperation. Those nations needing foreign capital solicit such investments with guarantees against nationalization so long as there is non-interference in their domestic policies.

The West should remember that, if they discard the newly independent states economically just as soon as the colonial bonds are severed, they hasten the momentum in the direction of the Soviet bloc.

Tribalism, generally, was condemned as primitive, backward, divisive, often cruel and evil. Present day African Nationalists are trained, largely, in western ways and they believe that the objective should be to get sovreignty and then federate the independent countries into regional groupings which cut across tribal loyalties. Some outsiders did feel that some representatives of the tribes should have been present to present their case.

■

UNDERSTANDABLY, there was unanimous condemnation of the Union of South Africa, with economic sanctions, a labor and trade boycott proposed. That tireless fighter for African native rights, Michael Scott, was there because "those African people whom I represent cannot be present."

Ideologically, it appears that African revolutionaries are Gandhian rather than Leninist in their leanings. Or at least the efforts of African Marxists are confined in practice to building upon the communal base that already exists in African society, with the inclination more toward Chinese communism than the Soviet brand. Perhaps, even some Africans realize that Soviet colonialism dominates millions of people outside its own borders. But more often the first they hear about communism is in the effort to combat it.

There was evidence, plainly, of lost ground by Cairo, shown by the relative coolness to the UAR delegation and the warm reception given the Tunisians, with whom Egypt currently is quarrelling. Taieb Slim, who led this delegation, represeneting the Government Neo-Destour Party, extended an invitation that the next conference

unity and hasten liberation," for, said the spokesman of the Dynamic Party: "The most important matter before the conference is to work out ways and means by which the decisions and resolutions can be carried out. It is not enough, merely, to adopt resolutions." In other words, the fight for human rights should be a continuing thing.

The United Nations were involved and asked te request that the colonial powers withdraw from Africa and release complete sovereignty, allowing them to exist as a democratically elected government.

The setting up of a permanent secretariat was proposed "to promote understanding.

World Courier At Large Pittsburgh Sa. By Horace Cayton

Sat 8-22-59

SO NIKITA S. Khrushchev, Soviet leader, is going to visit the United States, and President Eisenhower will return his visit before the end of the year. This is altogether a good thing for the United States, for Russia and for the world. The thing that puzzles me is that it has not taken place before. When the heads of the two most powerful nations in the world find it impossible to meet together in the common interest of world peace, then something is wrong. Khrushchev's visit to the United States certainly can't be worse than nuclear warfare.



Mr. Cayton

From all this commentator can learn, the United States, and especially President Eisenhower, have been the ones that have tried long and, until now, successfully, to avoid a meeting of the heads of states and an exchange of visits to the two countries. But as the world situation, especially the Berlin crisis, became more tense and strained, the American Government had either to agree to an exchange of visits or let the world know that it was afraid of meeting Russians half-way in their demand for visits and an exchange of ideas with our President.

JUST WHY has the U.S. been so afraid of a state visit from the Russian chief of state? One reason that has been given was that it would give the Soviet Union prestige in world power politics. But our haughty position as the mightiest of all nations is seriously being challenged by the Russians. Now the reason being given for the exchange visits is that Russia's leader will see our productive might, our military strength and our high standard of living. Then, having seen for himself what a powerful nation we are, Khrushchev will hesitate to attack us.

But one mighty reason for not wanting the Russian leader to visit this country is the race problem. Suppose that when the Russian chief of state arrives he states that he would like to visit Little Rock? Or Mississippi? The U.S. would hardly want the Russian official party with its flood of newspaper reporters and photographers to visit our dear Southland. It will be bad enough if the Soviet chief requests a guided tour through Harlem. The model ranch house the U.S. built in Moscow for the American exhibit would certainly be out of the reach of most Harlemites.

BUT OUR PRESIDENT can embarrass the Russians just as bad by asking to visit the slums of Moscow, or the prison camps, if they are still in existence. In either case, the downtrodden of both countries will gain. The injustices of both systems of government will be exposed to public view.

I favor democracy and am against communism. But I am not so afraid of exposing the faults of our system of government to world opinion. If we are as strong and as just as we tell the world that we are, why have we been afraid to let the Russians see?

The Pittsburgh World Courier At Large Pittsburgh, Pa. By Horace Cayton

12-5-59 p. 18 31a

IN AN ARTICLE by Clarence W. Hall in this month's Reader's Digest, the problem of democracy in Ghana comes in for discussion. The author begins by saying: "In Ghana, the first black African country to attain independence in this century, a brooding Hamlet of a man, haunted by dreams and frustrations, nervously paces the halls of Accra's Christiansborg Castle, set in high-walled grounds guarded by soldiers and electrified barbed wire.



Mr. Cayton

One dream is pressing: to attract to Ghana vast sums of foreign investment. Another is long-term and more personal: to free all Africa of white domination, make his nation the focal center of a 'United States of Africa,' himself its Pan-African leader. The man: Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana."

With this opening the writer goes on to marshal his evidence to try to demonstrate that Nkrumah is a black tyrant. In this he is partially successful. But his first attack, in this writer's opinion, falls flat.

Writer Hall attempts to defend the tribal chiefs of Ghana and says:

"In Ghana, as in most of Africa, loyalty for centuries has been centered in the tribe. Ghana's independence ceremonies were hardly over before Nkrumah pushed through his party-controlled Parliament a swift series of measures to cut tribal chiefs down to size. Councils manned by the party faithful displaced the tribal groups that had always been responsible only to the chief."

IT IS undoubtedly true that Nkrumah moved swiftly to curtail the power of the tribal chiefs in Ghana. It is also true that the rule of the chiefs was based on ignorance and superstition. Only through the curtailment of their power would Ghana be able to move into the 20th century. Their power had to be curtailed before a stable economy could be built up, before a proper and modernized educational system was installed, before a workable political structure of universal voting was adopted. The system of the chiefs tied Ghana to the past; its power had to be broken before Ghana attempted to compete in the world market and as a country in international politics.

The English had used the chief system in their policy of indirect rule of the Africans, just as have colonists in so many places. But Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party, with a vision of a unified nation capable of not only ruling itself but leading Africa toward freedom, could not endure an ancient form of political organization which was out of place in the century of the United Nations and the H-bomb.

Reluctantly, one must admit, that in times of crisis, such as war for example, the staunchest democracy must adopt undemocratic practices. Whether Nkrumah and his party are following their undemocratic practices as an expedient of a temporary nature, one must judge for himself.

World Courier At Large

By Horace Cayton

Pittsburgh Pa.

THE INDIANS in Southern and Eastern Africa occupy something like the position between the whites and the blacks that Jews have in the southern part of the United States. The Indians in Africa are the traders, and if an African in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland wants to buy a bolt cotton, a kerosene lamp, or a bicycle it is almost invariable that an Indian sells it to him. To an extent this is true of certain sections of the United States where Jews are the predominant merchants for the Negro community.



Mr. Cayton

There is a certain similarity, also, about the social position of the two groups. Indians in the south and east of Africa are not accepted socially by whites who call them coolies. On the other hand, they do not want to be identified with the blacks, nor do the blacks want to accept them. They are, as one Indian said, kicked from side to side. Thoroughly hated by the whites and in fear of the rising nationalistic feelings which are sweeping like a tidal wave over the Africans, the Indians are in a vulnerable position.

THIS IS SOMEWHAT like the position of many Jews in our South. They, too, are not completely accepted by the white Gentile, and do not want to be identified with the black population. They, too, are the recipients of hostility from both Negroes and whites. The rising Negro middle class is coming in sharp competition with the Jewish merchants who buy and sell to Negroes, and although there is no sharp anti-semitism, there is often the feeling that Jews are taking the business that rightfully belongs to Negro merchants. On the other hand, white bigots of the South often lump Negroes and Jews together in their programs for white supremacy. Note the bombing of Jewish temples in Atlanta and other parts of the South.

INDIA'S NEHRU blindly urged Kenya's Indians to support the Mau Mau movement, although the Mau Mau were just as ready to dismember Asians as Europeans. It is reliably reported also that Nehru brought pressure on Indian hotel and restaurant keepers in Africa not to discriminate against black men.

In the United States, many liberal Jews in the South have taken a similar position, even when it meant further persecution by white Southern Gentiles and isolation from their own Jewish community. Rabbis of the Deep South have spoken out for school integration when they knew that it would bring down on their heads the anger of the Gentile community and the hostility of their own congregations. National Jewish organizations of the more progressive types have been in the forefront of the fight for integration and have often furnished the money and personnel for studies leading to social action, against the advice and pressure of the more wealthy and conservative Jewish groups who do not want to be openly identified with the issue.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

Pittsburgh Courier

THERE IN A STRUGGLE between the East and the West is the newly independent country of Guinea. When Guinea spurned de Gaulle's offer to be part of the French Overseas Union and voted for her own independence, the General turned on the colony and tried his best to turn her



Mr. Cayton

The French President's behavior was so vindictive that it caused one English-speaking observer to comment: "Hell hath no fury like a Frenchman scorned."

Instead of helping, France tried to prove Guinea could not go it alone, Guineans believe.

■

WITH THE FRENCH OUT, there was a power vacuum which either the West or the East could fill. Communist infiltration began immediately. A Czech trade mission arrived in November, followed by similar missions from East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union. The results were four trade agreements by which Guinea is exchanging about 8-,000,000 worth of her products on a barter basis for goods from the Communist block. Soviet Union and Bulgaria have sent ambassadors to Conarky while the Western countries have thus far sent only charges. Three shiploads of "gifts" from Communist countries have arrived, including several thousand Czech rifles, five armored vehicles, tractors, ploughs, clothing and 50 mobile kitchens designed to be horse-drawn. Negotiations are in progress for a 150-kilowatt radio transmitter to be provided by Czechoslovakia..

It would seem as if the Communist block had caught the West napping or unable, because of their relations with an angry France, to make friends with the new African state. Indeed it was not the West which prevented Guinea from becoming a Communist satellite. It was the force of the Pan - African movement which expressed itself in the form of good and diplomatic support from Liberia and the formation last November of a loose union between Ghana and Guinea, accompanied by a loan of $28,000,000 from Ghana.

■

THIS NEW UNION of independent African states started in Guinea by Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and President Sekou Toure appears likely to become the rallying center for militant or extreme African nationalism in the next few years.

The prize in view for the union of Ghana and Guinea is Nigeria, the largest African nation, with a population of 34,000,000. The Nigerian federation will become independent in October, 1960, and its political tendencies are far more conservative than those of Ghana and Guinea. But Nigeria adherence to the union may become a political issue in the federation, if, as some observers expect, its cause is espoused by the extreme nationalist party of Nnamdi Azikiwe, which has its major strength in eastern Nigeria.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

BOTH the Arabs and Israel are making a play for the support of Black or Middle Africa. Both have something to offer. The Arabs have numbers and some are rich with oil. The Jews have technical "know-how" which they are willing to share with the Africans, as is demonstrated by their close relation ship with Ghana.



Mr. Cayton

Politics makes queer bedfellows and this is certainly the case with the Arabs, the Jews and the Africans. The Arabs hate the Jews and are dedicated to the purpose of exterminating them. On the other hand, the Arabs are at one with the Africans in abolishing all forms of colonialism. The Africans are trying to be friendly to both.

MANY JEWISH people throughout the world are surprised at the relationship which exists between Africans and Arabs. They are quick to point out that the Arabs in North Africa have a different culture, a different religion and are of a different racial stock than the Africans below the desert.

Africans tend to think, as do the Arabs, of the liberation of the entire Dark Continent. At the recent All-African Peoples Conference, Arab people from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco were present as delegates. In speaking of imperialism and colonialism, the conference stated, "Whereas the great bulk of the African continent has been carved out arbitrarily to the detriment of the indigenous African peoples by European imperialists, namely Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal," the problem of the African people is one which embraces the entire continent. Time after time the Algerians are spoken of as brothers and their struggle likened to that of the Africans of Kenya or South Africa. In spite of many differences of race, culture and history there is much global thinking going on in Africa, and this the Jews, living on another continent, cannot share.

■

THEN THERE is the problem of imperialism. If there is one force that holds the continent of Africa together, it is the hatred of imperialism. If there is a single force that welds together the peoples of Middle Africa and West Africa, it is their common desire to overthrow all forms of colonialism. If and when freedom from European bonds comes there will be fighting between the Africans themselves, most would say that is more to be preferred than white domination. The common history of African and Arab alike to have suffered from imperialism makes a common cause; the fact that millions of both groups are still under colonial rule continues this bond of friendship.

Then there is the question of color. The African just does not trust the white man. Whites have been the imperialist exploiters. They have been and are still the colonists. The slogan in many parts of Africa is "White man, go home."

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

THE GROWTH of the non-white population of the world is making problems for such countries as China and India but, in the long run, it has serious political implications for the United States. Let us take the difficulties of India and what they mean for the Indians and for us.



Mr. Cayton

It seems that it is a natural law that when a backward country gains political freedom and implements reform measures in health, the population grows rapidly. After this first burst of increase, the desire for a higher standard of living causes the people to reduce the size of their families and some equilibrium is reached. Both India and China are in the first stages of this change, and their bursting population is causing the fear of famines.

■

INDIA IS HEADING for disaster unless she can increase her food output by 57 per cent during the next seven years, according to a team of 14 agricultural specialists from the United States, recruited by the Ford Foundation at the request of the Indian Government.

Cruel figures spell out India's problem. Indian farmers must learn to produce 110,000,000 tons of food by 1965-1966, when the country's third five-year plan ends. The present crop, and a favorable one, produced only 70,000,000 tons of food, which is hardly enough to feed a 400,000,000 population. But by 1965 there will be 80,000,000 new mouths to feed if the population continues to increase at its present rate.

THE REPORT attempted to stay away from any political implication, but it did say: "If elementary wants such as food and clothing are not satisfied, other freedoms may be sacrificed for the promise of food enough." That means that hungry Indians will turn to the East for food and sacrifice their politcial democracy at the time of a famine. Food is the most important political weapon to starving people. If the United States wishes to keep India in the Western camp at that time, we will have to start now on a technical assistance program to help India improve its agricultural program, for in the case of a famine it would be impossible to ship in enough food to keep millions from starving.

China also is having difficulty keeping food production abreast of its steadily increasing population. China now has 650,000,000 population and a yearly increase estimated at 10,000,000 to 15,000,000. In 1970 it is estimated that that country will have a billion population.

America, with her huge food surpluses is becoming the most hated country in the world. With hundreds of millions of non-white people in China and India facing starvation, America with her huge reserves, some of which are going to waste, will become the enemy of billions of brown and yellow people, and the fires of revolution and war will be kindled.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

THE COMMUNIST world is performing a huge pincher movement on the Asian and Oriental peoples of the world. Russia strikes down Iran in the Middle East, while Red China took over the Tibetan Government. In the Russian deal, the West was simply outmanouvered; the Reds did not have to use troops.



Mr. Cayton

On the other side of the world Red Chinese used force to remove the spiritual and temperal leader of Tibet. They immediately set up a puppet government and announced their intention of communizing the country.

The Western powers in both cases were caught off guard. In Iran, the people themselves took over the government and there was little to do.

Later when the West was preoccupied, a Communist government was set up. Russia has always wanted to get into the Middle East for its oil. In case of war she can sweep through the Middle East and have access to that wealth of oil for her mighty war machine. Then she can continue southward for the prize of Africa.

■

IN THE FAR EAST, the danger was just as great and the West was caught just as surprised. But being occupied with the Bermin crisis all she could do was make a feeble protest and turn her attention back to the forthcoming summit conference.

India was put into the most serious spot. Prime Minister Nehru has always thought of himself as the political spokesman for the non-commited colored people of the world.

Further, he is a man of great dignity and ideals: he fully believes in democracy and the right of people to rule themselves. If only the Peiping regime had pursued its own declaration of the policy of respecting Tibetan "autonomy," the Prime Minister said, much of the difficulty could have been solved.

India was then accused by Red China of harboring the resistant fighters of Tibet. Nehru denied this vigorously, but he stated that he sympathized with them. It was the following day that he made, under pressures within his own country, that the Reds had broken their autonomy pledge.

In the long run India has more to look after than abstract morals. China is right on her border. If the world is thrown into another war, China will surely invade that country.

■

THE PROSPECTS for the next few years are not pleasant. The pincher movement will be employed. Red China will come up Africa from the South and the Soviet Union will go down from the North. It is not a pleasant prospect.

Africa will be communized as will India. England will be lost as well as Europe. And America will be isolated or destroyed by the bomb.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

NEGROES in the United States are increasingly becoming aware of the deepening social and economic ties between Israel and Black Africa. Some of the more striking examples are seen in the relationship of Israel to Ghana, Liberia, Kenya, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and the French Sudan.



Mr. Cayton

The relationship between Ghana and Israel has particularly excited the interest of freedom-loving people all over the world. The newly formed states of Ghana and Israel have shown the world that, given the opportunity, former colonies can build vibrant and creative societies.

THE BLACK STAR LINE of Ghana is the first attempt of a former African dependency to establish a full-fledged maritime fleet. Ghana's 60 per cent ownership (40 per cent ownership by Israel) of the Black Star Line assures the new African state not only of the beginning of a profitable shipping line but thousands of pounds sterling which can be plowed back into further development of its economy. Israel's relationship to Ghana has grown to the point where Israeli naval officers are now training Ghanaians to man this new merchant line.

Recently a special corporation for developing trade with West Africa was welcomed into Accra. By the end of 1957, Israel imported $250,000 worth of copra, cocoa and timber from Ghana, and latest reports indicate a manifold increase in this trade. From her shores, Israel has exported to Ghana essentials such as chemicals, pharmaceuticals, rubber, plastics, plywood and vital machinery. As an indication of the importance that both Israel and Ghana place on developing trade with each other, they have worked out an agreement whereby Ghana will receive credit for the next five to six years of seven million Israel pounds per year. This should do much toward strengthening the economy of both fledgling nations.

■

RECENTLY, A JOINT construction company under Israeli supervision has been established in Ghana to develop public works and to give technical training to Ghanaians. Israeli hydrological engineers have begun operations in Ghana on developing and improving water supply and irrigation projects and other technicians are helping to establish producers and agricultural cooperatives. What strikes observers mostly about the development of trade between Ghana and Israel is the fact that Israel, itself, is receiving Point Four aid but, nevertheless, is supplying similar technical assistance to another newly established state. This cooperation obviously has been made possible since both Israel and Ghana have come out of colonial subjugation as free states with democratic institutions and as such find themselves as natural allies.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

THE NON-WHITE world is watching with interest and some misgivings the Geneva conference of the Big Four foreign ministers. These nations, uncommitted to any groupings around the colossi of East and West, fear they also may be unconsulted if and when decisions vitally affecting them are taken in Geneva or at a later meeting of the heads of state. These nations realize full well that the world has shrunk in size,



Mr. Cayton

the decisions and policies agreed upon in regards to Germany and European security will have their ramifications in the Middle East, in the Orient and in Africa. That is why, in the past few weeks there have been long-distance consultations among the leaders of four of the most populous and articulate of the neutralist nations as to what, if anything, they can do to make themselves heard in the council hall of their big brothers.

■

PRESIDENTS NASSER of the United Arab Republic and Tito of Yugoslavia would like to have their own conference with Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Sukarno of Indonesia. Collectively, these nations represent more than 500,000,000 people, a sixth of the world's population. They would speak for at least that many silent ones in Africa and Asia. No longer can the white European powers sit in judgment on the world without the darker peoples demanding an opportunity to be heard.

In the meantime, a meeting of nine African states is being planned to consider the four-and- one-half-year-old conflict in Algeria. The nine participating countries are Liberia, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea and the United Arab Republic. Although this conference, which will be on a ministerial level, is concerned with Algeria primarily, it will become vocal on other subjects if the foreign ministers' meeting or the meeting at the summit touches on problems affecting Africa or non-white people.

■

BUT THE REAL specter which hangs over the ministers' conference and will haunt the summit meeting is Red China. China, now the fourth most powerful country in the world and desperately anti-Western, is the ghost at the summit. No Chinese delegates will appear at Geneva or a summit conference, yet the presence of China will be felt. Peking could at any moment, merely by renewing the bombardment of Quemoy, dramatically remind us of her resentment at being left out of world power politics and her desire for U. S. recognition and membership in the United Nations. Krushchev could, at a summit meeting, demand that China be admitted to the United Nations as a quid pro quo to assure world enforcement of a ban on nuclear tests. In fact, China holds a hidden veto over any East-West peace negotiations.

World Corner At Large

By Horace Cayton

IN AFRICA 98 per cent of the 220,000,000 people who inhabit the continent are non-white. The root of much of the existing tension through that vast land lies in the fact that basic human freedoms and rights have been denied to that huge majority who do not have white skins. Now the logic of history has dictated a surge for freedom on the part of the black and brown people and the question, "Is there a place for the white man in Africa?" becomes pertinent.



Mr. Cayton

Africa is a huge and diversified continent. The question of the place which the white man will occupy in that divided country will find different answers in the various sections of the land. On the West Coast of the continent the answer has already been written. It is complete independence in the very near future. England has wisely adopted an enlightened policy of allowing her former colonies freedom almost as soon as they could govern themselves. The French Empire is rapidly being dissolved and Belgium's possessions are quivering on the edge of open revolt.

BUT IN AREAS like South Africa and the Central African Federation the situation is different. In these places white men have put down roots in significant numbers. Here too there have been powerful, insistent and successful demands for self rule. But the loosening of imperial bonds has meant the passing of power into the hands of the white settlers who have no intentions of adopting a democratic form of government which will include the black man. But the Africans, inspired by the examples of West Africa, are becoming increasingly more radical and less amenable to the continued rule by whites. How to control or deal with the revolt of Africans, how to maintain the advantage of white supremacy and stay in Africa is the problem of the white settlers of South Africa and the Central African Federation.

THE UNION OF South Africa has adopted the policy of apartheid, i. e., the complete separation of black and white (in theory at least) with the whites ruling and maintaining social and economic superiority. The thinking behind apartheid is: non-whites outnumber the whites roughly four to one but they are of a lower civilization and to allow them equal rights would mean that eventually they would swamp the whites which would lead either to the domination of whites by Negroes or the disappearance of the white race.

In the Central African Federation and in Kenya, the white man denies that color, as such, is an insuperable bar to the advantages of life. But he stresses present differences in the cultural and economic attainments of whites and non-whites: he claims that a premature recognition of full equality in all relevant fields would lead to the obliteration or severe dilution of the white man's positive contribution. He contends that the existing discriminations are not inflexible, and may lead, in the fullness of time, to complete equality.

Capital Close-up

Journal and Guide Sat. 5-30-59

The New Picture Of Africa

Norfolk, Va.

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Africa House, at 1727 S street, in Northwest Washington, is the center of activity for most of the African students at the Capital. Located in a quiet, residential block which has been home to many of the city's leading citizens since the late Dr. Emmett J. Scott moved into a covenanted residence, there, many years ago, its live and interesting programs are carefully planned "to interpret modern Africa to modern America."



Mrs. Daniel

Howard alumnus Phaon Goldman, who has been director at Africa House since it was first established, in 1951, points out that many of the programs, which include lectures, field trips, exhibitions, film showings and even African fashion shows, are developed with youth in mind.

"THEY HAVE proved most helpful to primary and secondary school children of both races," says the director. "Many young students have called and written to us for materials and information. Sometimes they have asked for a speaker to talk to them. Requests have come from Virginia to California. White school administrators from Florida, North Carolina and Alabama are among those who have asked for our assistance in exposing American children to some thing different from Tarzan-type comic strips from which to create a concept of the peoples of Africa. We think it is important to reach youth of all races at the most impressionable age."

Lectures, held at Africa House, presenting a different country of Africa, each month, and others presenting world interests in Africa, draw a broad cross-section of government people, university students and community leaders. Lectures are usually personnel from the Washington embassies.

AFRICAN students, themselves, enter wholeheartedly into the discussions and are very articulate. It should be noted that participating Africans include Egyptians and Ethiopians as well as Liberians, Nigerians, Somalis, Ghanians, Kenyans and others.

A lecture on "The Russian Influence in Africa," with the first secretary of the Soviet Embassy as speaker, drew a record crowd, as did presentation of "The American Interest in Africa" by Rupert Prohme of the new African Bureau at the Department of State.

"IT WAS A FULL evening, lasting until 11 o'clock," said Mr. Prohme, "with students from West, East and North Africa raising all types of questions on America's interests — historic and human, trade and investment, strategic, cultural and basic political."

Raymond Smythe of the African-American Institute, the Rev. James Hoggard, Secretary of the AME Foreign Mission Board, and Dr. A. Garland Smyer of the Friends of Liberia, also were discussants.

"African Influences in Jazz" with dialogue and live sounds by Darius Thieme of the Library of Congress Music Division, and Ernest Dyson of the Washington Association for the Advancement of Jazz; a pictorial exhibit on progress in Ghana, Nigeria and the Belgian Congo, held at the Hotel Statler; a field trip to Delaware State College, where no African students are enrolled; and last Sunday's reception for the Ballet Africaines, were other high points of the Africa House program in recent months.

DIRECTOR Goldman, a native Washingtonian often mistaken for a native African, says that his own interest in affaires Africaine was inspired by the famed Dr. Leo Hansberry, African authority and chairman of the Africa House Council, under whom he studied in the African Studies Program at Howard, where he was graduated, in 1951.

African students, he says, want to work more closely with American Negroes. The field trip to Delaware State College developed an active interest there, in the enrollment of African students. Mr. Goldman would like to see more African students in schools like Hampton, Virginia and West Virginia State, and Lawrenceville.

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mar 28 1959

BACK AGAIN AT HOME base, still the echoes of little ol' New York keep resounding in my ears. One can't easily forget a week so chock full of excitement. The seven days of hard work, vigorous play, hopeful aspirations, bitter disappointments, pleasant moments, sad hours, expressions of brotherly love and exhibitions of racial hatred were all rolled into one busy week of varied activities.

It was hard work for any reporter to attempt to keep up with all of the day-long and evening sessions of the Golden Jubilee convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But each day's activity was climaxed with some type of entertainment provided for relaxation for the busy delegates.



Miss Dunnigan

One of the most elaborate affairs was the champagne sip given at the Henry Hudson Hotel by Les Bailey Associates of San Francisco. Grant Reynolds kept a hospitality suite open at the same hotel for special guests. But nothing topped the cocktail party given in Judge Howard Bennett's suite at the Park-Sheraton by the Minnesota delegation in honor of their Senator and prospective Presidential candidate, Hubert Humphrey. Mrs. Blanche McSmith, a member of the Alaska Legislature and president of the NAACP branch in her state, served as hostess to a few friends in her hotel suite at the Waldorf-Astoria. This ended in a theatre party to see "Raisin in the Sun."

■

THE WOMEN ATTENDING this convention received special honors, first in the form of a "Salute to the Women" luncheon and fashion show given at the Park Sheraton and secondly with an elaborate reception given by Mr. and Mrs. Roy Wilkins at the Hotel Governor Clinton.

Honorees at the women's luncheon were Miss Lorraine Hansberry, for the authorship of "Raisin in the Sun," and Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, "in recognition of her long years of dedicated service to the cause of human liberty." Mrs. Jackson, of Baltimore, is widely known as a courageous leader who has given 24 years of tireless fighting in this battle for freedom.

So the citation was given "in admiration of her sacrificial devotion to the Christian principles of universal brotherhood and in grateful acknowledgement of her priceless contributions to the work of the NAACP."

The Wilkins reception, which was graced by the presence of Mrs. Eleanor Rosevelt, was given in honor of Mrs. Marguerite Belafonte, who served as co-chairman, along with Jackie Robinson, of the Fighting Fund for Freedom. This fund, alone, reported at the Freedom Fund dinner, given at the Waldorf-Astoria, more than $107,000 in cash.

WHILE THESE EXPRESSIONS of brotherly love were taking place in one part of the city, some demonstrations of racial bias were becoming evident in other sections. Among them was the much-publicized refusal of a fashionable tennis club to accept the membership of Dr. Ralph Bunche and his son. This resulted in a survey which revealed that practically every athletic club in and around the New York area refused Negro and Jewish members. around the New York area refuses Negro and Jewish members. the NAACP for his son.

It was announced at the "Honor Guard" luncheon for life members that Dr. Bunche said he thought it better for his son to be a life member of the NAACP than a member of the Forest Hills Tennis Club.

New York's Governor Rockefeller, whose name has figured prominently as a prospective GOP Presidential candidate, also took out a life membership in the NAACP. Perhaps the youngest member of the association is Master John William Marshall, the young son of Mr. and Mrs. Thurgood Marshall. He was given a life membership on his first birthday by his godfather, John G. Lewis. His older brother, Thurgood Jr., age 3, is also a life member. This rounds out life membership for the entire Marshall family.

THE CHIEF BONE of contention which lurked around convention hall from the opening date was whether the national board was correct in the suspension of Rob Williams as president of the Monroe, N. C., branch because of his advocacy to fight violence with violence. This was settled democratically by allowing the convention to vote on the matter after hearing two-minute speeches from all who wished to be heard, both pro and con, on the issue. The convention voted 11 to 764 to uphold the decision of the national board. Williams' own region voted 139-1 to suspend him from his official capacity.

Another "bat-in-the-belfry" took place in the form of flyers circulated around the Coliseum by a group which called itself the "Committee to End Discrimination in Terrytown." The leaflets questioned Walter Reuther on why there was no FEPC in their contract. They charged the UAW president with failure to support Negroes in the fight against discriminaiton in the plants, and protested the absence of a Negro on the executive board of a union with 200,000 Negro members. But somehow their plan to throw a picket line around the hall when Reuther spoke just melted away like ice in August.

THE NAACP delegates were saddened because the illness of Dr. Channing Tobias, chairman of the board of trustees, prevented him from attending. And they were disappointed because Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the founders of the association, was not invited to attend. They were further disappointed because Duke Ellington, for business reasons, was unable to be present and receive the Spingarn Medal.

Washington INSIDE OUT

★ By Alice A. Dunnigan

This is truly a Barnum and Bailey world, and one has to travel no further than Capitol Hill to see how phony it really is. Such untruths are tossed carelessly around and allowed to go unchallenged. And dramatizations of empty gestures are so often accepted as if they were the real McCoy.



Dunnigan

Let's take a look at the civil rights hearings last week when one witness was condemning the President for not taking a firm stand on the Supreme Court decision.

It was Bill Miller, New York's youthful Republican Representative, who retorted something to the effect that he couldn't see how a party who witnessed 20 years of inaction on civil rights could criticize another who by executive order wiped segregation right out of the District of Columbia and the armed forces.

THIS STATEMENT went in the record unchallenged, for generations still unborn to read and believe. When one of the members of the committee was asked why he didn't correct that statement, he only shrugged his shoulders and quipped: "We hear so much of that kind of stuff that we don't pay it any attention any more."

The truth of the matter is that President Eisenhower never issued an executive order abolishing segregation in Washington. This was accomplished through court action.

It was the suit brought against Thompson's Restaurant by the late Mrs. Mary Church Terrell and Rev. Jernagin and a couple of other people which finally resulted in a Supreme Court decision declaring the old "lost" laws of 1872 and 1873 prohibiting segregation in eating places and places of amusement were still valid.

Schools were desegregated in Washington by the Board of Education immediately after the high court had handed down its the 1954 decision.

Segregation was abolished in the armed forces by executive order issued by President Truman about the time that General Eisenhower was testifying before the House Armed Services Committee that integration would not work in the armed forces.

TRUMAN SET UP a commission on Army integration which was housed in the Pentagon to study complaints of discrimination and to see that his order was carried out. Heading this committee was Charley Fehy (white) and the late Joseph Evans (Negro).

Of course, when Mr. Eisenhower was elected, he broadened the order. There was nothing else he could do—he certainly wouldn't dare retrogress.

It was President Truman, also, who set up the first Civil Rights Commission to study the problem of segregation, reports on its findings and make recommendations for remedies. So, the Eisenhower commission set up by an act of Congress could not be considered anything exactly new. They have no more power than the old one—study the problem, report on findings and make recommendations—just history repeating itself. How quickly we forget!

But that wasn't all. Secretary of Labor Jim Mitchell came to bellyhoo his pet project—the President's Committee on Contracts Compliance. "The Administration has taken steps in an effort to eliminate discrimination in employment," said Mitchell. "This was done through the Committee on Government Contracts created by the executive order of 1953."

WHEN ASKED by the chairman to give the history of this committee, Mitchell was forced to admit that the program really got under way under the Roosevelt administration when he placed non-discriminatory clauses in all Government contracts. After Truman was elected and found that these clauses were being ignored by contractors, he created the Contracts Compliance Committee to see that this policy of fair employment was complied with.

When the Republican administration came into power the committee became inactive and remained so for many months before it was finally reactivated because of pressure put upon the President by members of the press. This same thing was true of the so-called Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee operating within the Government.

Now let's hop across to the House chamber and take a look at the empty gesture dramatized by Democratic Representative O'Neill of Massachusetts. He made an advance grandstand play on how he intended to demand an investigation of corrupt election practices which elected Arkansas' Dale Alfred to the House of Representatives.

He asked, in advance, for an hour to place his case before the House. This was objected to by the Southerners. John Bell Williams of Mississippi suggested the absence of a quorum which necessitated a quorum call and consumed a considerable amount of time. Then there was some more rangling over points of order and the like. Finally the speaker won out and began his discourse. He read charge after charge of election fraud, including the vote count in many precincts which exceeded the number of voters registered.

REP. OREN HARRIS of Arkansas asked for the floor at this point and proceeded to explain that this was caused by the construction of new housing projects which brought more people into the precincts in question. These people had the right to vote there, he said, although their names were not on the registration list.

Without further explanation, or questioning, or protest, or argument, the Massachusetts Representative politely turned to the Speaker of the House and gracefuly yielded the remainder of his time back to the House.

Not more than 15 minutes of his hour had been consumed but he fell like a broken straw in March wind. That gesture was obviously phony, but everybody accepted it as real.

Washington INSIDE OUT

★ By Alice A. Dunnigan

Courier 3 Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat 7-25-59
P 6

IN WANDERING around trying to turn the "big town" "inside-out" this scribe literally found New York turned "outside in." More than 11,000 outsiders crowded in last week to celebrate the golden anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



Dunnigan

The swarming and buzzing around the Coliseum turned the joint into a human beehive. And you must know that wherever there is a bevy of bees there's always a "stinger" and this place was no exception. But the remarkable thing was the way these "stingers" were settled without the blowing of horns or beating on tin pans.

Whenever a disgruntled drone was spotted, his wings were quietly, quickly, and cautiously clipped before he actually got out of line, and the busy "queens" worked right on merrily and happily without even knowing anything had happened.

THE STEW REALLY STARTED to brew before the convention got to town. This pot started to pur on Sunday prior to the opening date of the convention when Rob Williams, that fighting fellow from North Carolina, who was suspended from his duties as president of the Monroe local, turned on the verbal heat in some uptown auditorium.

He really blew his lid before some 400 people, so they say, over the way Negroes are treated down South, finally concluding with the thought that "we'll never have an anti-lynch law until the white man of the South needs it." He reportedly aroused so much "hate heat' at this gathering that the white friends in attendance became a little nervous, lest the colored brother turn his wrath on them

But the groundwork for the Robert Williams case had been carefully laid before his arrival in town. He had already received a letter from Bob Carter, legal counsel for the association, informing him that he had a right to appeal the decision of the national board if he was not satisfied with it. He had been suspended, as you remember, from his official capacity in a local branch because he advocated the meeting of "violence with violence" in the South as a solution to this racial problem. This line of strategy is completely contrary to the policy of the NAACP.

MR. WILLIAMS WAS TOLD that he could register his complaint with the Resolutions Committee which would decide the case on its merits and report its findings to the full convention for action. But it was whispered around convention hall on the opening day that the committee would not make its final report until the following Saturday, which was last business day of the convention. This was carefully maneuvered to prevent controversy early in the session.

It was also rumored that Williams anticipated trouble in getting registered as an official delegate at the convention, so he lined up his supporting forces. The group agreed to meet the North Carolinian in the lobby at high noon, to go with him to the registration desk, and to start a "heckling campaign" if he was refused. But this tactic was quietly nipped in the bud when Williams just failed to show.

His supporters milled around for more than an hour but finally disbanded. Who got to Williams, how, and why and talked him out of the demonstration was never quite known. The next day Williams was quietly seated without fuss or fanfare.

All of the New York locals, except Jamaica, were reportedly in Williams' corner, along with a few other local branches scattered around the country. But even some of these supporters were scared off when the Communists moved into the Williams camp.

A LEFT WING PUBLICATION called the "Workers World" was passed out in front of the Coliseum on the opening night. A big spread was given the Williams case in this publication. The Monroe branch was lauded for its militancy "in the heartland of Ku Klux Klan terrorism." The leaders of the NAACP were characterized as "Uncle Toms for Millionaires," and the National Board was branded as "a playground for both big business parties, each rivaling the other on how best to deceive the Negro people with false promises."

But this move did not take hold, and the emotion of people—even the rank and file to whom they made their pitch—were not aroused.

The next "bug-in-the-butter" came in the form of a complaint from New York's Congressman Adam Clayton Powell to the effect that he had not been considered by the committee in the planning of the program. This was quickly straightened out when Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins wired the Harlem Representative an invitation to give five minutes of greeting at the mass meeting held Sunday as a climax of the week-long convention.

Wilkins acknowledged the "energy and resourcefulness" of Congresman Powell "in fight for the cause" but diplomatically added that "a week of jubilee cannot accommodate all those of eminence who should be heard." He slapped at Powell's press agent for failure to bring "the delicacy and understandin" to this situation which the Congressman himself would have brought.

This was another example of smooth operation which passed over without the majority of the delegates ever being aware that the question of whether Powell had been snubbed by the NAACP had ever been raised.

SEEING and SAYING

Birmingham World
Birmingham, Ala.
31a

By WILLIAM FOWLKES
World's Managing Editor

We Don't Need Mr. P.

ATLANTA is facing grave issues nowadays! This is not to say that the problems of race have not been long with us, since we are a part of the Deep South. It now seems that some of the missing chickens — particularly the diseased, undernourished and frazzled ones — are coming home to roost again.

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One of these fowl, as is the case of most of those which contribute nothing to the health and growth of Atlanta and southern citizens, is Prejudiced Pressure to Keep Negroes from Adequate Housing. This is a long name for the animal, but then this fowl is an old scamp, ugly, deeply scarred, and with long and sharp spurs, despite his skinny frame. We'll call him Mr. P.



—o—

For some time, he had remained, or been kept, out in the woods and somewhat away from the Atlanta flock. The other chickens had done so well without him that Atlanta grew into one of the housing showplaces of America. Atlanta was on the way to becoming one of the showplaces of the world, cleaning out its slums and setting up a plan to replace diseased districts with areas of adequate housing and spaces of culture and recreation.

—o—

But, Mr. P. returned with all his ugly self the other day and now threatens to disease the other growing flock, if he is not destroyed. So bold was his appearance at the recent meeting of the zoning committee of Aldermanic Board, that not only was the issue of the Housing Authority-sponsored Forrest Road project deadlocked, but the entire program of Urban Renewal in Atlanta is threatened by Mr. P.'s virus. Mr. P. would reestablish the old pattern of restrictions and inadequacies in housing.

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The hundreds of Negro families displaced from the Butler Street area and those who face ouster from their homes under the city's program of progress need dwelling places. They need them, as near as possible, on or close to the land from which the slums are being eradicated, because of work and other factors. The federal government, which furnishes most of the money for Urban Renewal, requires this consideration anyway.

But the major position is that Negroes need housing close-in their city, that they should not be shuttled into a single district ghetto, such as was designed in the allegedly abandoned plan "Up Ahead." They have the right to continue to live, to buy and build where their hearts desire and their means can afford. They have demonstrated that they want to live well, to be good neighbors.

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Atlanta's progressive housing was doing right well until Mr. P. made his reappearance with the flock. We don't need his kind anymore, since he will disease and kill the entire roost. We do need the Forrest Road project and others which will give our people decent living space! We need the Forrest Road project now.

31a 1959

Dr. Cole Tells Atlantans

NEGRO MUST CONTINUE TO IMPROVE HIMSELF

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

.. The Negro can not afford the "luxuries" of ignorance, inability or indifference, a Texas college president told the Butler Street YMCA Hungry Club Wednesday.

Dr. Thomas W. Cole, president of Wiley College, made the remarks during the presentation of a well taken address sponsored by Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity during its celebration of "Education For Citizenship Week."

"It has been demonstrated by research," Dr. Cole declared, "that 80 per cent of everything that goes wrong in a human group is due to such human factors as ignorance, inability or indifference. The American Negro cannot afford either of these luxuries as he attempts to integrate himself totally into the American way of life.

"Rather the American Negro must produce men who are articulate in speech and writing; men who are at home in the fields of quantity, number and measurement; men who think rationally, objectively and creatively; men whose minds are curious, adaptable and independent; men who act with maturity balance and conviction based on a knowledge of people, problems and situations."

The speaker noted that "integration is a worldwide process in our time" and called for the leadership to "realize the arduous struggle in the head of us." Every sound strategy in the struggle "must receive our prayers and general support," Dr. Cole pointed out. The total drive of the minority people toward a goal of achievement and respect is necessary, he said.

The Wiley College head, who is also Southwestern vice president of Alpha Phi Alpha paid recognition to the missionary work of the New England - trained teachers who came into the South at the close of the Civil War to help newly freed slaves. He noted that these pioneers had laid the groundwork for a larger educational work now proceeding for Negroes.

Even while nations work to improve nuclear weapons and bombs that may well seal the doom of man, the American Negro must continue to lift himself by his own bootstrap, by developing humility, responsibility, fodliness and kindness, Dr. Cole declared.

J. R. Henderson, Hungry Club executive committeeman, presided over the forum luncheon, while Dr. William Hale, former national officer of Alpha Phi Alpha, introduced Dr. Cole to the large audience.

NEGRO (WILLIAM FOWLKES)

SEEING and SAYING

By WILLIAM FOWLKES
World's Managing Editor

Nobody Has It Made!

JACKIE ROBINSON, who became the first Negro to play in organized, major league baseball, among other "firsts," got off some pretty good race-arighting jabs the other day down at Tuskegee.

To his overflowing audience, which was celebrating the second anniversary of the successfully protesting Tuskegee Civic Association, he warned that it was the responsibility of all Negroes who had attained success to stand up and be counted in the continuing fight to get Civil Rights and opportunities for all.



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As Jackie said, the problem that confronts the least, confronts all, adding:

"Nothing angers me more than to see a Negro succeed, then sit back and say 'I've got it made'."

This assertion was supported by blows directed toward the "Uncle Tomists" to whom he alluded support of the racists who tell the patient Negro that he is now pressing too fast. Replied Jackie to them: "If we slowed down any, we'd be going backwards!"

—o—

YES, THE PROBLEM of Negroes which confronts the least, confronts all. And, it is the responsibility of the successful to support the continuing fight for complete liberty and justice for the underprivileged and least successful Negroes.

Otherwise, as he inferred, the technique of "divide and conquer" will keep all in a position of second-rate citizenship. Those who think they "have it made" and are immune to the sufferings, hardship and assumed "place" of others, can easily be picked off without a moment's notice.

—o—

TUSKEGEE continues among the few solidly struggling communities of the South, bent on solving a very real and pressing racial problem. Citizens of color, gerrymandered out of the city by those peeved because they wanted the right to vote freely, are sticking together in their refusal to patronize in business their oppressors.

Mr. Robinson, now a business and NAACP executive, is doing his nation a service while running the bases for full equality of all Americans. He is playing a tight infield, stealing bases and knocking homeruns for democracy, because he knows that "nobody has it made."

31a 1959

SEEING and SAYING

By WILLIAM FOWLKES
World's Managing Editor

Don't Let The Commission Die

SOUTHERN SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES are upping their arguments that the Civil Rights Commission, should die in November. That month marks the end of the first "life" created by Congress for the Eisenhower group which, though badly hampered at the inception, has sought to get around the country and find out what's wrong with race relations especially in view of constitutional guarantees of equality and justice to every citizen.

The Southerners have seized upon a statement by Civil Rights Commission Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, that "there is no right answer to all sides" of the integration-segregation question. They would make it appear that this is admission by Hannah and other white members of the commission, who will quit at the end of their present terms of office, of failure and needlessness of the Rights group.



As a matter of fact, nothing is further away from the truth!

—o—

THERE WAS NEVER greater need for a civil rights commission dedicated to the task of preserving our democracy!

The task facing President Eisenhower and his aides is the finding of more dedicated commissioners, who sincerely will take the time to examine America's failure to practice at home all that it preaches abroad. There are many citizens of height and breadth, who might be contacted to serve and who can well do so. Most of them can run the hurdles of hostile senate committees.

—o—

OUR GREAT TROUBLE, race relations-wise, is that we have failed to insist on forums for the revelation of the real picture of life in the heart of our Southland. The demagogues do not like the forums of truth and justice, because they know that the great sun of American liberty and justice would kill out all the germs of segregation and discrimination, once they were totally exposed to its light and rays.

Civil Rights investigators have simply tried to find out "what goes on" and why, rights of American citizens being at issue and involved. The resistance has come from those who have much to hide, not realizing or caring how much they cripple democracy.

—o—

EXTENSION of the life of the Civil Rights Commission is very much in order for the sake of the disadvantaged, the ordinary and the more advantaged American. The times demand it!

(NEGRO) WILLIAM FOWLKES)

Crime Commission Chief Speaks

Race Is Not A Cause Of Crime, Hungry Club Told

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
(WORLD Managing Editor)

The chairman of the Mayor's Crime Commission declared Wednesday that deliberations of this group had concluded that "race is not a cause of crime," although statistics may show one group arrested more frequently than another.

Attorney Morris Abram gave the Butler St. YMCA Hungry Club a synopsis of the findings of the commission which was created to find out why Atlanta has such a high, recorded crime rate. At the outset he pointed out that Atlanta police report every complaint and offense to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whereas this may not be the case of other cities. He lamented, however, that Atlanta's crime note "is much too high."

Comparing census tracts, the commission chairman said it was found that there were some Negro areas with high juvenile delinquency along with white areas showing the similar tendency. On the other hand, it has been found that there are Negro areas with little juvenile delinquency and crime, comparable similarly to some white areas.

The commission has found that "repeater" criminals are usually persons who do not regard themselves as members of society, youths who grow up without the restraints of those who feel they are part of it. Troublemaking has come from some persons moving from the rural areas to the cities, where the requirements of society are different.

The Crime Commission head said that his group has come up with several recommendations, some of which have been presented in the form of proposed legislation in the Georgia General Assembly. Mr. Abram said it was recommended that Georgia create a statewide fingerprinting agency and that the national government form a prisoner recovery service, since it is relatively easy for criminals to skip bonds and move. The commission seeks the end of Georgia's custom of allowing prisoners to make unsworn statements to trial juries and to leave sentencing of convicted persons up to judges.

In connection with the rehabilitation of prisoners, Dr. Abram said the commission had found that law enforcement authorities were admitting that the biggest job facing the courts is what to do after a man is convicted. Among other things, the speaker recommended an honorable discharge for prisoners with good records and the establishment of a bureau of employment for prison-discharged men and women, many of whom are forced to practice their "profession" because they can't find anything else to do.

The Hungry Club speaker said that discussions by commission members pointed out the need for solution of many of the problems facing the courts and criminals can be helped by Community Chest and social work agencies, along with churches.

The commission has thoroughly discussed the problem of juries which treat lightly crime of Negroes against Negroes.

Dean Whitney Young, of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, was moderator of the Hungry Club session.

SEEING and SAYING

By WILLIAM FOWLKES
World's Managing Editor

Let's Face It!

"THEY OUGHT TO be ashamed of themselves!"

That was his first expressed impression to me, after reading the long reports from the nation's capital where Southern governors and attorney-generals were testifying against all Civil Rights legislation, and particularly proposals for new laws.

"They know they are not telling the truth about how they are doing the poor colored man about his rights in the South," this man of three-score-and-ten went on. "They know they keep him from voting, keep him from the good jobs, keep him from the good schools and make him step back everywhere tey can. They know they are pressuring him everywhere they can, especially the politicians and the councils. . . But God is still on the throne of mercy and justice!"



THE OLD MAN'S talk worried me, although I knew that every implication he made was true. I was concerned over his approaching bitterness to the fact of Southern life, and of some other conclusion he had reached on meeting the challenge of prejudice and blind hate. Somehow, despite the atrocities and the instances of stark unfairness I have witnessed in years of reporting and editing in the South, I take pride in the realization that I have not grown bitter.

—o—

BUT, THERE IS something frightening about this continuing parade of our officials to Washington.

They know they are being untruthful, even after taking an oath to tell the truth on a witness stand of the United States government.

I believe that Southerners have done it so long now that, despite their teachings and religion, they conceive that it is morally right to lie about their reckless treatment of Negro rights. It is this virus of moral and ethical wrong which threatens all of America's future, not alone the South's traditions of a two-place society. Those who persist in it are to be pitied, long before they will be judged by the gods of fate and history.

—o—

I WISH THEY WOULD stop trying to fool the nation and themselves. I must agree with my visiting, old friend that they ought to be ashamed of themselves.

In the light of world pressures and demands, not to mention the thorough and constant observation of the United States by dark-skinned nations, I do not understand their unwise "little, white lies." Deep South states are not giving their Negro citizens all their constitutionally guaranteed rights. Let's face it!

SEEING and SAYING

By WILLIAM FOWLKES
World's Managing Editor

On Gov. Long's Illness

THERE IS MUCH speculation over the suddenly announced illness of Louisiana's Gov. Earl Long.

While the South's fury pot boils over the color of every living thing in the area, including rabbits and pigs, Gov. Long languishes in a Texas hospital, well committed and nearly declared insane.

There are reports, some of them from "unimpeachable" sources, which say that Gov. Long's attempt to be governor of all the people of Louisiana, regardless of color, had led to his undoing, to his being declared mentally unstable by relatives and fit to be confined.



Gov. Long is not alone in his "confusion." And, there may be need for the confinement in a mental hospital of many Southern officials, some just as high in the political hierarchy as Governor Long.

—o—

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER is that the South is producing a mighty generation of near-crazy folks. They are not confined to any one racial group. It is a wonder that more are not being carted off to mental institutions, so mixed up, so difficult, so rudely uncertain are the people due to the double standards of law and morality.

Statistics show, nevertheless, that our Milledgevilles, our Bolivars and other state mental hospitals are overflowing, similar to our prisons and reformatories.

—o—

SO LONG AS the South insists on "double standards" and "places" for authentic citizens within a so-called democracy, so long will it produce multiple generations of insane or near-insane folks.

It is impossible to reconcile right with near-right in the application of justice and equality. As more and more children are called upon to "reason out" degrees of right and wrong, purely on the basis of color and race, our complex civilization will produce more sub-normal people. It is impossible for a bigot or a racist to be a reasonable person. It follows that unreasonable people are mentally unbalanced, or insane. Take your pick of the terms.

—o—

IT FOLLOWS ALSO that the victimized among the South's citizens are often unbalanced. In their strivings to make America live up to its Constitutional tenets, they are often knocked hither and yon. Along with them are sent reeling many of those who would help them along the way.

Atlanta scribe returns after a year in Africa

Afro American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 5-9-59

ATLANTA (ANP) — William Gordon, the former city editor of an Atlanta newspaper, who received a fellowship from the Reid Foundation, and a supplement from the Southern Nieman association and the U.S. State Department to study and travel in Africa has returned home after a year's stay.

The journalist, who met African leaders including Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Tubman of Liberia, Mboya of Kenya, and Banda of Nyasaland, said he was "especially struck by the non-violent attitude of the present-day African leaders and the strong affinity they hold for the U.S."

Said Gordon:

"We should work to hold this friendship; we should try to broaden our views and interest in this part of the world while the people still look to us. Africa is no longer a so-called dark continent, but an enlightened continent, emerging with a democratic point of view and ready to join the rest of the free world."

MR. GORDON'S trip took him to 14 different African countries. He said the African leaders were especially interested in the plight of the American colored person. They constantly asked why American colored businessmen, technicians and specialists did not show more interest in Africa.

The Gordon family, a wife and three sons, first went to Europe, visiting England, Belgium, France and Switzerland before going to Africa. On the way home they stopped in Italy and Scotland.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Mammy Is Banned

". . . . shortnin'—shortnin'—
Mammy's gonna make a little shortnin' bread."

Mammy's done been banned!

Nelson Eddy reports that his famous song can't be sung on radio or television now because of objections by the NAACP.

"Frankly," he says, "I think it is a cute little folk song with no intent of stepping on anyone's toes."

And that is what nearly everybody else thinks, including, in my guess, 99 out of 100 colored people.

More and more it appears that in spite of much success in legal maneuver the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People understands neither advancement for colored people.

One of the precious things about any people is their history and folklore.

* * *



If a colored leader who did understand his people and what is real in progress, one who was no mere toady to whites for money or to cover some nefarious operation should turn up now and take over — what a witching hour this would be for him!

What true advancement he could bring for colored and white alike:

* * *

A GROUP FROM which such a leader might arise, is the Negro school teachers.

The folly and all-around destruction in school integration is brought most immediately home to them because it is costing them their jobs. In a fatuous piece in the current Look on how beautifully he made integration work former Governor Gary, of Oklahoma, admits to one flaw in the perfection.

"One really disturbing problem," he writes, "is that only about 10 Negro teachers are working in integrated schools, and 314 have lost their jobs. Individual school boards, with rare exceptions, have not seen fit to hire Negro teachers."

* * *

THE IRRESISTIBLE argument for integration in Oklahoma, as Governor Gary makes it out, is that it saves money. Impressed with the saving, Oklahomans have accepted mixing, he reports. Look plays this up as an example for the South. But only eight per cent of Oklahoma's population is Negro.

* * *

THAT'S WHY the state is able to get along without two separate establishments. But, even so, the ex-governor adds that when segregationists have begun sounding off too loudly he has had them waited upon by Oklahoma Crime Commission agents.

* * *

IT'S A SILLY piece all the way. But it does encourage this thought about Negro school teachers.

If a leader against the NAACP should arise among the Negro teachers of the South, he would be topnotch, we can presume, for these teachers are topnotch. The profession draws the best members of the race.

That is eloquent in the fact that, by reason of better qualification, the average Negro teacher is paid more than the average white in at least four Southern states, including Alabama.

It is not suggested that these teachers would be influenced solely by the threatened loss of jobs even though Governor Gary makes such "dialectical materialism" the basis of his integration plea.

Neither is it suggested that the teachers would oppose integration.

But their higher intelligence plus this personal consideration would certainly influence them against attempts to force integration on an unwilling South.

Who knows but that from the Negro teachers there might come a new Booker T. Washington, bravely and wisely leading his race with the fact of having to live in the South and alongside white people of the South always in mind!

* * *

THE PLOT THICKENS — and also clears!

All pretense is cast aside at last by Governor Patterson and Mr. Meriwether. Realizing that none of the remaining word-breaking Bandwagon Five could be elected to anything now or perhaps ever, the governor and his "administration" are out unblushingly for two all-out "loyalists" to fill the remaining posts on a state Democratic committee conspicuously elected to be anti-loyalist and free.

We-the-people don't count; we are an inanimate object. We are "that thing."

* * *

THE BRIEFEST honeymoon in Alabama's gubernatorial history is over.

A party is split, a cabinet is split, and a Legislature few of whose members voted for Mr. Patterson is emboldened to early independence.

Yet the governor is leading splendidly against corruption and racial force.

The pity of it all, and the unnecessity. "What boots it at one gate to make defense—and at the other to let in the foe!"

* * *

AWARDS IN THE annual Colonial Dames Historical Essays Contest will be made in the Harwell G. Davis Library at Howard College this morning at 10, with "informal coffee" to follow. There is no way of measuring the total of intelligent and discriminating patriotism this joint operation of Howard and the Dames contributes.

* * *

TO MRS. RUCKER AGEE, head of the Dames' Birmingham Center, a red rose for industry and devotion as her term nears expiration.

John Temple Graves

Mammy's Done Been Banned On Television

". . . . .shortnin'—shortnin'—
Mammy's gonna make a little shortnin' bread."

Mammy's done been banned.

Nelson Eddy reports that his famous song can't be sung on radio or television now because of objections by the NAACP, "Frankly," he says, "I think the original version is a cute little folk song with no intent of stepping on anyone's toes."

That's what everybody else thinks, including, in my guess, 99 out of 100 colored people. More and more it dawns on this country that in spite of its much success in legal maneuvers the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People doesn't understand either advancement or colored people.

One of the precious thing about all people is their true history.

If a colored leader who did understand, who was no mere toady to the whites for money, should turn up and take over — what a witching hour this would be for him! What true advancement he could bring about now for colored and white alike!

FOR IMAGERIES and similes in reflection of current sails beyond the sunset into outer space and to new ultimates of science, I nominate Editorialist Frank B. Hutchinson of The St. Petersburg Independent. "The creature from the cave is headed for the moon, the planets and the distant stars," he writes. "In a burst of speed which stuns the imagination and dwarfs man's dreams, scientists have pased the poets, overtaken the fiction writers and are rushing ahead of the prophets and the philosophers. Man's wagon train of progress is rumbling over the great divide, plunging ahead of the scouts and beyond the guides. . . . ."

"Man must create new concepts of the Creator to understand God's creation."

AMEN, WITH two exceptions to which Mr. Hutchinson will consent, I believe. Man isn't rumbling over the "great divide" even though "plunging ahead of the scouts." He'll never get over the Divide even though he has come to the place where physics turns to metaphysics and mathematics touches God. He can "rumble" a billion light years into space and still be short of the Divide by inconceivable billions more. He can split atoms to make the biggest thing of the littlest thing and still be operating in only four of the six dimensions (the other two being glory of the universe and, beyond it, Everlasting God; many-colored glass and, beyond it, white radiance:

"Life like a dome of many-colored glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity.")

He can make electricity do more and more tricks without knowing what electricity is. He can analyze all living without learning what life is.

He can't ever understand tspirin according to an amazing article in the current American Mercury.

I FLATTER MYSELF that Mr. Hutchinson's background and general thinking are so akin to my own that he will willingly amend his reference to "new concepts of the Creator" and make it "new understandings of the Creator." A thousand years from now our concept of today may seem as primitive as the cave man's does to us. But it will be the same Creator, with the same laws and loves. To know there are everlasting things is equally as important at this moment of swift unfoldings that confuse us and make us feel lost as to accept the unfoldings and glory in them.

The cave men could have split the atom — if they had known what rocks to use and how hard to hit.

John Temple Graves
News & Courier
Charleston, S.C.
Mon 6-8-59

Efforts To Placate Often Ridiculous

Wipe that smile off, CBS, you're disqualified!

THE WELL-KNOWN Columbia Broadcasting System isn't entitled to the smile with which it devoted a good part of its Tuesday evening newscast to the "Miami segregationist" who wanted the Florida Legislature to pass a law or something against another children's book "The Three Little Pigs" because a black pig comes out best. The legislature and most of the people of Florida deemed the Miami protest inconsequential and absurd. CBS intimated this briefly at the finish—but only after having created a national impression that here was more of the same Southern bigotry and illiteracy that gave "The Rabbits' Wedding" a point never intended and an advertising not deserved.

THE "Three Little Pigs" incident is something to smile at, true, but CBS isn't entitled to do the smiling.

Not so long as it is willing to misrepresent a whole region about it.

And not so long as it manages to crack no smile when. from the other direction, Stephen Foster songs are censored with such absurd substitutions as "brothers" for "darkies" in "Suwanee River," the censorship sometimes coming from the broadcasting companies themselves, too, leaning backward not to offend an NAACP which isn't even offended.

That's what happened when Singer Nelson Eddy announced that "they" wouldn't let him sing "Mammy's Gonna Make a Little Shortnin' Bread." When this column smiled at the NAACP for absurdity, an official in New York wrote me asserting complete innocence.

Apparently it was the broadcasting companies themselves which had been absurd, forbidding the song in so far-fetched a fear it might be offensive that they reflected on colored people as the song itself never did.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
Post-Herald
Birm, Ala
5-7-59 P.14

McGill's Award

"The hills look over on the South
And southward dreams the sea. . . ."

Editor Ralph McGill, of Ohio's ex-Governor Cox's Atlanta Constitution, is a likable individual, and a brilliant reporter if not editor.

Fellow newspapermen look upon him as a trooper, a brother, a regular. They resent my criticisms.

Other things being equal, everyone should be happy in the Pulitzer Prize which has come to him.

It was overdue.

But other things are not equal, bitterly not.

The prize goes for something that must be damned again while again in the dispatches. It goes mainly, we are told, for an editorial about the dastardly bombing of a synagogue in Atlanta which he blamed on what he calls the futile Southern resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation degree.



Against that sophistry there must be no Southern failure to speak now that it is nationally recalled.

It was nest fouling—without courage and without candor.

* * *

WITH THE POWER of a huge national newspaper aggregate behind him, with the North and East eager to patronize him, and with his own Atlanta brainwashed by a monopolized press, certainly he needed no courage to reap this reward.

Nor was there candor. Over and over now (and with constantly better hope of being believed, since Southern resistance is actually making more headway outside than at home) we must name the truly guilty party when violence and disorder come.

That guilty party is not a South convinced it must resist or die.

It is the Supreme Court of the United States.

The court is the party which bombed Atlanta's synagogue.

The court lynched Mack Parker in Mississippi and, before that, corrupted a jury into acquitting the Till murderers.

It is the Supreme Court of the United States which has stopped in its tracks the advancement of colored people and created dangerous tensions between two races which have lived the long generations together in increasing equity and persisting affection.

The marvel in the circumstances is that there has been so little violence, disorder, hate and retrogression. Some was only human, even if not to be condoned or unpunished. The 20-year sentences being served in Birmingham today by those who mutilated Aaron Judge are proof enough that the South means to conduct its resistance in ways of light, not stupidity and darkness.

There is crime everywhere, especially when events arouse deepest emotions.

The South is guilty of less than might have been expected.

* * *

FOR TAKING THE conventional Pulitzer party line against Southern resistance, Mr. McGill should have had this prize long ago. The delay is hard to understand since there has been no divergence from the line.

He deserves another anti-South prize for obstructing — happily without success—the Southward march of industry. It is good that industry pays him no mind as he persistently reports it discouraged by this Southern resistance which he makes such capital opposing.

FIVE HUNDRED and 77 lynchings in Mississippi! So reports the lurid Los Angeles Tribune (Negro). Over and over in a bitter story suggesting armed Negro revolt it uses the figure 577 as if the total were for 1958 or the first four months of 1959. Not until the last line do you learn that it refers to the number since 1882. In recent years the annual total has been zero.

* * *

WHAT TUSCALOOSA needs is a paint-up campaign — with the K.K.K. welcome sign first for painting out of disgraceful existence.

* * *

HAD MISS ELEANOR Steber been gowned in Act Two as in Act Three Tuesday night, there would have been no comic relief to Tosca's most tragic moment.

The Act Three gown hinted poundage but not in such specifics as the Act Two one. You couldn't imagine clothing less suited to contents.

Why shouldn't I say here what everybody was saying there? Who knows but that this beautiful woman, with her charm and her matchless voice, is too surrounded by idolators and too inured to an operatic tradition of plumpness in prima donnas to realize that matters have (or matter has) gone too far, that modern audiences are spoiled into expecting romance to look the part as well as sound it!

It may be that a few unkind words here will multiply into an actual "invitation to the diet."

* * *

THE SCION OF a South seachanged to modernities that save its dearest values and invest them in a nation's tomorrow is Birmingham's guest today.

He is youthful Edwin M. Gaines, director of development for storied and brilliantly forward-moving Converse College for women at Spartanburg, S. C., who will talk about it all as special guest at a Dutch treat luncheon at the Country Club at 12:30 for local alumnae, parents and parents-to-be.

Mrs. Edward R. Coulbourn is in charge. With a new $500,000 dormitory just completed and an $800,000 student activities and physical education building under way, Converse is one of the small private institutions which may inherit the American earth with good cause before long.

Dean Gaines, severely wounded in Korean action, has been spared for destiny with this famous little college. Son of Washington and Lee's great Francis Pendleton Gaines, wedded to a grandniece of immortal Thomas Nelson Page, all that's best of the past and present South is in his blood and upbringing even as his scholarship identifies him with bests in American education. He is a young man to watch.

The staging and scenic effects of Tosca were as memorable as the voices. Unforgettable for those who love that time of day was the opening scene of the third act—pre-dawn on the parapet, the slow-pacing sentries, the mystically increasing light, the dinner lifted to a breeze, the sense of enormous value in everything.

You wished you might have smelled it as well as seen it.

Hosts, Not Ghosts

"Above the bayonets mixed and crossed
Men saw a gray, gigantic host . . ."

There must be a gray host again, not a gray ghost.

Nor a white ghost.

Mosby's Confederate raiders were gray ghosts, and served valiantly in their time (with Mosby as often a winner as Perry Mason, if television is true).

And after the war, in the awfulness of Reconstruction, Forrest and others organized and led white ghosts, the original Ku Klux Klan. They, too, served valiantly in their time.



GRAVES

Today no ghosts can serve, gray or white

The South can be saved only by hosts, now gray ghosts joined by Americans elsewhere who begin to understand their cause and join their resistance.

Gray hosts at the passionate heart of what is being called the coalition, hosts mighty enough to have ruled the Congress of the United States for lo, these 16 years, mighty enough to rule the national elections and scene now if the South minds its manners as it holds its lines.

* * *

IN MANY PARTS of the South that old silent movie, "The Birth of a Nation," is mistakenly being shown again after long years. It glorifies—and properly—the original Ku Klux Klan, the necessary one that came into being when newly freed slaves—illiterate, irresponsible, a menace to law and order, were running amock, when Negroes and carpetbaggers backed by Federal troops, controlled legislative and executive offices, when there was no hope in any constituted government.

* * *

THE ORIGINAL Klan was necessary, life-saving. Afterwards, when it began to be abused, employed for selfish purposes and prejudices, for violence and sadism, and to control things not related to the Negro situation, making itself an invisible government, its founders and leaders repudiated it and it was dissolved.

* * *

IF YOU SEE — and hear, for they've added sound—"The Birth of a Nation," note three big differences today:

1. The Negro is educated and responsible now, for the most part, after nearly a century of freedom and advance.

2. There is constituted local government, able and determined to preserve peace and the law.

No Klansman in all Alabama is so resolved that our colored people —and our white—behave themselves as is our Police Commissioner Connor. (He is making so self-controlled and fine a job of it I wish I had voted for him). Everywhere, Southern local and county governments are competent and alerted. There's no anarchy now as in the seventies.

(3) You can't control the Negro by terror now as the original Klan did, and you shouldn't if you could. He is too mature and wordly-wise, and he has too many forces on his side, including most of our Southern white people .

* * *

Any large-scale resurgence of the Klan now, with inevitable break-aways, misdeeds, personal grudges, bigotries and undertakings remote from race control, including vicious anti-Semitism, will play into the hands of our real enemies (who don't live here!) just when we are winning nation-wide public sympathy and Southern Democratic-Republican victories are promising a new national lineup.

Gray hosts will play a mighty part in that coalition if they avoid white ghosts.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Post-Herald P.8

The Human Race

"We are talking about the human race and what's going to happen to it, . . ."

Ike's reply to Truman will be in Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations" some day as well as the history books.

Did I say "Ike?"

I believe I did! It came natural — for the first time since Little Rock. Millions of other Southerners may be doing the same. Little Rock remains an unforgivable and unforgettable mistake. But we know now that it wasn't anti-Southern.

Meanwhile the President is on business for the human race.

* * *

From the outside looking in, more than Governor Coleman's "moderation" seems to have been rejected when Ross Barnett won the gubernatorial nomination over Carroll Gartin in Mississippi Tuesday.



GRAVES

Rejected, too, and more, can have been Mr. Coleman's national party loyalty ideas. Every time the people of the South have a chance to speak these days, they tell the office holders of the South they mean to be free nationally, no matter how the office holders are frightened.

It is significant that the day after this run-off primary Patterson forces in Alabama, who have announced themselves as loyalists even though opposing loyalty oaths, are reported talking and acting the other way, making up to free Democrats with words and appointments.

The Southern people are going to lead the Southern politicians in this matter. If the politicians don't come along, they just won't be along. Chairman Butler obviously wants it that way—with the Southerners out—and he'll get it that way.

* * *

WHAT ARE YOU in the South if you vote the straight Democratic ticket on everything but the presidency and vote free—Republican, Democratic or something else—on that? Why, you are a Southern Democrat! Recognized in Congress, Southern Democrats must be equally recognized at the polls and conventions.

* * *

"I HAVE BEEN reading and collecting your column for years," writes Robert L. Ariail Jr., from Columbia, S. C. "Within the last year or two it seems to me that you have been leaning more and more towards the Republican Party." No, sir! The lean is towards the Southern Democratic Party, along with most of my fellow Southerners. And it's been going on not just two years but 11.

* * *

NOW HEAR this!

It is self evident that Republicans can win no majority in the nation—now or in the foreseeable future.

It is even more evident that Southern Democrats can't.

But the two together are a majority right now and can hold it if they are commonsensible.

And they have in common a faith which should let them get along on the one thing that divides them—the race question.

That faith is anti-federalism, the basic constitutional principle against too much government too far from the governed. In perfect —indeed mandatory—consistency, the Republican Party should be able to stand, not for segregation but for the Constitution — as its greatest conservative, Bob Taft, did on race question, and as one of its greatest liberals, William E. Borah, did.

It should be able, in the name of the Constitution's basic principle of states' rights, to agree that the South is to be left alone to continue the unparalleled "advancement of colored people" which was in process before the desegregation decree stopped all Southern volunteering.

From which it follows as the day the night that nothing in nature is more natural than present victories in Congress by the familiar coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

It is in no deal or put-up job that the South votes for strong control over labor leaders. That is as dear to us as to Republicans.

* * *

I HAVE BEEN permitted to make these points to business, professional, educational and office-holding audiences in every Western and Midwestern state in the last two years, with rarely a heckle or dissent. The [illegible] will be even more acceptable in months to come as a result of the dramatic Southern Democratic successes.

Southern democracy neither requires nor rules out a Democratic President.

More precious than the presidency is the coalition.

* * *

THE POLITICAL job for Southerners is to make sure their own men in Congress are "Southern Democrats"—either by revelation or by replacement.

Revelation or replacement! Party-at-any-price politicians have got to see a great light or go, teeth-gnashing, to outer darkness.

* * *

FROM GADSDEN Mr. J. D. Samuels agrees that Fred Vinson would make a fine governor or senator, but not that he is the only all-American to have held a Phi Beta Kappa key at the University. Another, he says, was "Bully" Vandegraff "in the days prior to World War I when Alabama had lots of trouble matching Sewanee."

Between the Lines . . .

By Dean Gordon B. Hancock

WHEN THE Negro proposes to fight against segregation, he must not forget that he is fighting against "principalities and powers." The segregationist is a shrewd manipulator, resourceful and ingenious. It is going to take three things to counter-attack him, namely, some hard and realistic thinking, much money and plenty of effective votes. Big cars, large homes and lots of good times, as important as these things be, cannot cope with the machinations of the sure-enough segregationist.

About 15 years ago, Richmond's fine Armstrong High School was, without any satisfactory explanation, taken from its original and central location and rebuilt in Richmond's far East End, where the Negro population at that time was relatively sparse. At a cost of millions, a fine structure was built and it is today one of the finest in the land, irrespective of section.

Today, Negroes are pouring into Church Hill and East End section of the city by thousands. The zoning system and housing authority have been so manipulated that Negroes are being herded into the Church Hill section and Armstrong High School is now in the center of a great Negro population that is growing by the proverbial "leaps and bounds."

■

SEGREGATION in housing has been declared one of the most stubborn forms of segregation and hardest to combat. There seems to be a pattern of planning predicated upon the proposition that if the zoning authorities will disperse the Negroes, the hoousing authorities will herd them. The tragedy is the segregationists saw 15 years ago what the Negro is just now seeing. It is going to be hard for Negroes to stem the tide of segregation if they persist too much in hindthought. We are writing this in the hope that Negroes will bestir themselves in the face of such far-sighted planning by the segregationist, who seems to sleep neither day nor night because of his planning.

There seems to be a kind of lethargy on the part of Negroes that is not justified by the legal victories won by the NAACP. The political power of Negroes is far too limited for the challenge immediately before us.

The old Christian of yesteryear sang with great truth, "Ne'er think the victory won, nor lay thine armour down." Political apathy is far too rife among Negroes everywhere and far too much reliance upon court decisions which need implementation by Negroes with dollars and votes.

This writer saw a statement a few days ago to the effect that there are two hindrances to the Negro's political power, namely, discrimination and apathy, and I thereupon concluded that if the white man will supply the discrimination —and he will—the Negroes will supply the apathy. This is tragic in the current situation. What will it take to stir Negroes to the depths with a sense of political activity and power?

■

IT IS easy to find some Negro ready to trade Negro votes, but it is not so easy to find Negroes who are willing to get out among the people and educate them to the necessity of being a voting citizen. The late Dr. Luther Jackson of Virginia State College proved to be a powerful leader in this field, and he not only lamented the fact that the Negroes were politically apathetic, but he did something about it and gave to the Negroes of Virginia a leadership in vote-consciousness that will never be forgotten.

A strong and virile Negro vote could halt in many ways the manipulations of the zoning authorities and the housing authorities which today have become strong allies to the cause of segregation. The zoning authorities can disperse Negroes and the housing authority can herd them. thus hardeninng the crust of segregation.

It is to be observed that Negroes in the Deep South are easily stirred in this matter of political opportunities, whereas Negroes where the pressure of segregation is less severe, are inclined to be somewhat indifferent to the potential of the Negro votes. Shall we then conclude that it will take pressure and still more pressure to stir the Negro to political activity which alone holds possibilities of allaying and destroying the evils that our zoning systems, in conjunction with the housing authorities, can do the cause of the human brotherhood and welfare?

Negroes could help the NAACP and help implement the court decisions by getting some money and getting out the votes. The situation cannot use a penniless, voteless creature.

BETWEEN THE LINES

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

Race Relations Or Human Relations?

Forty years ago, the term "race relations" was widely used in describing the relations obtaining between Negroes and whites. In all of the books and publications pertaining to the subject the interracial relationships were invariably described as "race relations."

Now there is a subtle move among writers to substitute "human relations" for race relations. We have forced upon us the sombre conclusion that the mere change of terms has made no difference in the attitudes and dispositions of the races involved.

"Human relations" is a broad and comprehensive term and includes race relations. Intra - racial relations, populational problems, the struggle for existence and the economic struggle, competition and cooperation, emigration and immigration are but a few of the innumerable species of human problems. But race relations have to do with matters of relations between persons who have problems due to racial differences. The matter of segregation is more than one of human relations; it is conceived in attitudes and prejudices that grow out of differences of race. The playing down of the term "race relations" and playing up the term human relations" have not made any change — for the better — in these relations.

There are relationships growing out of the conflict between persons of different color that cannot be adequately described in general term 'human relations." "Human relations" is a general term while race relations is a specific term.

"THE PILOT"

My mail of recent date brought a welcome copy of "The Pilot", mouthpiece of the National Insurance association, an organization of Negro insurance administrators. There are 53 insurance companies listed on the roster. Millions and millions of dollars are represented by the total holdings and assets of the several companies. It was interesting to note that there were only two companies that used the Negro designation — the Afro-American Life insurance, Jacksonville, Fla., and the Booker T. Washington Insurance company, Birmingham, Ala.

Although the race designation was doubtless purposedly left off, the fact remains that all of these fine organizations, were built on Double - Duty Dollars, which this column has been advocating lo, these many years! The doctrine of the Double - Duty Dollar is a plea for Negroes to do business with Negroes, or with whites who employ Negroes, to the end that Negroes may find added economic opportunities. The dollar thus spent not only buys services and goods but it provides employment opportunities for Negroes.

The argument is that, although business cannot indefinitely survive on Double - Duty Dollars, it can be made a beginning for the economic capital the Negro must have; if he would compete with the white man in the business world. In my manuscript on the subject entitled The Double -Duty Dollar in Theory and Practice, Negro insurance, the rise of the Negro professional and the Negro press were used as the dramatic examples of the effectiveness of the double - duty dollar.

DOUBLE-DUTY DOLLAR

What would have happened to our budding professionals had there not been Negroes with double-duty dollars? What would have been the possibilities of a more and more powerful Negro press had it not been for double - duty dollars?

Strangely enough the very ones who have lived and prospered on double - duty dollars are generally the last to see a place for the doctrine of the double - duty dollar. The double - duty dollar is widely accepted in practice, but rejected in theory. When I wrote the brochure mentioned above, I went to a leading insurance man to see if he would help me to interest the insurance in its publication. He could not see the double - duty dollar, although he was inhabitating a swivel chair that double - duty dollars made possible.

I have written editors to publish the manuscript as a printer of Negro business, but without success. Professionals scoffed at the idea. There is no need for the Negro to try to forget race unless the white man does. Changing from "Negro" where great achievements are involved! race relations to human relations does not solve anything. As long as the white man remembers race, the Negro as well remembers it too.

Problems arising from race consciousness cannot be dismissed however wishful our thikning. This writer is proud of the designation

31a 1959

NEGRO (DEAN G.B. HANCOCK)

Propaganda: South's Top Weapon

Between The Lines

Illegitimacy Based On Circumstances Not Race

By GORDON B. HANCOCK
For Associated Negro Press

By DEAN G. B. HANCOCK

Today the segregationist South is frantically and zealously turning to propaganda to sell the nation and the world the South's point of view which is, of course, segregationist.

There is a well - defined movement to propagandize this nation into discrediting the Supreme Court and into idefinitely sanctioning the theory and practice of segregation.

When the old segregationist South said, "not now," it meant never.

The Russians' appeal to propaganda is paying off and they have found it far more effective and far less expensive than fighting it out on the battlefield.

Propaganda is a powerful weapon if properly wielded. It is hard to find ways and means for a people of little propaganda potential to measure arms with a people with infinite propaganda resources.

* * *

MARION WRIGHT, former president of the Southern Regional council, recently observed that the segregationist South is pouring millions into the cause of propagandizing the nation and the world to establish the Old South's position in its efforts to eternalize segregation and the horrible concomitants thereof.

They are "buying off" newspapers and columnists, North, East and West.

David Lawrence is all - out for the cause of the segregationists in his syndicated column and the pro - segregationist U.S. News and World Report, has gone over completely to the cause of the segregationist South.

* * *

WITH MILLIONS at the disposal of the segregationists, we have but the beginning of a trend which may ultimately mean tribulation for the colored people of the South and nation.

The colored citizen without his propaganda resources will find the going hard against the segregationist South with unlimited resources for propaganda.

We have numerous able men and women of the race whose very high privilege lays upon them the solemn responsibility to set forth ways and means by which the race in America, with limited propaganda potential, can compete for favorable world opinion with the segregationists who have at their disposal unlimited propaganda potentials.

This problem demands the serious thought and study of 15 millions of colored people.

* * *

WE HAVE ONLY to turn to Russia to see how powerful propaganda can be. We, as a nation, chose to finance the world; Russia chose to propagandize the world. Communist China is Russia's exhibit number one as to comparative results.

We employed money in our bid for favorable world opinion. Russia employed propaganda and we here in this country reluctantly admit that Russia is winning the cold war.

The segregationist South has taken a leaf from Soviet Russia's book and there are reasons to fear that the results will not be favorable to the cause of colored liberation.

Their efforts to disqualify the Supreme Court, the segregationists lost by one vote. There will be other contests and other countings of votes and the segregationists with the propaganda are like the jockey on the inside rail. He has an astounding advantage.

The NAACP with its multitudes of obligations and its limited resources can not begin to match the challenge of the segregationists with their unlimited propaganda. Who has the answer?

THAT SECTOR OF the nation's press which voices the sentiments of the Old South makes much of illegitimacy among Negroes, and uses it as an argument against integration. It is part of the old story and practice of "proving" that Negroes are more immoral than whites; thus disqualifying the Negro for full citizenship in this country. Our local papers, in their attempt to thwart integration efforts, were quick to make a superficial survey of the situation in Washington where integration is going apace. The survey came up with the "conclusion" that one of the great evils of integration was the high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes.



Dr. Hancock

OF COURSE, this was used to stampede Virginians who were willing to integrate, according to the law of the land. The practice of trying to prove that Negroes are innately immoral, is an old one and stems from the desperate attempts to eternalize segregation. It is a prejudice rationalization of the Negrophobe.

From a serious study of the questions through many years, this writer has concluded that morality and immorality are circumstantial and not racial. If they were matters of race, why is there immorality among whites and morality among Negroes?

MOREOVER, THIS talk about illegitimacy and immorality leaves out of account the problem of abortion which is fastened upon this country. Negroes are too poor to afford abortions and too ignrant to use contraceptives. It therefore is purely a matter of circumstances that the incidence of illegitimacy in a given situation is greater among Negroes.

It is due to their ignorance of contraception and their inability to finance abortions. There is nothing in all the studies which have been made to prove that illegitimacy and immorality are racial. But that part of the nation's press which voices the sentiments of the Old South simply refuses to face this stubborn fact.

NOW COMES AN Associated Press release of May 28, taking note of the increase in illegitimacy throughout the nation. Dr. Katherine Brownell Oettinger of the United States Children's Bureau points out in the release that pregnancy among adolescent girls is increasing, possibly influenced by teen-agers' tolerance toward sexual activity. She further said that this trend is likely to continue. Addressing the National Conference of Social Welfare meeting in San Francisco, she said:

"Illegitimate births have been steadily rising for two decades. In 1940, there were 89,500 and by 1957 they jumped to 201,700. The rate of motherhood per 1,000 unmarried women tripled between 1940 and 1956."

MRS. OETTINGER quoted figures from the Office of Vital Statistics to the effect that 77,000 children were born to unwed teen-age mothers in 1956, and 81,000 in 1957, with the projected estimate of 110,000 to 120,000 by 1962.

Illegitimacy, as a problem is threatening to get out of hand throughout the nation and as such is to be deeply deplored, whether among Negroes or whites. But the point being made is that the mouthpieces of the Old South would fix the problem of illegitimacy and immorality upon Negroes alone, thus attempting to disqualify them for full integration in the schools. The danger in trying to fasten upon the Negro the onus of illegitimacy, will be the least of the general problem.

IT IS GOING to be a sad day in the South when all its illegitimacy and immorality are fastened on the hapless and defenseless Negroes, while the same problems in the white race are "smoothed" over.

This column has often contended that the Negro is just what the white man made him! If he had made a better Negro, he would have had one. The present Negro is a creature of the white man's creation and that the prejudiced whites would stigmatize their own creation is unbelievable.

When Dr. Oettinger was exposing the ugly problem of illegitimacy, she made no reference to race. The situation should shock the finer sensibilities of the nation rather than be used as a means of disqualifying Negroes for full citizenship. To magnify the Negro's shortcomings and minimize those of the whites is not going to get this nation, nor the South, anywhere!

Between The Lines

The views expressed in this column do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Louisiana Weekly.

By Dean G. B. Hancock for ANP

NINEVEH, JERUSALEM AND WASHINGTON

It is at once the disgrace and shame and pity of mankind, that there has not been produced through the ages a nation or people that could stand prosperity; that God has always had to depend upon the hungry peoples of the earth to accomplish his purposes among the sons of men.

No great religions have ever sprung up among the well-fed nations. Egypt and Mesopotamia did not cradle great religions, although they were the most well-fed nations in history.

It remained for Palestine and Arabia lands of hunger to give to the world Judaism and Christianity and Mohammedanism the world's great religions. Even when Jesus came it was the common people that heard him gladly.

It is to be observed that when the triumphal entry was forming on the slopes of Olivet that as the procession moved down the hill into the Valley of Jehosaphat and crossed the brook Kidron and went up to the city of Jerusalem, the big folks could not understand and wondringly inquired as the crowds, with their hosannas, cried, "Who is this?" The common people told them who Jesus was by saying, yea proclaiming "This is our king."

It was among the common people that hospitality for Christ and his teachings was to be found, and the common people published the glad tidings among the peoples of the earth. It was to the prosperous classes that God through the aged had to send the prophets to preach righteousness and to warn the people of Judgment to come.

Sin has always been the great curse of mankind and prophets were sent to proclaim the curse of sin and unrighteousness.

What happened to great and mighty nations has always depended upon their attitude toward the prophets. When Nineveh waxed prosperous and wicked, God sent Jonah to call Nineveh to repentance and that wicket city repented at the preaching of Jonah.

When Jonah arrived in Nineveh and went up its "broad street" with a message from the Lord Nineveh hearkened. And so it was written that "Nineveh shall rise up and condemn this generation for she repented at the preaching of Jonah and behold a greater than Jonah is here."

When Jerusalem waxed great and wicked, God sent the prophets unto her to warn her of her sins. But Jerusalem stoned the prophets and brought down upon her head the wrath of God. Jesus lamented the fact in one of his great discourses and cried out "O Jerusalem thou that stoneth the prophets, they house is left unto you desolate" and Jerusalem fell and great was the fall of it, because she would not harken to the warnings of the prophets.

Nineveh hearkened to the warning of Jonah and lived; Jerusalem stoned her prophets and was destroyed. What a nation does to its prophets determines without exception what is to befall that nation. Men and events and movements are often the prophets of God. The nations must head these or perish.

The coming of the NAACP and the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the nation's schools were prophetic events, sent to the Old South to warn of judgments to come. But instead to reading in these the will of God the Old South is stoning her prophets.

The great abuse and malignment and villification heaped upon the Supreme Court is the Old South's way of stoning her prophets. Both the Supreme Court in its decisions and the NAACP in its activities in behalf of the segregated citizens of Negro ancestry are so many prophets calling the Old South to repentance.

Unfortunately the Old South is stoning her prophets instead of hearkening to the voice of God that they hear. Calling the NAACP and the Supreme Court of the country communistic and names is not meeting the grave issue of the segregation of her citizens, who are rushed to the front in times of war and to the rear in times of peace.

There is a kind of shame in offering a people of second-rate citizenship for giving their first-class blood on a hundred battle fronts in defense of the nation. Stoning the prophets is an old, old practice and it has resulted in an old fate of destruction and shame.

Will Washington under the aogis of leadership of the Old South go the way of Jerusalem or the way of Nineveh?

Between the Lines — By Dean Gordon B. Hancock

IT IS MORE THAN passing strange that the cradle of Negro enterprise was not in Boston, "Freedom's birthplace," but in Richmond, the "Capitol of the Confederacy." Upon their emancipation, Negroes of the South bestirred themselves to find ways and means to meet the challenge that segregation was forcing upon them. Those were the very heroes who laid the foundations of Negro enterprise, such as the once-famous True Reformers. They rallied with an amazing display of organizational genius, which, even today, is not excelled.

The True Reformers set the pace for progress of Negro enterprise, which is sorely needed today. Those men and women, who laid the foundations of that once-great enterprise, were indeed leaders with great vision and vigor. Just as the True Reformers was built by a great Negro leadership, it failed for the lack of great leadership. At this writing, the old True Reformers hall in Richmond is being razed.

The once-great True Reformers organization is but a memory of its glory of being the first great example of the Negro's organizational ability, which will not fade from the pages of Negro history. The True Reformer organization, as such, is to all intents and purposes dead, but its spirit goes marching on. Its phenomenal rise and its deplorable fall were matters of leadership.

■

SOME YEARS AGO, Virginia Union University offered an extension course in social psychology in Suffolk, Va. I was sent to give the course, and while in Suffolk, the fact was revealed that Negroes in that city had on deposit in the banks several millions of dollars. There arose a clamor for a Negro bank to handle some of the Negroes' money. The organization of a Negro bank was effected, and the matter of president soon was forced to the fore.

A successful businessman was proposed, but turned down forthwith, because of his limited knowledge of handling money. The principal of the elementary school was proposed and he was voted down for the same reason. The city's only Negro physician was proposed and voted down, also, as being well skilled in medicine, but poorly skilled in the knowledge of handling their million dollar enterprizes.

The board of directors, finally, decided that there was only one Negro in Suffolk, the Peanut capital of the world, who understood banking, and that was the Negro janitor at the white bank. He was enthusiastically and unanimously elected as president of the newly organized Negro bank.

Of course, the bank came to grief, and what more could have been expected of a board of trustees so naive as to elect a janitor as president, because he knew banking as a result of his cleaning chores around a white bank.

■

WE HAVE, TODAY, abou the country, many fine examples of successful Negro banking. The success of these banks is a matter of Negro leadership. In the past, much of the Negro's enterprise has been rooted in the Negro's resentment of segregation and its evil concomitants. In other words, in the past the Negro's frame of reference has been segregation, just as our nation's greatest frame of reference has been the doings of Soviet Russia. But what we must bear in mind is that race pride as well as race prejudice can be an effective frame of reference.

Building up and maintaining a resentment against prejudice and segregation ought to be done; but building up a race pride that eventuates into Negro enterprise ought not to be left undone.

Those big league Negro baseball players who participated so wonderfully in the late World Series, not only played to keep the opposition from scoring, but they went about scoring themselves, and covered themselves with baseball glory. Neal and his two homeruns in one game was not a defensive matter, but an offensive one.

All of the energies of current leadership are concentrated on building resentment of segregation; but the race needs, also, leadership in the ways and means of earning and spending money. Negroes need Negro-created job opportunities and lessons in thrift and efficiency.

Whose business is this?

HENDERSON SPEAKS

Prince Edward Negroes Among First Freedmen

Sunday Norfolk, Va
Sat, 6-26-59. P. 6
31a Negro

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

THE volume used in our public schools as the basic text for the compulsory study of state history is "Virginia: History, Government, Geography," authored by Simkins, Hunnicutt, and Poole, copyrighted and published in 1957 by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. On page 378 of this volume is found a sentence, "Richard Randolph of 'Bizarre' in Cumberland county, freed his slaves and set them up as small landowners on 'Israel Hill' in Prince Edward county." Commenting further on the topic of free Negroes in Virginia prior to the War Between the States, the book states on the same page, "In 1790 there were 12,866 free Negroes in Virginia." It is thus implied that as early as the late eighteenth century, there were at least a few free Negroes in Prince Edward county, Va.



Dr. Henderson

NOW, IN 1959, LESS than two centuries later, history is repeating itself in Prince Edward county. There are marked similarities in the two occasions. Yet there are also marked differences. In the eighteenth century the Negoes were not provided opportunity for education at public expense. They were not granted citizenship. They were freed from the shackles of involuntary servitude. Today, the Negroes are not provided opportunity for education at public expense. They are denied full fledged citizenship rights. They are free from the shackles of involuntary servitude. But they are bound, insofar as public provision is concerned, by the shackles of enforced illiteracy.

By "seceding" from the business of public education, Prince Edward county has made history, and has earned notorious world-wide fame. In discontinuing public education, while initiating and operating a system of private schools for white children, it has made a name for itself by becoming the first locality to "free" Negro children from the "slavery" of education.

Here in 1959, as Virginia strives to recuperate from ills self-inflicted in vain efforts at massive resistance, the United States strives to impress in entertaining the chief mogul of its most eminent Communist competitor. Meanwhile, the world strives for insight into the intricacies and mysteries of outer space, as man in his blundering ignorance strives after God. But Prince Edward county defies them all—the state, the nation, the world and the race of man.

BY ACTIONS PRINCE EDWARD says to Virginia, "No use, Mother Commonwealth. By using the loopholes you have so benevolently provided, we will keep you in the 'resistance' limelight. First to be decreed against, we will be the last to comply." To the nation this county says, "No use, Uncle Sam. Try all you will to make a favorable impression on Russia by showing Mr. K Iowa's tall corn and New York's tall buildings. We will remind him dramatically of the 'tall' hypocrisy in America's democracy. For even while he is in our midst, we will have going an A-1 demonstration of how we defy law and order in America—how we educate whites and bar schools to Negroes despite federal court decrees, orders, and injunctions. Show him all the supersonic planes and missiles pou wish. We will give him a real example of America's speed—"all deliberate speed".

PRINCE EDWARD SAYS TO the world, "Just you keep on digging into the wonderful mysteries of science, keep seeking to explore the unlimited vistas of outer space. We will cling to the certainties of inner disgrace. Haven't you heard that a little learning is a dangerous thing? We'll keep 1,700 Negro children safe by denying them even a little learning."

This column predicts that this county, among the first to have Negroes free from slavery, the first to abandon public education in an effort to circumvent the Supreme Court decision, will be the first to have its ears pinned back for such dastardly and unthinkable stubbornness.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Week By Week



Golden Anniversary of the NAACP

This year the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is celebrating its Golden anniversary, to culminate in its 50th Jubilee Convention in New York City in July. These have been 50 golden years, each one a stepping stone in the forward march of the Negro citizens of the United States.

Cementing each stone with an amazing record of concrete achievement has been the day to day, week to week, month to month, year to year work of the NAACP, which is, to my opinion, the greatest social service organization in America. Certainly no future history of the United States can be written without including in its pages the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Integration was a part of the NAACP from the very beginning. It has always been an interracial organization. Since its inception, Negroes and whites have worked side by side for greater democracy in our USA, and its board as well as various of its officers have been for 50 years of both races.

White men and women from Oswald Garrison Villard to Eleanor Roosevelt have helped guide and strengthen the NAACP both morally and financially. White legal talent as well as Negro legal talent have drawn the briefs which have led over the years to the recent history-making victories in the Supreme Court. White hands and black hands have helped to bring about educational integration across much of the South, partial though it now may be, but enormous in its potentialities.

There was never a time in my life when I did not hear of the NAACP from my childhood in Kansas to my manhood in Harlem. The only magazine that came by mail to my grandmother's house in Kansas, was THE CRISIS, the official organ of the NAACP, and as a very small child I noticed that most of the pictures in it were of people dark as I was dark.

Very early in life, THE CRISIS became my magazine, and I knew that its pages were my pages, its words about me. When I was old enough to read, the flaming words of the poetic and stirring, passionate and indignant editorials of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of THE CRISIS, gave me my first knowledge of what power printed words can have when they are filled with integrity, social responsibility, and a deep caring for the basic values of human life.

For most of my life I have been a member of the NAACP, but sometimes when funds were low, or when I was out of the country, my membership lapsed. However, as soon as I have had a dollar or two, I renewed my membership in one branch or another throughout the country.

And the very first office I visited when I came to New York was that of the NAACP, to seek out the man whose words had meant so much to me in my youth, Dr. DuBois. At the NAACP office I met also the charming Jessie Fauset, then managing editor of THE CRISIS, Augustua Granville Dill, the magazine's efficient business administrator, and the scholarly president of the organization and one of its founders, Joel Spingarn.

Later it was my privilege to know Arthur Spingarn, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White and Roy Wilkins, men who have guided the NAACP through all its trials and tribulations to where it is today — an organization of monumental importance in American life.

Not only has the NAACP been a vital force in the betterment of conditions for Negro citizens, but it has helped to wash and rewash the rather sooty face of American democracy and make that face cleaner and brighter and better to look upon for all its citizens.

For its Golden Anniversary, let us endow the NAACP's Fighting Fund For Freedom with a million dollars in gold or — since the gold is all at Fort Knox — its equivalent in checks or currency. Let us all contribute generously this year to America's own National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Birmingham World

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The church and the school are still among the most influential centers of the community.

Two events recently refreshed this in my mind. One was the Christian Fellowship Banquet in connection with the seventy-first anniversary of Sardis Baptist Church The other was the observance of American Education Week at the Carrie A. Tuggle Elementary School s th of these two institutions are Enon Ridge, the community in hich I grew up. My membership at Sardis.



There are five other churches within the Enon Ridge orbit. They represent four denominations. Tuggle is in the heart of the community. On the west side there is another elementary school and on the east there is one. Some children live nearer to the elementary school to the east than they do to Tuggle.

Tuggle brings together the children from all of the churches and others who do not belong to the community churches. The P-T. A. brings together parents from all of the churches and those others who are affiliated with churches outside of Enon Ridge. The P-T. A. has vital potential as a community-service organization. It should be the guardian of the future of the children, it seems to me.

At the Sardis banquet there was stimulating fellowship. The community folk had an opportunity to dine and chat together. Only the church seems to be able to provide this kind of social fellowship. You see and hear new members, pick up interesting bits of church and community history from the old-timers, and re-live the golden days of the past with community friends.

Among those present was Mr. J. J. Kyles who was superintendent of the Sardis Sunday School in the days when I was quite small. He always has the most favorable comment with reference to my childhood days in the Sardis Sunday School. The Rev. R. L. Alford, pastor of the church, also utilized the occasion to make an appeal for voter-registration. Perhaps no other minister has worked as hard as he in the social ministry of political suffrage. From his pulpit he appeals to the membership to get the ballot.

Tuggle Elementary School was organized at Sardis. The Enon Ridge Civic League was started at Sardis The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights held its organizational meeting at Sardis. The momentum for the transformation of what is the Enon Ridge Civic Day Nursery came from Sardis Much of the community leadership for Enon Ridge came from Sardis. It was Sardis which also assisted Miss Autherine Lucy when she was trying to open the doors of the University of Alabama.

November 12 I was at Tuggle for an American Education Week program. It was my first visit to the school for a program since its new buildings. My Morehouse College school mate, Prof. Griffin F. Day is principl of the school. Yet I had not before this time put in my presence at a program of the school. Usually another member of our family represented us in all community affairs. No longer is that true.

The Rev. J. H. Bridges, pastor of Enon Methodist Church, participated on the program with Mrs. Martha Sargent, president of the Tuggle P-T. A., presiding. The program was introduced by Vonda Scurlark. The band and the choral group performed excellently. Hansetta Carrington introduced me as guest speaker. It was wonderful to me to listen to her because she had committed to memory the introduction and did it with poise, efficiency, and a demonstration of ability.

The program was sponsored by Mrs. Helen T. Browne and drew praise from Mrs. Sargent. P-T. A. President, Mrs. Sargent announced that the next meeting of the association will be at night to provide an opportunity for working parents to attend. A number of parents were present, and seemed to have enjoyed themselves. Some of the parents seemed to be working assignments during the observance.

Principal Day took me on a tour of the school. Despite the addition of new rooms to the school and the transfer of some pupils to Wilkerson School, some of the dilapidated buildings had to be retained and used. The classrooms were beautifully decorated and there was visibly evidence that the teachers have modern equipment with which to work. Naturally one should expect a better product from the school, it seems to me.

Yet it should be pointed out that the school cannot do the total job. Parents are the children's first teachers. They are also the continuing teachers. Community and civic leaders also teach th[illegible] examples they set, the inspiration they give, and the encouragement they offer. In looking back, I can say this.

Enon Ridge used to have a number of community fathers who inspired because of what they stood for. In looking at the number of unpaved streets, uncovered ditches, non-voters on Enon Ridge, I begin to wonder whether we adults are living up to our responsibilities.

Birmingham World

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

They are debating the contributions made by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to Montgomery, Ala., and the civil rights struggle. In the converse, cynics claim that the Montgomery struggle made contributions to Dr. King.

Let the biographers decide this matter and give history a chance to do its work.

It seems to me that Dr. King gave spokesmanship to Montgomery's civic-service leadership. He brought to this spokesmanship the prestige of scholarship, added the potency of a name already a fixture in Southern leadership, and provide a rallying symbolism. The South is a region of hero worshippers and a lover of myths.



In that aspect Dr. King was an authenic Southerner Only he was a civil rights instead of a states' right hero. He was the symbol of a stand-in for Gandhi and gave to his teaching a reconstruction necessary to fit the Montgomery problem. It takes creative leadership to rework principle to make it operate.

Editor Grover Hall, Jr. of The Montgomery (Ala). Advertiser in his lengthy editorial entitled, "King Returns to "Atlanta," which appeared Sunday. December 6, 1959 observed: "While scornful of the Gandhi impersonation and a lot of other hokum general and specific The Advertiser must in honesty give King his due. In the first place, he is a courageous man and was obviously prepared to die."

What more can one ask of a leader than that he be ready to give his life for what he believes and for the leadership he assumes? How many other Montgomery leaders were engrossed with such a dedication?

Dr. King was able to rally the Montgomery leadership into a self-defense unity. This may not be rated a contribution but al least it was a rarity. He challenged the leadership to think, re-think, weigh the old, evaluate the new, and examine ideas...equality, dignity, love brotherhood. Dr. King made Montgomery think.

A reporter on a mid-Western weekly asks whether leaders in Alabama have the opinon that Dr. King "is running out on them." Alabama does not have anyone it could call "the Negro leader for Alabama." Alabama Prince Hall Mason have Grand Master Charles V. Hendley; Alabama State Teachers Association has Mrs. Bessie Sears Estell, the Alabama Congress of Parents and Teachers have Mrs. A. M. Norris, the AME church has Bishop Carey A. Gibbs and the Alabama Baptist State Convention has Dr. U. J. Robinson. The list could be extended

Among the Negro group there is yet to be developed a political action leader of statewide acceptance. Atty. Arthur D. Shores came more nearly to this description than any leader in recent times, it seems to me. Others have inspired to such a height, and perhaps still do.

..Civil rights leadership is usually city leadership. Hence one can spot competent civil rights leadership in Tuskegee, Birmingham, Mobile, and Montgomery. The effects of this leadership fans out and tends to have an influence on other cities.

It seems to me that an overlooked aspect of Dr. King's leadership is the impression it made on ministers. Meantime he was able to develop disciples who will be able to do greater things than he did, it seems to me.

Editor Hall's editorial, also said, in part: "He (Dr. King) was a quite humorless man with no taste for mirth or wit. He may never have laughed during his five years in Montgomery, And, of course, nothing is that serious."

It is true that Dr. King was not a grinner. He was no fibber of jokester. But American humor is a little more than grinning. Then too, if Dr. King had monopolized the humor there may not have been a place for the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, the humorist from Marengo County.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala.—(SNS) — To lead the campaign for a Federal Voter - Registration Act the thinkers behind the plan will need to turn for ideas to the planners of the proposed Continental Baseball League.

Those planners scouted favorable territory. They dug up the facts to build the impression of need. Supporters of prestige were rounded up. Friends in sympathy with their ideas were catalogued. A target date for action was set.



Then they brought in Branch Rickey with his know - how, experience, contacts, success background and pioneering. A Branch Rickey in the area of racial voter registration denials is needed to spearhead the campaign for legislation to remove the barriers to the ballot erected in too many states, some of them with heavy Negro population and impoverished white people.

In five Southern states poll tax serve as a voting roadblock against the needy, the wage poor and the economic under - privileged .Devious schemes are used to keep the names of members of an exploited genetic group off the poll lists. In several states there are numerous counties with dense Negro population but not a single Negro voter. A composite picture of this widespread racial vote denying probably organized into a national campaign would likely fire up the nation.

The point is that in many states the state itself is guilty of violating the 15th Amendment. Federal legislation and the purging power of public opinion are needed to blast away these roadblocks to political suffrage.

The recent Memphis political story shows the stimulating value of widened political action. Entry of five Negro candidates in the race for political office brought a record number of voters to the polls. The opponents of wide-open voting opportunities try to distort the vital Memphis story. Big voting is described as bloc voting. Bigotry in politics is played up as bloc voting. Mixed candidates like mixed boxing matches tend to bring the big turnout. Even the foes of large - scale voting apparently could find little that was hostile to report about the kind of campaign conducted and the political issues developed by the Negro candidates.

This brings it down to the fact sheet on the Tuskegee Civic Association leadership. The TCA leadership seems to be launching their fourth level of political action. First, they were concerned about adding new voters. Second, they had to conduct campaigns for political education and getting voters to the polls. Third, they developed candidates for public office. Fourth, they are sponsoring proposed legislation for Congress along the line of H. R. 597, a proposal to establish A Federal Registration Commission.

This loose description, "fourth level of political action," is used as a convenient vehicle for discussion. It probably will be unacceptable usage or coinage to the puristic professors of political science. It is merely a working label on which to hang an impression rather than a delicacy on which to hang an impression rather than a delicacy on which to conduct a lecture for this erudite consumption. Lectureship is not necessarily leadership anyway.

Obstacles to the ballot box in the form of hampering state restrictions are not likely to be corrected by the states which impose them. Harsh state restrictions breed the heartbreaking disfranchisement practices. Unfair state voter - registration requirements are often veiled as qualifying tests for the right to cast the ballot. An example, for instance, is the report that in a certain Alabama Black Belt county Negro voter-registration applicants are required to show their income tax receipt. Failing to do this Negro applicants reportedly are rejected. No such demands are made of prospective white voters. State voter - registration laws are often no more than sharpened tools which are constructed to cut Negro citizens off from the streams of political action.

Racial disfranchisement seems to be used as a vicious scheme "for assigning the Negro (group) to a lesser station in American society." It roadblocks the Negro person from political participation; wrongs him as a human being and robs him as a citizen. The human being is entitled to function as a civic person in every county of this great United States of America without any denial whatsoever of the constitutional guarantees and of civil rights.

The proposed Federal Voter-Registration Act is designed to make certain that any citizen anywhere may function as a voter without the wrongful and discrimatory weights of sectional bigotry and state hindrance.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

William Peters in his book, "The Southern Temper" at page 94 discussed a conversation of a woman on the Southern white person's conception of love in respect to the Negro person.

"I think the minister should preach the gospel of Jesus Christ instead of sending out feelers to ascertain how the congregation react to brotherly love sermons," he quotes the conversation.

"Consciously or not, this woman," Mr. Peters writes, "was defining the limits to which the ideal of Christian brotherhood had been confined by the traditional paternalistic Southern attitude toward the Negro. It is all right, she implies, to help the Negro so long as he is weak, hungry, sick or poor. But to help him achieve a status in which he would no longer be dependent on such aid, her letter clearly implies, is just too much brotherly love altogether."



He adds: "In pushing the limits of Christian brotherhood beyond the narrow confines of charity Southern ministers are disturbing the conscience of many Southern whites. They are entering the segregation crisis at precisely the point where they can be expected to have the most impact. For they are forcing Southerners who think for themselves as Christians to lay their religious principles alongside their traditional Southern practices and compare them. In such a situation it is not surprising that some Southerners have lashed out at this voice which insists that they look inward. And the voice is being heard increasingly throughout the South."

This is a book which is recommended reading to those honestly interested in advancing brotherhood relations. It should enable one to understand why in Selma, Ala. an effort was made to establish an all-white school sponsored by the white Baptists of that area. It will help one to understand why an effort is underway to bring the state into the affairs of the church by promoting legislation which will freeze church property in the hands of Jim Crow Christians. It casts light on the cross-burning in front of the homes of two white Methodist ministers.

Some segregationists advocates who see all sorts of dangers should a person of Catholic faith be nominated and elected president of the United States seem to see nothing wrong with the wedding of church and state if it is designed to preserve racial segregation. These segregationists seem to see nothing wrong in the church taking over state - supported schools to avoid school integration. Church and state may wed as a device against school segregation but it would be wrong otherwise. This question is raised to call attention to how far off base the race question seems to have driven some.

It should be stated that the argument that the election of a person of Catholic faith to be president of the United States would mean the breakdown of the separation of church and state finds no support in this column. What is said is a means of trying to show the weakness of the segregationists argument in this connection. However it is recognized that there are those who are not segregationists who oppose a person of the Catholic faith from either being nominated or elected president.

It is always interesting to discuss this thing called the Southern white man's love for the Negro. He apparently "loves the Negro" as a lesser being rather than as a human being. He seems to "love the Negro" as a Negro, and nothing else. Southern love obviously is neither Christian nor brotherly love. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his book, "Strides Toward Freedom" discusses adequately the kind of love which is basic in the Christian faith. Brotherhood is wider than Christianity, it seems to me.

The inferior status accorded the Negro group has given to this group the stereotype of inferior being. With such improvement tools as purchasing power, the ballot, fairer public opinion, the Negro group can improve their status. More and more the Negro group will be judged by value symbols instead of color symbols.

For instance in Selma, private schools for the Negro group are in striking evidence. Among them are the Catholic School, Alabama Lutheran College and Selma University. Except for Selma University, these private schools are provided by money that was not raised by the Negro group.

Selma University has launched a building campaign for $400,000. There are an estimated 450,000 Negro Baptists in Alabama. What the Negro Baptists in Alabama think of their status can be measured partly by how fast they put up this money. This is one of the value standards by which the Negro group can test itself.

One who thinks something of himself will register and vote. Segregationists may halt Negro membership in some churches but they are powerless to prevent Negroes in the key northern cities from voting, and using their political power to help elect a better Congress. The Negro group can expect others to purchase first - class citizenship for them while they buy whiskey. The whiskey bill is to high and the first-class citizenship bill is too low. Bad love and big liquor bills are not good for any group, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. (SNS)—The smoker held in the Lee Medical Building was an informal, but educational feature of the 23rd annual convention of the Frontries of America, Inc. which convened July 15-18 at Leland Hotel here.

Dr. Edwin A. Lee, who owns this modern building once had location in the heart of the Springfield downtown. Yet in Springfield, a middle-sized Mid-Western city, one whose business or profession depends upon visitations, has to keep an eye on parking facilities, if he is to compete successfully.



As I sat there chatting, snacking, swapping inspirational stories. I thought of the times W. H. Hollins, a real estate friend of mine in my hometown of Birmingham, had related to me his efforts to interest the Negro doctors in Alabama's Magic City in erecting a center which would house all of the Negro professionals in the healing arts. Here in Springfield Dr. Lee has put up such a building although he has been here only about 10 years.

His office is situated in a mixed community, for Springfield is a mixed city, sprinkled lavishly with freedom, and the fragrance of liberty. A real estate man told me of the fine quality of citizens to be found in Springfield and attributed this city's vibrant spirit to it.

A group of us were guests in the home of the Lees, where we sat around and enjoyed the family warmth, bathed ourselves in the cultural atmosphere and shared the richness of our oneness of mankind. There is nothing to equal fine human beings like the Lees, whoes childden yielded to sleep, for it was late when we came. The lady who did the baby sitting was alone when we came.

The Springfield citizens I shared conversation with have city pride. Constantly they referred to things which make an impression. The young woman from Alabama who was a clerk in a store which apparently had widened its employment practices, was anxious to talk about her job. She said she desired to come back to her native state for a visit, but she had children, and perhaps they could not understand a state with dual ways after living all their lives in a city has obviously tried to cleanse itself of racial discrimination.

This woman was no crusader or Alabama critic. She loves her native Alabama, understands its double way, yet her children, she felt, could not understand. What child can understand Jim Crow?

We walked from Leland Hotel to the State Capitol grounds for a convention picture to be made. Activities had eaten up part of the time set aside for the tour. As we boarded the buses, my mind jogged back to 1932 when some of our Maroon Tigers staff at Morehouse College made a trip to Stone Mountain in Atlanta, where we heard stories of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. Some of our staffmates were Atlanta natives and they knew the Stone Mountain legends which had been handed down to them by their parents.

In Boston, Mass., in 1950, Councill Reed, who is a native of Birmingham and who was at Morehouse College during my time there, motored me to Plymouth Rock. I visited the Market Place in Boston and leaned against the hall where Frederick Douglass, the immortal abolitionist, had made some of his famous speeches. In Washington, D. C., my friend Earl Roper had shown me some of the shrines of freedom. I had drunk water from the spring in Prison Park, Andersonville, Ga., an area where some of my forebears lived, and relatives are still to be found.

The tour was the big thing. Children who had not been seen during the convention romped to window seats on the buses. We visited Lincoln Home, Lincoln's Tomb and the Salem Village where Lincoln had lived. You see more history at these places in an hour than you can read about in a lifetime. Surely, I have Carl Sandburg's works on Lincoln, and have read him widely. But history has been restored, collected, preserved, and presented in a way at these places which the non-scholar can understand. Here one could see a part of America's history in all of its glorious sublimity.

THE TIP OFF

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala.—(SNS)—Racial disfranchisement is a sectional scandal in America.

For in certain parts of America there are reportedly a hundred or more counties in which Negro citizens live, and want to vote, but who are deprived of such a vital right solely because of their race and color. Yet there is the 15th Amendment of the Federal Constitution which says that no state can take away the right to vote.

How is such depriving of such rights done? Various, nebulous, tricky, subtle, and often bold schemes are used. Poll tax, intelligence tests, urging, literacy devices and interpretation clauses have been used. Intimidation, terrorism, violence and economic pressures are among other methods.



Inspite of the 15th Amendment ways have been schemed to keep the names of many Negro citizens off the voting rolls. Now days some boards of registrars resign to frustrate the registration process. Others have become functionless Still others refuse to add the names of Negro persons to the poll lists.

This isn't something which occurs only in the Alabama Blackbelt, and in Jefferson County, where there is alleged boswelling. It is true in the Southern states, as much, where a majority of the Negro citizens in America still live.

Year after year goes by without any Negro person in Wilcox County and Lowndes County being allowed to register and vote. It has been that way in these two particular counties since 1900. It is still that way. Still there is the 15th Amendment.

There are similar counties in Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tenn., and others. Add up such counties and the Negro population in them you get a composite which looks like a scandal in racial disfranchisement.

As result of this disfranisement, the Black Belt has more strength in the legislature than it deserves. Southern Congressmen enjoy power far beyond the weight of the suffrage they represent. Political unevenness is evident. This racial disfranchisement now is hurting the United States of America. It is depressing the spirit of democracy and cramping the constitutional rights of a valuable minority.

The Congress has the power and the authority to overcome racial obstacles in voter-registration. The Tuskegee Civic Association has pointed to what can be done in proposed Federal Voter-Qualification Act. This proposal has been submitted by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell for consideration. It is a far-reaching proposal which would set up federal machinery needed to cope with long-standing evil practices in the voter-registration system in the South.

Unless there is a federal device for voter-registration the old system of racial disfranchisement is likely to continue. The federal government sets up uniform standards for income tax, for drafting citizens into the Army, and for combating inflation. Uniform voter-registration laws could also be formulated, it seems to me.

States which erect racial disfranchisement barriers forfeit in their states' right duty. When a state forfeits its rights by violating the commands of the constitution it has only itself to blame.

The Tuskegee Civic Association will need to do more than get some one to introduce its proposed federal voter-screening act into Congress. It will need to develop public opinion and to relate harsh disfranchisement to the American passion for political expression. The TCA leadership will have to center its attack on the obstacles to voter-registration Congress should be asked to stand up and be counted on this issue, it seems to me.

THE IP OFF

By EMOO. JACKSON

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. (SNS)—The -year old, Ohio-birthed, service-mphasizing Frontiers of America eld its 1959 cvonvention here in his history-laden city.

The NAACP was born here. Abraham Lincoln is buried here. State laws are made here. Freedom rings out here. Tourists from many parts of the world come here.

Just as The Frontiers of America were meting here the National Association for the Advance of Colored People was holding its half-century celebration in New York city.

Springfield should be an inspiration to all who have read or heard its history. Torn in 1908 by misunderstanding, it has almost transformed. Yet Springfield had something on which to rebuild. Its public schools have always served all. Certainly, there have been lapses, but the city seems to have leaped back.

Approximately 5,000 of the estimated 100,000 population are of the Negro group. Those here relate new opening on many fronts. Negro citizens hold important jobs. They seem to be making inteligent use of the ballot. Pride exudes in this city.



The convention heard a powerful speech by Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., who spoke on the subject, "Beyond the NAACP." His speech seemed to tie in with the work of the Frontiers and at the same time point up a new phase of the freedom struggle.

Dr. Wright made it clear that he is a NAACP supporter and that nothing he said must be taken otherwise. Simply he was saying that the NAACP cannot do the freedom job by itself. The NAACP has never thought it could do all of the Jobs of freedom. It has been a pathmaker, an opener of opportunity and a traditionbuster.

When the present storms of this latter transitional period in race relations shall have passed, only history will record that the NAACP's contribution toward making this an internally strong, democratic nation was not limited to the securing of the constitutional right of Negroes. Rather, its mayor contribution clarifying and making secure the fundamental rights of all Americans."

The Fisk president, a scolar in his own right, and Southern-born said that no one must assume, because of a few legal victories in the courts, that the total battle has been won. He suggested that the battle for equal opportunity has not won. Leaders, Dr Wright pointed out need to "focus your attention on the problems which lie beyond the NAACP." Dr. Wright argued that (1) that the NAACP cannot do it all; (2) time alone will not solve racial problems; (3) the battle for equal job opportunity has not begun and (4) further work must be done to change the racial climate of this nation.

He referred to an adage by Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago, Ill., "don't get mad; get smart." Dr. Wright contended that forming a strong "organization is the best way to get smart."

Weapons to be used to do the job beyond the NAACP which were suggested by the militant scholar were (1) education, (2) economic power, (3) political know how and organization.

Dr. Wright cited figures to back up his contention that educational and moral literacy battles are yet to be won. He pointed out that despite the improved educational opportunities there are three million Negro illiterates in America today. He referred to the 17 billion purchasing power in the hands of Negro buyers which could be thrown in this freedom struggle. He suggested that Negro leadership must insist on voting with an informed intelligence.

Sidelights: This columnist met one of his Morehouse College classmates, William Edgar Harrison, then of Ashville, N. C., who now resides at Miamisburg, Ohio. They had not seen each other since their 1932 graduation. Mrs. Velma Roland Carey, formerly of Selma, Ala., asked about her Bessemer, Ala., relatives. W. W. White, brother of A. B. White, Birmingham, asked about his Birmingham brother. Mr. White is in the undertaking business. Samuel B. Ethride, of New York City, where he is a member of the National Foundation staff, asked about his Birmingham brother. He is a member of The Frontiers. Nimrod B. Allen, of Columbus, founder of The Frontiers and retiring executive secretary, said he was born in Girard, Ala. Elmer Lancaster sent urgings to Mrs. Ruth J. Jackson to attend the Washington, D. C., meeting of the ational Negro Business League. Thale Hale who was at Morehouse College with T. I. Crowell inquired about him. The Rev. Lovell Johnson who was at Dunbar High School, Bessemer, with the Hopson brothers and at Wilberforce University with Atty. Demetricus C. Newton, asked about them. George C. Berry, Dayton, plans to visit Birmingham Aug. 10-11. Frontiersmen seem to be anxious to get a chapter of their organization set up in the Magic City.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. — (SNS)—The proposed Federal Voter-Registration Commission, suggested and backed by the Tuskegee Civic Association, and introduced by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell in the House of Representatives as H.R. 6557, will need a national committee of distinguished persons to build sentiment for it, it seems to me.

Admittedly such legislation is needed, and in a sense long overdue. But that realization is not enough by itself to win its enactment by the U.S. Congress. Such a bill will have to win public support. Give the people the facts and they will make up their own mind.



To direct the public education campaign to build rousing support for the method-of-registration proposal a strong man is needed. Such a man should be one who can keep his feet on the ground, his eyes on the target and his hands in God's hand, it seems to me. Putting this proposed Federal Voter-Registration Act into law will not be easy.

The 15th Amendment should become a workable instrument rather than freedom ornament. To give it workability in certain areas of the nation, the suggested Federal Voter-Registration Commission needs to be enacted into law. Take Wilcox and Lowndes counties of Alabama, for instance, where there are no Negro voters. State machinery for voter-registration is of such that no Negro citizen is willing to risk seeking the ballot.

Under state registration machinery one is often rejected in Alabama Black Belt counties solely because of his race and color. This, of course, rubs against the 15th Amendment but it is done in such a way that redress is almost an impracticable thing.

Research that relates voter-registration denials to a fearful and extensive pattern should be developed and dramatized. In developing such research it is possible that the finding will reveal a composite pattern of racial political suffrage denials harmful to the nation. It is obvious that the machinery in too many Southern states is inadequate for the fair and impartial registration of all citizens qualified to be voters.

In a report on "Negro Voter Registration in the South" released for publication by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Aug. **30, it found: "Since the Council's** last survey Negro voting in 1956, none of the 11 Southern states has eased its registration laws. Two states — Virginia and Georgia — tightened voting requirements. Five states retained the poll tax. Literacy tests which could be used to limit Negro registration remained in effect in seven."

The Council revealed: "During this period, purges of Negroes from voting rolls have been widespread in Louisiana. In some areas of the South Negroes trying to register were confronted with threats slowdowns, evasions and outright refusals."

How best may such obstacles be overcome? The proposed Federal Voter-Registration Commission is one way suggested. The new Right-to-Vote law, the old Federal Commission on Civil Rights, the new Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice have all failed to correct this situation. There are no Negro persons serving on boards of registrars in Southern states. The nation has the 15th Amendment but the Negro person does have the ballot in numerous places. Some Southern states are allowed to do what the 15th Amendment says "no state shall deny a citizen the right to vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Comes this from that report; "SR listed 29 counties in the South where no Negroes are registered. These included one county in Virginia, one in South Carolina, three in Florida, two in Georgia, three in Florida, two in Alabama, one in Tennessee, an estimated 15 in Mississippi and four in Louisiana. The majority have populations over 50 per cent Negro."

Yet that is not the whole story. In many other counties there is only token voter-registration. For instance in Bullock County, Alabama, with more Negro than white residents there are only five Negro voters. In Jefferson County where there are over 121,000 Negro persons 21 years and older, there are less than 12,000 Negro voters. In Macon County there is no longer a functioning board of registrars. Negro political suffrage is just about frozen in still other Alabama Black Belt counties.

Token voter-registration is almost as bad as no registration. Token registration is a device in the system of racially restrictive political suffrage. No-registration and token registration should help the public see the need for enactment of a Federal Voter-Registration Commission.

In Alabama there seems to have been too much civic silence on this basic issue of the opportunity to vote. Straight talk is better than gray talk on this issue, it seems to me. Militant civic-service leaders must let all know that they stand firmly; fearlessly and forever for the unhampered and unfettered right to register and vote. State-imposed racial disfranchisement makes the U.S.A. a divided nation, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

World
Birmingham Ala.
Sat 8-15-59

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Metropolitan Birmingham is called "the shopping mecca" in advertisement.

It adds that there are 4,500 stores in this same area. Perhaps all of them sell to all. But just how many of these stores are operated by members of our group?



Our group are customers. Research tells us that "Negroes are a primary factor" in this "shopping mecca," but as customers, not sellers. They tell us that "Negroes traditionally spend 99 per cent of more of their income for things they want.

Do members of the Negro group spend for freedom? How much do they invest in first - class citizenship? How much do they buy from those with their foot on their necks? When you relate the buying power of the local Negro group to their voting power one can see a sad adverse gap. Our group buys what they want.

The Rev. Eddie Blankenship, director of public relations for Protective Industrial Insurance Company, says he sees the "need of a real workable Negro Chamber of Commerce." He is asking that this suggestion be discussed this Friday night at a meeting called for Masonic Temple. Here is the capital of Negro purchasing power in the Southeast there is no functioning consumer group among us. Negro-owned businesses is not adequately organized.

An effort is underway by another public relations man to build a directory of Negro licensed or Negro-owned business. Should this be compiled, and then an organization patterned on the Chamber of Commerce be established, both should shed new light on the business potential of the Negro group. Negro business is weaker than Negro buying power.

A national magazine said this week the meeting of the National Negro Business League and two related organization in Washington, D. C. went almost unnoticed by the press. The Nation's capital has fine, liberal, progressive newspaper. Negro business is not news, to them. The NNBL had the expert services of Atlanta-born Moss H. Kendrix, one of the best public relations men in this country. Yet, according to this national magazine, the convention of the National Negro Business League failed to get coverage in accordance with its significance.

April 10 in connection with the Second Annual Business Education Workshop held on the campus of Miles College was there a discussion of the "Small Businesses Investment Corporation." Interest appeared to be substantial. Nothing has been heard of the suggestion to explore such a project since it was discussed. We seem to discuss more than we do.

Another young business man tried to get those in the building construction field to organize for self-protection. Those in the building crafts did not manifest much interest. Organization is one of the best forms of assistance, it seems to me.

Brains that organize a fraternity or a sorority seem to lack the capacity to organize economics. Negro-organized business and those Negro skilled workers in the building trades seems to be lacking in the will power to build suitable organizations to get a bigger share of the Negro market and the flow of skilled and technical jobs.

So the Rev. Blankenship is ready to plunge into the field left void by the passing of the Greater Birmingham Negro Business League. The satisfied and the selfish are likely to gang up on him. The economic catspaw leadership will put barriers in his way. The poison boys will return to action. He will be misunderstood and his motives distorted.

The Rev. Blankenship has a fight on his hands. For the local Negro group buys what it wants, and maybe what others wanted them to have .... second - class citizenship, lower paying jobs, struggling, weak business. The Negroes are good customers. .. .. ..

Why can't we produce more good business men?

THE TIP OFF

World
Birmingham Ala.
Sat. 8-8-59

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Twelve of the fourteen years of Southern Beauty Congress operation have been in Birmingham, the show piece of Negro purchasing power.

Recognition in other places of the pocketbook potency of the local Negro group is conversational matter these days at the various conventions where investment - minded leaders gather. The Birmingham purchasing power story is one of such vastness that it is hardly fully appreciated by the local Negro group, it seems to me.



Surveys have been made by the daily press of the amazing Negro market. Yet civic service and consumer counseling leadership have not made a helpful use of this economic information. Little is there to show advancement - wise among the Negro group in Birmingham of their spending power, which is unorganized, undramatized, and un-utilized, it seems to me.

Southern Beauty Congress was able to attract, for business purposes, Earl Jackson, of Blue Car, Inc., New York City. This is an overseas tourist service owned and directed by the Virginia - born, Morehouse College - trained, experience - wise Mr. Jackson. He says that he has been in the tourist business about three years. He laid the groundwork for a 32-days, seven - countries June tour of Europe by the Southern Beauty Congress. Mrs. Ruth J. Jackson, chairman of S. B. C., said before Mr. Tourist Salesman Jackson left that one seven - person plane - load had already signed up for the 1960 overseas trip.

It appears that Mr. Jackson would not have made the trip to Southern Beauty Congress unless he had weighed carefully the economic factors. He seems to recognize that the local Negro group has achieved credit status, a sharpened interest in learning by traveling and also has the economic footing which entitles them to an upward revised consideration.

Dr. S. Preston, Jr., of Cleveland, Ohio, director of the training division of Hair Weev, Inc., said his corporation plans to establish a training center in Birmingham. The Texas - born Mr. Preston and Mrs. Christine M. Jenkins, of Cleveland, Ohio, participated in the Congress. Mrs. Jenkins invented the hair-weaving process of which she demonstrated and showed movies. Investment - minded business leaders move only on the basis of economic facts and expert guidance.

Ardmore Mine, of New York City, a former photographer and feature writer on a national weekly, and who once handled public relations for Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., is serving as public relations consultant for Southern Beauty Congress. To line up a man of his talents and prestige should mean something. In his remarks at the opening session of the S. B. C. he softly pointed out some of the outstanding achievements of the Congress. Among them, he said, were fourteen years of existence, and the support for the Congress built up in Birmingham. A city has to have something to offer to attract leading beauty manufacturers, jobbers and beauty experts.

The S. B. C. presented three awards at the banquet. Mrs. Dorothy Brown who has served for 28 years as secretary of the Grand Masterof the Most Worshipful Grand Master F. and A. M. (Prince Hall Affiliation), was given the annual service award. Jessie J. Lewis, the featured banquet speaker and president of the seven - year old Jessie J. Lewis and Associates were given the achievement award. Miss Bernice Calvin, of New York City, who along with her sister, Miss Delores Calvin and her mother, Mrs. Willa Lee Calvin, publishes the five-year old Beauty Trade Magazine, was given the "service to beauty culture" award.

Miss Calvin said that "Beauty Trade Magazine" is on the market to stay." The late father of the Calvin Sisters, as they are called, conducted a news service. For a time, the Calvin Sisters tried to keep it going, which was a rough task. It has been a struggle with their young publication. But beauticians in the South, especially in Alabama, has given the beauty magazine vital, and appreciated support.

Beauty is big business among the Negro group. Here in Birmingham there are three private beauty schools, one a combination beauty and barber school. Beauty culture is taught in one of the local colleges, the trade school, and in several of the high schools. Beauty parlors are downtown, in the community centers, and elsewhere.

Yet on the Jefferson County Cosmetology Board there are not yet any Negro persons serving on the board. Nor are there any inspectors. When beauticians are able to perform a better job at the ballot box, galvanize their organizational potential, and develop political action savvy, they will be able to do something about representation not only on the County Cosmetology Board, but in other important activities.

Birmingham Is the capital of Negro purchasing power in the Southeast. But what has it to show for all of this power in the instance of upgraded jobs, new employment opportunities, fair political participation?

THE TIP OFF

31 a Negro

Birmingham World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

In Memphis, Tenn., racial barriers in two bus terminals have fallen. B'Ham, Ala.

According to the Memphis World, Jim Crow signs at Continential Bus Terminal and Greyhound Bus Terminals have been removed on orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The ICC regulates interstate transportation.

In Birmingham, racial signs still



hang high at the Terminal Station, L. & N. shed and at the various bus terminals. Memphis is as Southern as Birmingham.

Wed. 16-19-59

Yet there are three factors. In Memphis there are approximately 58,000 Negro voters. Business leaders of the Bluff City are also civic action leaders. Civic leaders of that city had initiated the action. Here the Jefferson County Betterment Association reportedly is re-working its program. The larger issues which affect the group seem to go untackled.

P-6

Sewage is a No. one need. Carver High School which was officially dedicated last Sunday is located in a mosquito bottom. The swamp-like site is almost a dead-end with thickets adjacent to the school. The sewer tax is paid by all who use water. Yet check sewage in almost any residential area where members of the Negro group live Look at the general area where the Tittusville Branch Library is established.

Talk about tax and who pays tax. No citizen is exempt from tax paying because of his race. The sales tax falls heaviest upon the poor. If you smoke, drink, or read, you pay tax. No one is excused from tax paying because he is poor. If you vote and are not 45 or an exempted war veteran, you pay tax for the right to vote.

There is need for leadership responsive to the crying civic needs of Birmingham. Such a leadership must always be kept responsible to the Negro group or dropped.

Those who want civic democracy are going to have to load upon themselves a measure of civic leadership. Civic leadership should be a form of dedication. Its salary is not silver but service. Its chief service is that of social freedom and the bringing nearer into realization actual democracy.

The civic leader must try to discover for his spiritual self and give to it function. Self is an integration of spirit.

THE TIP-OFF

Birmingham World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham, Ala.

Sept. 19, 59

In a democracy the school is the seed bed of freedom. Teacher of democracy are the vital builders of the lamps of liberty by which free beings are guided.

The Jefferson County Public School System sponsored its second annual College Emphasis Week Nov. 16-19. Seniors of the seven high schools under the direction of Dr. E. Paul Jones were provided the opportunity to see and talk with representatives from various colleges. Guidance teachers, staff counselors, and resource leaders were on hand to assist.

Working two high schools a day



after the one-day opening, the go-to-college stimulation project takes only four days for the seven schools. Perhaps the arrangement at Wenonah Hi School was typical, with two exceptions. The briefing conference was held at Wenonah and the evaluation conference or closing meeting was held at Hooper City High School. Luncheon sessions were held at only four of the seven schools.

The school auditorium was arranged so that the college representative had his station, or group, or booth. A large printed sign indicated the particular college. The signs were touched with artwork which depicted the collegiate suggestion. The representatives had various types of recruiting literature. The college recruiters also served as go-to-college counselors, it seems to me. They discussed those aspects about going to college they were of concern to the prospective college students.

The educational institutions which sent literature instead of a representative had a display station. Mrs. Ludie P. Dowdell, elementary supervisors and Mrs. Mary Stith Nation, visiting teacher; were on duty at this post. Some students came to examine the material sent by these colleges. Most of this material was excellent.

Groups visited the college representatives on the basis of three periods. They rotated on the basis of first, second and third choice. A representative by this method had an opportunity to see students with a wide arrange of interest. College recruiting, testing and selecting are being undertaken on more scientific basis than ever before. One doesn't merely go to an A-rated college. Such colleges seem to seek first the top students who also possesses, above all else, good character, and visible ability.

The Jeffcho staff also had worked up some material to put in the hands of the representatives, such as The "Handbook for Jefferson County High School, Alabama" The survey on the 1958 Jeffco "High School Graduates in College"; the supplementary report on these graduates, the fact sheets of the particular high school and the "JCEA Journal" all provided informative material. It is the kind of material which should be helpful to the college in ways other than recruiting.

Meantime such material should be of vital interest to the various P-T. A.s in the county. This is especially true of the "handbook". Under the new Jeffcho program emphasis is placed upon finding out the ability of the student, Providing guidance, and fitting his training to suit the sharpness of his mind, the alertness of his spirit and the industry of his scholarship, it seems to me.

At the opening meeting, Dr. Jones posed these questions: "How can we improve this program?"

"How do Jefferson County High School compare with those other high schools visited by the recruiters?"

One of the college representatives said that one of the weaknesses of most freshmen, irrespective of high school, is that they are "still poor in English."

Dr. Jones, noting the improvements in educational facilities, equipment, supplies and guidance, said that if the students are not property trained and prepared then "nobody is to blame for the quality of their scholarship but us."

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, has put it even stronger than Dr. Jones. He says that the training of Negro students rests primarily in the hands of Negro school principals. If the school principals insist on good teaching, see that those activities which frustrate efficient teaching are eliminated, good students will be produced. There should be a way to determine good teaching programs and effective instructional work. School accreditment is no guide to the quality of teaching done in a school. Academic degrees held by the teaching force is an inexact index. The product turned out as the best yardstick by which teaching can be measured.

The opening conference, luncheon, auditorium program and the conferences with the college representatives were the basic organizational set up of College Empnasis Day at Wenonah High School.

Everything clicked with smooth efficiency. The timing was almost perfect. College Emphasis Day was conducted by Wenonah High School with skilled organizational teamwork. There were no hitches, no lapses, no wasting of time. The activities moved orderly and with maximum productivity.

THE TIP OFF

Birmingham World

Birmingham

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Striking improvements in the half-time activities, the pre-game parade, official souvenir program, and in fan conduct spotlighted the 36th Cramton Bowl Classic events here Nov. 26. Of, course, the sparkling victory of the 'Bama Hornets over the Tskegee Golden Tigers provided the drama, the thrills, the excitement.

This is a remarkable attraction. For Montgomery it is a fixture and for the SIAC a standout, with a lustre that challenges the Orange Blossom Classic in Miami and rivals the Tuskegee - Morehouse competition in Columbus, Ga. Activity for activity it could be in a class to itself.



The Hornet band under the direction of Birmingham - born Clarence Edmondson and the Tiger band under the conductorship of Indiana-born Melville C. Bryant, reflected growth, creative improvement and real artistry. There were innovations, projection of artistic themes and the infusion of Thanksgiving Day symbols and ideas. The band performances were high class and on a standard worthy of collegiate effort, it seems to me. The manuevers by the Tuskegee R. O. T. C. marching units delighted and pleased the fans.

I did not see the parade but from the comments and discussions of it, the event outstripped all previous ones. High school bands, the two college bands, and floats were features of the downtown grid-related activity. The only shortcoming about the parade which came up in conversation was the permission of undecorated cares to participate in the parade. It appears from the revelations of these conversations that there are a few Montgomerians who use the parade to show off their big, new expensive automobiles without relating their entry either to the Thanksgiving day theme or to the civic struggle involving their group.

Civic uses can be made of the parade. It can be utilized as a vehicle to display the cultural and artistic advancement of our group. It can display the newly-discovered talent and also serve as a parade of vital progress. A wagon, or tractor, or jalopy could be used as a carrier of skill, and a bearer of projected ideas. No parade can serve athnic progress which allows itself to be an advertising show for the automobile makers. Let the automobile people put on their own show. They can do it better than those who buy a big car once a year, it seems to me.

The parade should continue to serve as the barometer of human relations in the "Cradle City of the Old Confederacy". It could be made the yardstick for measuring civic good will in Alabama's Capital City. Let art have its proper place in the parade. Civic organizations could hitch art to messages of freedom. The true artist could create a ballot message without allowing his talent to suffer.

Fan conduct at the Cramton Bowl Classic Bowl

Bowl Classic was first-class. Yet there seemed to be fewer white fans than in other years. The irony is that with such a noticeable advancement in spectator conduct there would be a drop off in grid customers from the friendly neighbors of other years. Yet the press box showing was in contrast to the stands. The promoters should try to do something to really make this Montgomery's big game, not merely that of the alumni of the two institutions, it seems to me.

The "Official Souvenir Program" of the 1959 "Dixie Classic" is equally a "Fact Book on the S. I. A. C." It carries information about the activities surrounding the "classic" and is filled with data of value to sportswriters and spectators alike. This year the program was dedicated to Basketball Coach Ross Owens of the Tuskegee Institute Golden Tigers and to "Big John" Leftwich, Alabama State Hornet All-American Guard and subsequent Trainer-Custodian "who is now incapacitated."

Mr. Leftwich who hails from Mulga, Ala., was a footbal and basketball star at Westfield High School under then Coach A. J. McClung, graduate of Tuskegee Institute. Mr. McClung is currently executive secretary of the Fifth Street YMCA in Columbus, Ga.

The night of Oct. 23, following the 'Bama-Clark football game in Montgomery, I chatted with Mr. Leftwich in Hornet gym. The friendly smile flashed, the communicating handshake came, and then he talked. He was cheerful and his conversation that of a person with a great heart and a bold soul.

THE TIP OFF

Birmingham World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

NORMAL, Ala. — (SNS) — For almost a half century, beginning in 1910, football has been a major sport at Alabama A. & M. College.

Six intercollegiate sports are currently sponsored by this institution. This program of inter-school sports has been promoted with a limited staff. Probably the average SIAC school has a football coaching staff larger than the entire staff of Alabama A. & M. College.

G. H. Hobson, director of athletics and head football coach, is also over the physical education program. Frank E. Lewis is head basketball and baseball coach.

Conderidge Holloway, assists as backfield coach, although he is the regular coach at Councill Training School. James M. Ward, industrial arts instructors, assists as line coach.

Others listed in connection with varied other duties relative to football activities are Dr. W. H. Hollins, director of publicity; T. V. Dawson, band director and George O. McCalep, Sr., faculty adviser. Student factotums are J. C. Boyd, trainer and James Statistician



Other inter-college sports include baseball which was initiated in 1912, dropped in 1920, and reinstated in 1954 track in 1942; basketball in 1948-49, golf in 1957 and tennis in 1959. Mr. Ward coaches the golf team. The golf and track teams participated in the SIAC promotions in Atlanta, Ga. The tennis team competed at the Tuskegee Institute tournament.

Perhaps the most overloaded coach in the SIAC, Coach Hobson has gone along uncomplaining. He has had the task of trying to formulate a sound intra - mural program, expand the inter - collegiate program, and up-date the phyical education department. He has had a limited staff, skimpy resources, and often less than adequate facilities with which to work. Yet there have been steady improvements to what is not visible.

The football field with its rock-hewed seats, electric heated press box and its radio booth; the physical education building and baseball field, are a few examples of improvements.

This year Coach Hobson revamped his football offense. He has received criticism from alumni and others because he preferred his single wing back formation to the T-formation. Many of the high school players who came to him had played under the T-system which is popular in this section. The change - over did not produce a winner, In fact, this was a poor won- lost year for the Hobson - men.

In this victory - crazy age, Coach Hobson seems to be conscious of the temper of the times, yet he is not losing his balance nor forsaking the principles in which he believes. He gives one the feeling that he has done the best he could with what he has and under the circumstances in which he finds himself. Frankly, there are those who do not share this observation.

Coach J. T. Braxton of Tougaloo College seemed to be impressed with Coach Hobson's sports philosophy which must not be confused with coaching techniques. Alabama A. & M. does not go into the market for buying up athletes. The so-called "aid" programs of some colleges is hardly any more than a player purchase system, it seems to me.

Tougaloo was the only team on the 1959 Alabama A. & M. College football schedule to fall before the Hobson men. But what Mr. Braxton was talking about had nothing to do with that game. He was plugging the idea of a new athletic conference and mentioned the sports idealism of Coach Hobson as ..a quality he should like to see inculcated in a new intercollegiate organization which might include institutions like Lane, Fisk, Knoxville, Stillman, Miles Alabama A. & M. Dillard and Tougaloo. Noting the lone state - supported school in his grouping, the question was asked, "Why."

The "why" seemed to have been the Hobson sports philosophy rather than the classification of the college on the basis of private or public.

31a 1959

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

In his speech to the twenty-first annual convention of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, D. G. Thompson, of Washington, D. C., a member of the National Public Relations Roundtable, suggested: "There are more than three million Negroes between the ages of 15 and 24 who are anxious and ready to support an appeal designed for them."

Of course, Mr. Thompson was trying to make the point that the



PR-men can help to find and stimulate interest in this age spread in the Negro segment. One could select any urban city and pull out figures and dream up some ideas about them.

Much of the Negro population is still in the rurals. A high percentage of it is concentrated in the rurals of the South. The level of education and the general readership of the population of the South lags behind other sections of the nation. These are factors which must not be overlooked. Perhaps no other media has done as much as the Negro-produced press to stimulate reading among the Negro segment.

Help has not always be plentiful from the Negro schools and colleges for which the Negro-owned press has devoted most of its energy, talent, spirit and resources trying to improve, level up, and strength. Not always have there been libraries for Negro children, either in their schools or in their cities. It is not the fault of the Negro-owned press that Negro newspapers are not always found in some of the Negro school libraries of the South.

When this columnist used to travel extensively in the South, it was the practice to always check the libraries of the schools which which were visited. Tactfully at times the absence of Negro newspapers in these libraries was mentioned. In contract, there could be found violently anti-Negro publications. This was not always the fault of the teachers and principals of these schools.

However in the Birmingham area the local Negro-produced press has only itself to blame if it is not found where one naturally would expect to see it. But that still is not true, generally speaking, in some parts of rural Alabama. It is not such a thing of pressure but a matter of interest, it seems to me. Part of the blame rightfully falls on the Negro press itself, it seems to me.

But the central point of Mr. Thompson was to dramatize the need for readership surveys and planning to attract and attach the unhooked readers before anybody else discovers them. The PR-men know what is happening and they seem to be trying to alert the publishers. On the other hand Negro publishers seem to believe that they are already doing what is being suggested but that the PR-men can't comprehend this. That is the core reason that other joint sessions of NNPA and NPRR need to be held, it seems to me.

Chuck Williams, of Los Angeles, the new chairman of NPRR, has extended an invitation to NNPA to appear before the Roundtable at the latters third annual conference in Philadelphia in 1960.

In Philadelphia there is a NNPA member newspaper, the 75-year-old Philadelphia Tribune, edited and published by Atty. E. Washington Rhodes. He is a member of the Philadelphia Board of Education which July 9 adopted a policy barring racial segregation and discrimination in its public schools. It was Mr. Rhodes who was the author and sponsor of that policy statement.

The Tribune is celebrating its 75th anniversary this year and NNPA President William O. Walker, a native of Selma, Ala. and editor and publisher of the Cleveland (Ohio) Call and Post is scheduled to deliver the anniversary speech at the banquet.

Getting back to the NPRR, Mr. Williams points out: "One of the initial steps by members of the Roundtable is to explore and determine the staus of a client's relationship with the Negro press, prior to setting forth a program." He adds that 'Public relations consultants are not advertising men and do not generally main criteria in this area."

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

LOS ANGELES, Calif. (SNS)—The five-member National Public Relations Roundtable, which includes Jesse J. Lewis of Birmingham, Ala., was one of the new features at the 21st annual convention of the National Newspaper Publishers Association held at the Biltmore Hotel here.

Other members of the roundtable are Atlanta-born Moss Hyles Kendrix, now of Washington, D. C., and president of the national alumni association of Morehouse College; D. G. Thompson, chairman of NPRR, also of Washington, D. C.; Chuck Williams of Los Angeles and Joseph N. Baker of Philadelphia, Pa.

Each of the roundtable members owns his public relations service



They seem to have come together for self-protection and to try to accredit and police the members of their profession and to formulate a code of ethics. They came to lay their case before the NNPA, to explain their role, reveal the nature of their operation, and incidentally to suggest the availability of their services to the publishers.

It would appear that the NNPA and the PR profession have not fully understood each other. For this reason NNPA President William O. Walker arranged a place on the convention program for this group so that they and the publishers could have a heart-to-heart talk. Mr. Lewis of the roundtable could not attend because of an emergency committent.

Mr. Thompson made the featured presentation for the roundtablers. He is president of Associated Counselors International, a title which itself should focus significant meaning. He made an able, clear, and valuable contribution to the understanding of what the PR-er tries to do. Yet there has been the feeling on part of some publishers that the PR man was cutting into the advertising budget set up by business and industry and also was aiding in diverting advertising copy to other media.

Seething beneth the surface has been the suspicion that the PR-ers downgraded Negro newspapers among the big advertisers while radio stations which feed on the Negro market, take no stand on the freedom struggle, and also aids in giving the general public a false image of the Negro group, is grabbing off the juicy accounts once held by the Negro-owned press. One publisher took exception to the slant that radio which feeds on the Negro market was regarded by big advertisers as not being controversial because they do not stand up and fight for the voting rights, school rights, job rights and other civil rights for which the Negro-owned press has given its life blood to trying to protect and advance.

The roundtablers faced up to this, set the record straight, and for the first time grappled with these questions in the open. There was Publisher P. B. Young, Sr., of the highly-respected and NNAP editorial awards winning Norfolk Journal Guide, who took the floor to challenge the PR-men on what he felt was the tendency of some of them to try to run-down the Negro-owned press.

In came the voice of Mr. Kendrix, one of the NNPA favorites and originator of National Negro Press Week, to explain that no reputable PR-man would be guilty of such practices as brought to discussion by Mr. Young. He conceded however, that such might be the case of the unscrupulous and unworthy public relations operators. Mr. Kendrix said that one of the aims of the National Public Relations was to help weed out the unethical in their profession and to accredit the authenic.

Mr. Baker who came up on the 75-year old twice-aweek Philadelphia Tribune, and with 25 years of service in the public relations field did an excellent job in trying to clarify the services rendered by the Negro PR men who owe their existence, to some degree, to the Negro-produced press. Mr. Baker will serve on the public relations panel at the 50th anniversary celebration of the NAACP (July 13-19) in New York City. He is considered one of the NNPA convention fixtures and has served the association in many beneficial ways.

..Mr. Thompson pointed out that to qualify for roundtable membership one has to be self-employed for two years and represent respectable clients. He said it was one of the cardinal principles of the NPRR to recommend use of Negro media to their clients and to suggest that they utilize the Negro press for advertising. He added they also strive to stimulate circulation for the Negro press. "We are trying to set a path and set it straight," he asserted.

He then put his finger on something which the NNPA should be interested when he declared: "We (NPRR) hope to explore this area of mutual benefit." The NPRR seems to be in a position to play a vital role to NNPA and the Negro press if given the opportunity, it seems to me. Yet NNPA President Walker put it concisely, "The Negro press looks askance upon public relation counselors." He added that "there is a legitimate field for the public relations counselor."

It seems to me that NPRR has performed a significant service with its discussion. Something worthwhile is destined to come out of it. It was a healthy and honest discussion of two groups who need each other.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The "Leadership Achievement" program held the night of Nov. 6 at East End Baptist Church was a first-rate massive leadership recognition program.

The Rev. C. W. Woods, host pastor, said the idea was revealed to him during a three-day fast. He envisioned something he describes are achievement clubs which should be organized to guide and instruct school-going youth.



Most of those listed for recognition were present. Some who found they could not attend sent expressions.

Among those who sent expressions were some who sent along a financial contributions.

The Rev. Woods is the minister City Hall had arrested for allegedly preaching bus boycott gospel. His case is on appeal. His name is listed in the brochure, "They Challenge Segregation at Its Core" and also came up in the lead editorial of Frank Stanley's Louisville Defender, Nov. 6. He was given recognition along with the others.

Of course all of the group's leaders were not listed for recognition. Rather, the honored roster seemed to have been the personal selection of the sponsor. Many of those he picked would appear on almost any objectively selected list.

The Rev. J. L. Ware, who presided, helped to make the program a profitable and useful event. He kept it moving, enlivened with appropriate comment, and paid a solid tribute to the Rev. Woods. He, the Rev. Ware, was so impressed, he said, of the adaptation of the idea:

Unless the Negro group recognizes its own leadership, catalogues their achievements, and emphasizes their contribution, no one else is likely to do it. The vast purchasing power of the Birmingham group is exploited by others but not fully utilized by Negro leadership as an economic tool. There is not yet a Negro-owned supermarket, chain grocery store, or Negro-managed chain grocery store in Birmingham.

The Negro food dollar is not made a tool for new jobs, for new ordership, for new privileges.

Much of the group's effort in Birmingham has been expended in self-defense achievements. Many of our leaders have been thrown in jail for standing up for the American promise. The jail house alumni among our leadership numbers almost every one of our authentic civil rights leaders. To me there is no bigger achievement than that af selfhood, the feeling of being a child of God and a first-class citizen.

In Birmingham a Negro leader has to fight against racial segregation on the one hand and also try to be a success on the other hand in his other endeavors. Double-standard citizenship requires a double fight of its victims. The biggest achievement of the Birmingham Negro group is in their realization of their cultural and divine worth. He is shedding his fear, inferiority, and the satisfied mind. The searching spirit has replaced the accepting spirit. This could go down in Birmingham history as the age of Negro achievement — an achievement bigger than material things.

A program such as the "Leadership Achievement" idea seems to have amazing promotional potential. Yet controls, standards and yardsticks like this will be difficult. Still achievement is something tangible, measurable, and weighable. Of course, different valuations will be placed on achievements, and should be, it seems to me.

What community in which the Negro group lives has the best total citizenship score? Which has the lowest crime figures? Which community has the most paved streets? Community improvement reflects personal improvement.

All in all, the Rev. Woods promoted an inspiring program. Prof. Leon Kennedy, principal of Wenonah High School, who gave the response for the honorees, said "this type of thing should catch fire."

Too often only the faults of the Negro group are spotlighted. A Negro who is accused af serious crime is played up by the white press. But a Negro person who writes a book like C. Herbert Oliver's "No Flesh Shall Glory" is passed over by this same press unnoticed. A cafe in a Negro district of the Birmingham downtown hangs out with the sterotype of "Steppin' Fetchit," a stigma of second-class citizenship. A symbol of first-class citizenship like Ralph J. Bunche is ignored.

Yet members of the Negro group do not have to buy second-class citizenship or cater to downgrading slogans.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atty. Demetrius C. Newton, graduate of Fairfield Industrial High School, Wilberforce University and the School of Law of Boston University was the speaker last Thursday at the Hungry Club of the 18th Street Branch YMCA. He was frank, interesting, and challenging. He took the occasion to unburden himself, to reveal himself to friends, and explain. He pulled no punches, ducked no issues, and revealed. Those who heard him appeared to be impressed with his presentation.



Mr. Newton attempted to explain why lawyers make certain moves in civil rights cases. He told his side of the so-called "leadership stalemate" and also expressed what he considered the feelings, attitudes and positions of some of his associates of the bar. He made it clear he was not speaking for them and trying to explain their side. He identified himself with the lawyers and in explaining some of their action seemed to have defended them in some respects.

The discussion had a cleasing effect, it seems to me. Mr. Newton told the group that he was associated in the new civil rights case partly because of his position as the father of a child he wanted to help opening up future opportunities. In this he seemed to have weighed personal considerations against his child's future. He did not put the impression in that language.

The Hungry Club provides a forum for community leaders to exchange intelligent views on current problems. This sharing, trading, scrimmaging and exploring of views is a vital civic service, it seems to me. Yet the Hungry Club is not getting the week-to-week support which it seem to deserve.

In view of the two civil rights cases in which Mr. Newton is associating as an attorney and the prominence given the so-called "leadership stalemate," one would have expected an overflow turnout. Not so. The Hungry Club is the only fellowship service where community leaders can get together at a weekly luncheon. Yet it seems to be where many who speak never show up any more after they have had their saying.

The program makers ought to bear this in mind. Speakers who are only interested in their own speeches are hardly worth listing as speakers, it seems to me. There are too many undiscussed issues. Valuable books are going unreviewed. National Book Review Week is coming up and there are some new books which might be reviewed or mentioned, it seems to me.

Getting back to Mr. Newton, it seems to me that he took care of himself ably. This does not mean that what he said pleased all or that all was in agreement with him. But to place him before the verbal firing squad of the Hungry Club was an amazing feat. He was questioned rigidly about the so-called "leadership stalemate" and his reputed connections with it.

Usually in any serious and sincere discussion something is said about the group's leadership in this city. There are too many action fronts for a central-figure leadership. What is needed is both a diversity of leadership and teamwork leadership, it seems to me. Unity is spiritual and united is only a temporary arrangement. Hence the talk about unity of leadership must be confused with teamwork of leadership.

Civic leadership with solution is better than one with only questions.

THE TIP OFF

Birmingham is the nursery of competitive sports. What our city lacks in unlimited enchantment it seems to try to make up in sports appeal. Narrow-minded has checked the potential to which the Magic City might aspire, by completely drying up the pool from which sports talent sprouts.

Prejudice withered the Dixie Relays and for a time sidetracked professional football exhibition games. Big League baseball teams began to tour around Birmingham during the Spring exhibition season. Prize fighting which came back with Jimmy Ervin went down before the blows of Jim Crow. The Southern Baseball Association is tottering under the killing power of bigotry.

When William J. (Bill) Moore talked at the ninth annual pre-football season smoker sponsored by the Birmingham Grid Forecasters Thursday night, Sept. 3 at



Downbeat Club an era of sports lore might have been reproduced. Perhaps no other man has lived through the changing sports picture in Birmingham has as Mr. Moore. If one cares to read Ellen Tarry's "Third Door" he will find some mention of the Taylor brothers and the Black Barons. Much could be added to what Miss Tarry wrote by Mr. Moore who was entrusted by his father to one of the Taylor brothers. He has been sports editor on the now suspended Birmingham Reporter, arbiter in the SIAC; coach and one of the founders of the Industrial Baseball League.

Another school principal, E. J. Oliver, who boasts coming up in the same community with Mr. Moore and also of playing third base for Tuskegee Institute, could also furnish details of baseball exploits in Birmingham. Add to these the name of Bob McCormick whose name often rolls from the lips of Mr. Oliver when he discusses shop league baseball. Might not it be interesting to have an oldtimers roundtable on baseball featuring Mr. Moore, Mr. Oliver and Mr. McCormick. Which of them played the best game at the hot corner?

One thing Kelly Washington who served as toastmaster failed to mention is that he played a lot of shortstop at Industrial High School under Mr. Moore. He broke into a lineup in his first year that included Jerry Benjamin, who went on to become one of the greats of baseball and George Nash, the southpaw blazer. He, Kelly Washton was perhaps the glove wonder of high school baseball in his prep days. Later he starred in the old Industrial League.

Look back over the years and you see high school athletes engaging in sports other than those sponsored by the schools. Welton Varner, Willie Fellows and Francis Franklin were amateur boxers. They came along when Dave Evans of the Boys Club was the friend of boys and offered a helping hand in many ways. They knew Pete Sarron.

The Fellow brothers played high school baseball under Bill Moore, the same as "Bo" Nix, the pitcher; Joe Edwards the quarterback and infielder; John Snow, the second baseman now a Methodist minister. Joe Edwards is also a minister. W. H. Hollins went out to make the line on a team which had a smallish youngster named Herman Brown, one of the tough little fellows on anybody's line.

As now, some of the high school athletes in earlier days went off to college and made teams. Whether the late Linzo (Beefstake) Jones played high school baseball is not recalled. But he was catcher at Morehouse College and also played for Stockham.

There have also been community centers of sports and individuals who championed the promotion of amateur sports. Take Guy Jackson of the Southside. He was able to use sports to help develop boys, picking a number of them from Payne Chapel AME Church. In the Ingression Days the Marchman Brothers conducted what could be called an amateur boxing center in Smithfield.

At the banquet were many of those who today are playing a vital role in citizenship and character development through sports. Perhaps there are none doing as much today to help bring up boys and girls in the best possible way as the coaches in elementary, high school, and college sports.

All of this seems to be both recognized and appreciated by the public. There is additional evidence of this in the way business leaders rallied to the support of the sports smoker. And too, when a busy man like Dr. C. W. Hayes will take time out to attend an event like this it must have something to offer. He is one man who doesn't waste his time. In him sports have a valuable friend. The smoker had a meaning too deep for expression.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Within four days there came three speeches, two in the same meeting, which should be studied.

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute professor, discussed citizenship obligations on Laymen Nights, Oct. 14 at Thirgood C. M. E. Church, as a feature of the Birmingham Annual Conference of the Christian Methodist Church.



In leaving the church, to rush back to the desk to base a column on his speech, a person who came out about the same time, said he was glad the speech was over, because Dr. Gomillion talked so slowly. Asked what he was able to get from the speech, this person only suggested that he liked the fast talkers. Nobody was seen by this columnist taking, notes although Prof. Gomillion used a style of presentation that was interesting, full of simplicity, and with apt illustrations.

He mentioned in the course of his speech three action ideas which were impressive. He called attention to the need for more voter-registration on the part of members of the Negro group, employment or job efficiency, and better spending habits. Mr. Gomillion is an enlightener rather than an entertainer.

With a man of his scholastic prestige, leadership standing, and news prominence, one would have expected an overflow attendance, especially on a Laymen's Night program ,and in Smithfield, the showpiece community. But where were the Smithfield leadership, the civic advancers, the communicants of freedom?

Because of his leadership in Macon County, Prof. Gomillion has received numerous national awards. He is the chief litigant in a case enroute to the United States Supreme Court which challenges the racial gerrymandering of the City of Tuskegee, who holds and earned the doctorate degree from Ohio State University. One would expect civic leaders, college students, and the so-called freedom thinkers to turn out to hear what a civic scholar like Mr. Gomillion had to say.

He told the gathering that our leaders "have the responsibility to learn and to act." It would take much reading to obtain the information Mr. Gomillion gave in his speech. Yet a number of those who are on the roster of leadership were not there. May the day stay away when leaders fail to show up at meetings only when they are speaking.

Dr. A. G. Gaston, in a speech before Alpha Gamma Chi Sorority Oct. 17 at Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church, in a way gave a fill-in of the outline of Mr. Gomillion on the wise and selective spending. His was a two-fisted speech in the upper strata of our society. It needed one of Mr. Gaston's economic standing and business prestige to carry the message of thirft to the social summit. Too often some of use buy second -class citizenship and beg for social freedom.

Without flinching he told the sorority women that spending on cocktail parties should be balanced with savings. Too many of us spend all and save rone. Mr. Gaston carried the message of savings to the socialite peak. It's my guess that the fraternity and sorority, or social club set are the biggest thrill spenders and the smallest savers of a portion of what they earn.

Dr. (Mrs.) S. L. Flipper, of Atlanta, Ga., speaking on the same program with Mr. Gaston, venture into a sensitive area. She told of the Atlanta effort to do something about the problem inherent in the high and disturbing illegitimacy rate. She suggested that her sorority formulate a remedial program in this area.

Yet will all of these speeches what will be done? It is not enough to hear speeches as part of a big show, it seems to me. Speeches have value only when they have messages, help to build leadership morale, inspire leadership to function, or arouse the masses to give intelligent support.

Other speakers will come, and go. In the end how may their effectiveness be measured? Mr. Gomillion talked too slowly; Gaston spoke too frankly, and Mrs. Flipper talked with too much alarm, Not at all. They talked sense and should continue to talk, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The fact that he was a teenager, went out under unusual circumstances, with a setting on a college campus, were enough to give mystery, curiosity, and an occult sense of drama.

All of that however was absorbed in something deeper, finer and compelling notice. It all came tingling fourth when Waltaw Avery re-



cited what he thought was a good epitaph. 'Time was not on your side but you grasped it. Tradition was not on your side but you lived and created it. God was really on your side for you, above all persons. listened and obeyed." Mr. Avery said those words characterized the real Arlee Lee Russell, Jr.

I sat in the pastor's study where I could hear but could not get a good view of the funeral program. But the tribute paid this youth by Mr. Avery, a Parker High School senior, was so impressive, so striking, that it moved and stirred. Here he was representing the school where the young Morehouse freshman had made a solid record, so much so that the school recognized it creatively, matchlessly.

The quotations used by Mr. Avery came from the oration that Arlee Russell, Jr., used in the Elks Oratorical Contest. This was one of those contests in which either of the contesting speakers might have won. But Arlee Russell had an unusual speech, it touched on human rights, freshly, boldly, challengingly, and unguenly. His speech deserves a re-reading and a re-speaking.

As a teen-ager I used to attend occasionally the old B. Y. P. U. at St. Joseph Baptist Church where the Russell youth was a member and where his funeral was held. It has always been something I take pride in telling of how inspiring were those occasions I was priviledged to attend St. Joseph When I was still in high school.

The turnout of young people for the Russell youth's funeral and the tribute paid to him by his church touched me. It was obvious that St. Joseph still has its hold on young people and offers to them something inspiring and constructive.

There was Mrs. Hattie Bryant Wilt, librarian of Hill Elementary School and president of Imperial Club, Inc., squeezing her way into the church. The Russell youth was evidently a part of one of the organizations connected with the Debutante Presentation which this clubs sponsors during the Christmas season. Other school teachers of my acationce were either in the church or on the church ground, unable to get inside.

Parker was allowing a student to represent the school from which Arlee Russell, Jr., had graduated with honors and awards. Parker was only matching St. Joseph that placed the Russell youth up as high as asistant superintendent of Sunday School. The youthful stirrings as manifested by the surging youth turnout, the dreamy zeal which flared in the faces of the young, the enchanting idealism as recorded in Mr. Avery's tribute, and the robust ardor which pitched fourth in the singing of the Morehouse College group and the Junior Choir, all hinted something which we are helpless to explain.

Later I read in the October 3 issue of the New York Daily News where a 12-year old kid had donated his eyes to an eye bank and later died "after his scooter collided with a car." It was hoped that his gift would make it possible for a 45-year old woman to regain her full sight.

This Seattle housewife who was to benefit by the youngster's eyes which were donated to the 'eye bank" was saddened when "thinking of that poor boy's mother and manner." Even though she was grateful" for a corneal transplant" which might restore her sight she tried to understand.

It seems to me that young Russell had donated his own spirit to somekind of storehouse where it could be used to guide, direct and inspire youth. Spirit never dies; only those who house it pass on. The family should be able to draw on this and use it to help enrichen and comfort.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. — (SNS) — This rocket-producing and missile-famous city is expanding.

How does the Negro fit into the expansion? What kind of new jobs and how many are held by Negro civilians in the weapon-producing plants? A visitor here is not able to get the answers. Two colleges which enroll Negro students are located in the Huntsville area.

Alabama seems to lack an organization which is concerned about



fair job opportunities for members of the Negro group. Job opportunity is no part of the basic program of any of the statewide organizations working among the Negro segment. New jobs seem to escape the Negro pool.

You visit the office of a weekly here, chat with the owner of a radio station, talk with farmers, and listen to the conversations of diners in a cafe. You try to pick up something which opens the way to answers about job-opportunities in the federal facilities here. No answers come, and you have to leave empty, broken-hearted, saddened.

Farmers tell you about large Negro-owned farms attended by the elderly which are likely to go without operation when the present farmers pass on. Land, you hear, is being sold off by some of the farms, but to whom? Is the Negro group selling out rather than building up? The questions erupt but the answer vanishes.

The farm is perhaps the only place where members of the Negro group can be identified as producers on a noticeable basis. Yet it is small-employment, and often family employment. Production is best measured by the jobs made and the markets served. Negro-owned business should be measured in terms of jobs provided. Its growth should show jobs growth.

Farmers here count three cane mills in Madison County owned by Negro farmers. One farmer is said to have a 50-cow dairy with there being owners of some smaller ones. An estimated 12 families produce milk for wholesale. Of course, valid research could give a different picture. The emphasis is merely to call attention to the Negro group as producers, or of being in the production business. The other is to try to spotlight the producers and job-makers among the group.

Huntsville has the traditional Negro-owned business, with the exception of the radio station owned and operated by Leroy Garrett, a radio engineer. He is in the laundry business and has pioneered into the radio business. He seems to know the radio business and has a modern and creditable plant.

Some leaders here seem to feel that Huntsville provides a few civic advantages over some other Alabama cities. Yet a yardstick based upon another's shortcomings may not be the best one. Employment and political opportunities are better barometers, it seems to me. The job pattern is hardly any different than any other Alabama city.

In traveling over Alabama one observation seems to out. There is too little job and economic communication with the Negro group. There seems to be needed a bureau of information to which Negro leaders may obtain vital facts on the job and economic status.

Often one hears that the communication between the two major population groups has broken down. Actually, has there been any lines of useful economic and political communication between these two racial segments on a large scale? How could something breakdown that wasn't?

Negro leaders in Alabama have not held in recent years an economic conference. It is true that suggestions and ideas for no less have come. There was the attractive suggestion of trying to drill a pool of capital to help distressed and hard-pressed Negro farmers. Inaction is the graveyard of suggestions. Economic and political leaders are needed in Alabama among the Negro group, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MACON, Ga. — (SNS) — This medium - sized city in Middle Georgia is rich in economic landmarks which give historical glow to a once glorious leadership.

For one making his first trip here as is the case of this columnist, there are new signs of a still functioning leadership. The civic leadership points to the growing realization of the power of the ballot and effective political action.



The new, modern, expensive school reflect that segregation conscious Georgia is aware of this civic leadership and its potential for freedom action. Apparently the strategy is to disarm this civil leadership by building new schools. How well this working lies in the fact that Georgia, one of the 13 original states is lagging in integration with Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Private prep schools once flourished here. But that day is gone. The Baptists still have their name showing on a vast tract of land which is a powerful reminder of a significant past. It is ironic that the private grade schools which provided the strong independent, self - reliant leadership have faded away. On the other hand, the other group has increased and improved their private or independent schools. Is there any relationship between the kind of leadership produced by the private schools and that developed by the public schools?

But there are sentimental reasons that strike up fire in me. Two of my Morehouse College classmates are natives of this city and still live here. Albert C. Howard, instructor at Ballard - Hudson High School and P. G. Douglass, a member of a well - to - do family, were two of my Morehouse friends. The Douglass name is a tremendous economic and business name in this city.

I am named partly for a Dr. Emory who used to live here but in later years migrated to St. Louis, Mo. Mrs. Emory passed in St. Louis a few years ago. In going to St. Louis I used to be guest at the Emory home there. Perhaps I could do a book on some of the inspirational stories about the Emory family which have been related to me.

Upon going to the home of P. G. Douglass, his mother was celebrating her birthday. I asked her if she knew a Dr. Emory who lived there and it was from Mrs. Douglass that I was able to nail down the information which had been a missing link. Mrs. Douglass, the mother and Mrs. P. G. Douglass were gracious persons. Mr. Howard and his wife and your columnist had dropped in on them.

The account of how I came about my name as related to me by my parents is that Dr. Emory came to Buena Vista, Ga. where I was born to make an Emancipation Day speech and that my parents who heard him were so impressed that they named their first son in his honor. Macon evidently was the mecca of inspiration in those days. For it appears that the leadership of the fraternal orders were concentrated in this city.

While here I am the house guest of Dr. and Mrs. C. W. E. Dyer. Dr. Dyer, physician and director of the 35-bed St. Luke's Hospital, showed me around the city. He talked as often as we could find time.

St. Lukes Hospital is a two way tribute. It is a tribute to the civic leadership of Dr. Dyer and a monument to the support of the Negro group. Five of the six Negro doctors are on the staff. White doctors use the hospital to service their patients. Dr. Dyer took me on a tour of the hospital which works three shifts.

His son-in-law, a graduate of Parker High School in Birmingham and Tuskegee Institute, is business manager of the hospital.

Dr. Dyer is on the staff of the public hospital. Yet without St. Luke's Hospital such staff privileges probably would never have been accorded. Dr. Dyer regards St. Luke's Hospital as not only a place to treat patients but a center where Negro doctors may continue to learn. He is a graduate of Howard University and the Meharry Medical College.

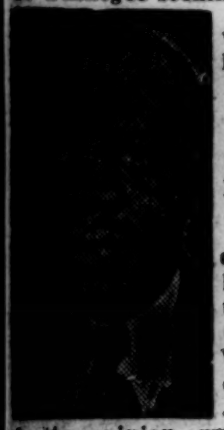
Lambda Phi Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity has nominated Dr. Dyer as a candidate for the "National Omega Man of the Year." His chapter has cited him and he has been a civic dynamo in Macon, Georgia.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

In his dissenting opinion, U. S. Circuit Judge Brown stripped the majority view of the crust which hid what appears to be flaws in it.

The majority on a three-panel Federal court affirmed and riveted the decision of a U. S. District judge who dismissed a complaint brought by Dr. C. G. Gomillion and others of Tuskegee seeking to restore their voting right which had been butchered away by redrawing the city limits of the County Seat of Macon County.



Judge Brown's dissent apparently was so devestating that U. S. Circuit Judge Wisdom, who sided with Judge Jones in the majority opinion, wrote a concurring opinion.

The dissent pointed out clearly and in ringing language that none of the previous decisions in the area of political gerrymandering dealt with the angle of race. In the Tuskegee gerrymandering case the salient factor was race, something forbidden by the Fifteenth Amendment. Racial gerrymandering which denies to a Negro voter the counting value of his ballot would seem to offend the constitution of the United States. But the majority opinion claimed that such was not the case.

The majority opinion also said the relief asked by the excluded voters was beyond the power of the court to grant and if granted could not be successfully enforced. The controlling opinion said it did not think this is" one of those exceptions "where courts can properly inquire as to whether a statute fixing boundaries transcends constitutional limits."

Judge Brown observed: "If the force of the ballot was to be the sole sanction for the effectual enforcement of the constitutional guaranty, it really created no right and imposed no prohibition. For all that a recalcitrant state need do is neglect the implementing of its own election machinery. If a court may strike down a law which with brazen frankness expressly purposes a rank discrimination for race, it has — and must have — the same power to pierce the veil of sham and, in that process, judicially ascertain whether there is a proper, rather than an unconstitutional purpose for that act in question."

Still blasting, Judge Brown said: " . . . In a democratic country nothing is worse than disfranchisement. And there is no such thing as being just a little bit disfranchised. A free man's right to vote is a full right to vote or it is no right to vote. Perhaps so, but in similar situations — to me they are similar — the United States Supreme Court has made no such reply. Instead, in at least two decisions the Supreme Court declined jurisdiction when the relief grom partial disfranchisement would require Federal courts to intrude in the internal structure and organization of the government of a state."

In a preceding paragraph, Justice Brown said with regard to the operation of the racial disfranchisement through gerrymandering scheme in Macon County: "That this has occurred demonstrates, I think, that the Fifteenth Amendment contemplated a judicial enforcement of its guranties against either crude or sophiscated action of states seeking to subvert this new right (to vote)."

If the majority opinion is allowed to stand in this case, together with other fresh rulings by lower Federal courts in the area of suffrage, a new constitutional amendment will become necessary. As now seems to be the case in the Black Belt of Alabama, racial disfranchisement is afforded by boards of registrars resigning; by wholesale rejection of voter-registration applicants; by time-consuming processing of applicants; by boswelling and by racial gerrymandering.

Under urban renewal, a city may uproot families and re-locate them in a given compact area. Such power could be manipulated in a manner of concentrating the Negro group so that they could be gerrymandering and thus disminish the impact of their ballot. Gerrymandering in Macon County is new type of racial bloc disfranchisement. Federal courts seem to be saying that there is no defense against bloc disfranchisement in the Fifteenth Amendment.

Political legislative power in Alabama is ganged in the Black Belt. Inability to get the Legislature to perform its constitutional duty to re-apportion every 10 years linked with the denial of full voting opportunities to the Negro segment is playing havoc without government by the people, of the people and for the people.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

College Fund Night is slated for six o'clock Friday night, Aug. 21 at Rickwood Field. The two-deck doubleheader is being played for the benefit of the local United Negro College Fund campaign.

It has no known organization backing it as such. That is to say, unlike Atlanta where the Frontiers of America sponsored the East-West All-Star Classic which attracted 10,000 fans, Birmingham has to depend upon the benefiting group for the sponsorship and the promotion. No longer is there a greater-Birmingham Negro Business League to serve as a promotional vehicle. College alumni groups are not banded together in a local federation of the United Negro College Fund institutions.

College Fund Night must depend



upon the local staff of the United Negro College Fund's local organization to double as promoters. William J. (Bill) Moore who third - based at Talladega College under the coachship of the late E. R. Johnson is serving as chairman of the United Negro College Benefit Game Committee. Paul L. Ware, also of Talladega College and principal of Hooper City High School, is serving, let's say, as tub-thumper.

Should members of the alumni and former students of the colleges rimmed into the United Negro College Fund purchase two tickets each, the game would be assured of a modest success. Two tickets would cost less than two dollars. Just what the UNCF alumni members will do toward helping to make College Fund Night a success cannot be guessed.

The Black Barons who will be pitted against the Memphis Red Sox is a hustling, colorful, competitive team. Manager Lorenzo (Piper) Davis has done an excellent job with his material. To see the Black Barons in action should be inducement enough for the real baseball fan. Likely the Black Baron fans will be there. But for the game to mean something to the United Negro College Fund, the advance tickets will have to be bought.

Those interested in helping the United Negro College Fund will both buy and sell tickets. They will also attend the game to show by their presence where they stand. Each ticket bought is an endorsement of efforts to improve, continue and enrichen the education of our youth.

Promotions call for more than placing placards. Gifts advertised to be given away at the game is not enough lure to attract the quantity of attendance representative of the buying power of our group.

Since Birmingham does not have either a Business League or Frontiers of America, the resources the group does have might be mobilized. Birmingham is one of the four American cities in which there is a member of the National Public Relations Roundtable. Which means that Jesse J. Lewis is an accredited promoter. Earl Hensley is a successful entertainment promoter. William Sherman of Smith and Gaston Interest and the Rev. Eddie Blankenship of Prospective Industrial Insurance Company are both in public relations for their company. Atty. Demetrius C. Newton is president of the General Alumni Association of Wilberforce University.

Tuskegee Institute and Talladega College are the two Alabama institutions tied into the United Negro College Fund. Guy Harrison who has served as president of the Birmingham-Tuskegee Club at one time was a moving force in the promotion of the now-suspended annual Tuskegee-Carl football game. He has been a power in the YMCA Industrial Baseball League Atty. Oscar W. Adams, Jr., chairman of the Abraham Lincoln Republic Club, knows how to campaign. He is a graduate of Talladega College.

Look about and you can spot other names which might be brought into the promotional works for College Fund Night. This does not mean that Mr. Moore and his committee have not involved a number of such persons. The purpose here is to call attention to the vast professional and related promotional and campaign talent which should be utilized in this effort, it seems to me.

The college set should furnish leadership for College Fund Night. They could become one-night baseball fans for the sake of our youth. The teams are going to do their part. Will the college alumni of United Negro College Fund match them?

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

A vast body of newly-mined freshly dressed and heavily documented material in the field of voter-registration and the intricacies of suffrage denials is available to those willing to read. There is still much to be unearthed. And Southern politicians spent as much time trying to develop art, science, and literature as they have in suppressing suffrage the South would doubtless lead the nation in the creative arts.

The opinion in the city-shrinkage case arising in Macon County which upheld the ruling of a federal district judge deserves reading. For here is something which spotlights the flaws, misuses and distortion of our constitutional process. As allowed to stand, the court, it seems to me, permits a state legislative body, under the so-called courtesy rule to denature the Fifteenth Amendment.



In his concurring opinion Circuit Judge Wisdom of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, sitting in the case observed: " ..... In a democratic country nothing is worse than disfranchisement. And there is no such thing as being just a little bit disfranchised. A free man's right to vote is a full right to vote or it is no right to vote."

Yet Judge Wisdom sided with Judge Jones who wrote the adverse majorty opinion. It seems that Judge Wisdom wanted to make the record clear that he will have no part of any easy arrangement to disfranchise but felt himself caught in other decisions on this subject. Gerrymandering which throws a voter out of a city because of his race is still state action to deprive a man of the full use of his ballot, it seems to me. Whether in the previous rulings cited in the majority opinion the legislative butchering was done to slice away a man's right because of his race does not come handy from reading the opinion. The court does not like to step in where cases slide over "political issues".

But politics which cuts down a man at the polls because he is a Negro is bad politics and would seem to slug it out with the Fifteenth Amendment. If jumping on boards of registrars, or refusing to serve on them, together with schemes about politics are allowed to run rampant, then the disfranchisers have found a way to cancel out the Fifteenth Amendment without the necessity of the formality of repeal.

In the South, a qualified citizen can be compelled to perform his duty by serving on a jury, but he is excused in Alabama from serving on a board of registrars as long as the trick is to beat the Negro citizen out of his right to vote. Government by trickery is not good government. A Negro citizen can be dumped from a city in Alabama by the State Legislature for no better reason than to clip his vote at the polls.

Judge Wisdom says: "Here we must weigh values, in a federal system, of preserving the integrity of a state as a polity, including a states control over its political subdivisions and the administrative process - against the value of an individuals right to vote in city elections when as a consequence of a state law gerrymandering municipal limits he [illegible] a municipality."

It seems that [illegible] subordinates the [illegible] state. The Fifteenth Amendment gave to the Negro [illegible] the right to vote and says that no state shall take it away. In a democracy the individual is supposed to have a status above that of the state. Individual rights seem to be vanishing in this nation. Alabama is leading the attack on the [illegible] of the right to vote, it seems to me.

Judge Wisdom says "the situation is unmanageable" in Macon County and that the excluded voters' only real remedy is one we have no right to give - a mandamus against the legislature of Alabama.

In Macon County, the Negro voters are not strong enough to win at the polls. They are unable to strengthen their rank from the large reservior of non-voters. They do not have on their side the organs of public opinion which could help to win friends in relief of their predicament.

Claude Sitton, writing from an Atlanta, Ga. dateline in The New York Times, Sept. 15, reports of the "attention to a (vote denial) problem that has sorely tried the national patience. This is the whole sale denial of Negro Voting rights in some sections of the South."

With the courts refusing them; with Congress deserting them; and with the major media of Alabama public opinion seemingly against them, what can the Negro group in Macon County, in Lowndes County, in Wilcox County and in Bullock County do? One thing they must never do, give up, it is quite trying, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The "Report and Recommendations" of the Civil Rights Commission is a moving, useful and refreshing review of America under the searchlight of democratic inspection.

The six-man Congress-created commission examined the status of freedom, opportunity and citizenship in certain specified areas, including voting. It found an "unwillingness of a substantial portion of America to follow the rule of equal rights."

Public schools and the public press are supposed to be instruments of freedom, working always in the interest of the "rule of equal rights" since they are the chief keepers and feeders of freedom.

The Civil Rights Commission declared: "Standing in the way of reasonable solution to the difficulties involved in ending discrimination in all walks of our public life is the great stubborn fact that many people have not yet accepted the principles and purposes, or authority of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The legal dispute over the validity of these amendments has been settled by history - and by the Supreme Court, the only organ of our Government that can decide such questions. But the human response to these national rules is not settled. There remains the enduring American problem of obtaining the consent of the governed."



Significantly, the American Jewish Congress, commenting on the commission's "Report and Recommendations" observed, in part: "Our Republic came into being because Americans were denied the right to participate in their own government. The right to vote is the very foundation of our American democracy. When certain states are derelict in their obligation to carry out the letter and spirit of the constitutional right to vote; the Federal government has the responsibility to intervene for the protection of this right."

In her study, made for the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., and published in August of this year under the title, "The Negro and the Ballot in the South", Margaret Price observes: "The ballot is one of the keys to the solution of the myriad problems of segregation. Through his vote, the Negro citizen can be heard and given equal consideration along with other groups representing business and labor, veterans and farmers."

She also points out: "For Negroes in some sections of the South, an attempt to exercise the right of franchise as Americans seemed a greater risk in 1958 than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944."

The Civil Rights Commission said: "Our investigations have revealed further that many Negro American citizens find it difficult, and often impossible to vote .... It has become apparent that legislation presently on the books is inadequate to assure that all qualified citizens shall enjoy the right to vote. There exists here a striking gap between our principles and our everyday practices. This is a moral gap. It spills over into and vitiates other areas of our society. It runs counter to our traditional concept of fair play. It is a partial repudiation of our faith in the democratic system. ....."

The Congress-established commission makes numerous findings. This pithy paragraph here is enough to cite for the purpose of this column. It says: "In short, no one had yet been registered through the civil remedies of the 1957 (Civil Rights) act."

The new and old civil rights laws seemed to have been so blunted, whittled and impotently used that they are no more than broken tools good only for ornamental purposes and oratorical decoration.

To remedy some of these evils the Congress-formed commission proposed federal registrars for those places where bigoted registrars refuse to serve rather than put Negro applicants on the voter rolls, and other measures. Two of the members of the commission favored universal suffrage. One member opposed the recommendation of temporary voter-screening board for distressed areas of political suffrage.

It seems to me that universal suffrage should be the cornerstone of American democracy. Political suffrage should never be the privilege of the few, or the so-called better class, or the so-designated better trained, but should be an obtainable ..political ..gem by all adult American of clean citizenship. The good poor, the trained but unpopular, the illiterate but not unlearned often are among the politically scorned who are shorn of the ballot. Such circumstances and conditions do not strip one of his citizenship and therefore should never been used to deny any adult citizen his right to vote, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

(Editor's Note: W. W. Jackson teacher in the Chicago Public Schools, writes a guest column for this space. Mr. Jackson holds the A.B. degree from Morehouse College where he was a varsity debater and a feature writer for the Maroon Tiger, student publication. He also holds the master's degree in English.)

THE SOUTH RE-VISITED
By W. W. Jackson

On a visit to one's childhood home, one is likely to start comparing what he sees today, what he hears today and what he feels today, with those he can recall from yesterday. The changes that have come are separated and evaluated in the light of their worth parts of the years gone by.



And being a Negro, this writer is perhaps more sensitive to the changes that have occurred in the South's dynamic social order than a member of any other ethnic group. For a Negro realizes that only in evolutionary and revolutionary changes can he, a Negro, hope to achieve his rightful place in a society in which denial of his rights as a citizen and a person has been a watchword and a call for united opposition. In no other area of human reaction and behavior has there been such unquestioning and uncritical, cohesive action on the part of those who would relegate the Negro to a role of a social pariah—an untouchable.

To achieve this end, the member of the group which seeks the denial of the basic rights of citizenship—the right to vote and equal educational and economic opportunity—has coined many convenient slogans and catch phrases. The subtle arts of semantics, the harsh, hateful and fire-breathing verbal terms and invectives of the English language have been brought into play. Every reader of American newspapers, magazines and books dealing with the question of race, integration and equalization of anything for the Negro has been struck in the face at one time or another by such slanted and bigoted expressions as "mongrelization," "outside meddlers," "nigger lovers," "our way of life" and many others. These expressions are designed to gain certain reactions without any examination of what lies behind them, or what the real facts in the case are. These expressions themselves offer a challenge to the Negro in his effort to rise to first-class citizenship.

The question that comes to my mind is this: What are we doing in the way of preparing our people to meet the challenge of this poison that is contaminating the social air of the nation? This question definitely imposes a burden on the teachers, writers, newspaper editors and all those persons who are in a position to influence the thinking of our people. Our people must be inspired, guided and led toward the new tomorrow armed with truth, hope and desire for all the things that first-class citizenship offers. But more than this, our people must be willing to assume, willing to bear, and willing to exercise all the responsibilities and burdens of first-class ctiizenship. They must not be led to believe that first-class citizenship is "manna from heaven" and that they are "walking into glory land." The errors of the reconstruction period must not be repeated. No amount of legislative action, no number of judicial victories, and no number of executive orders can insure the Negro first-class citizenship. These things can only help clear the path, the journey must be made ourselves in the North and in the South—and stony will be the road we trod.

Our children must be taught to expect more of America. And by the same token they must be taught to contribute more to America. The task of teaching our children civic responsibility rests primarily with the parents of Negro children, with the school and church coming in a close second. The Negro child must be taught to think and study the problems of citizenship in a very critical manner. This calls for a knowledge of history, economics, government, sociology and all the subjects which influence and direct the reactions and responses of the human being in an highly complex society.

Finally, our children must be taught to shake the chains of fear and inhibitions from their thinking and actions when it comes to dealing with the problem of his gaining first-class citizenship. Our children must be taught that they have a right to all the privileges accorded any other citizen. The schools, the parks, and all other public facilities are his to enjoy and use on an equal basis with any other citizen. Our children must not be discouraged or held back when they challenge the inequities in our society. And they will challenge them, for they will live in an age of critical thinking and many challenges to the social and economic thinking of the past and the present. And we must lay the foundation for the challenges of today and tomorrow, by raising up a new band of leaders like Gideon to carry our hopes and aspirations into the social battles of tomorrow.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

ROANOKE, Ala. — (SNS) — You take a look, listen to the townspeople ask questions and come away saddened.

Unlike Wilcox and Lowndes counties, one can find the population segments represented on the voters' silt. Within pattern, there appears on the surface a friendly feeling. Yet there are underlying fears of change, a concern about events rumbling elsewhere, a suppressed uneasiness.

Civic leaders here say the Negro group faces a stonewall in the job spread. Most Negroes work out of town, one leader said. He added, "there is no payroll for Negroes in Roanoke."



Of course, there are Negro farmers in the rurals. But the Negro city folk are shy of jobs in the mills or factories. Negro civic leaders seem to like the tools for job-making.

These civic leaders tell a visitor that Roanoke has three big payrolls. That in Factory A approximately 700 persons are employed with only about two of them Negro workers. That Factory B employes an estimated 1,400 persons of which seven are Negro employees. And that Factory C has only two Negro wage earners among its estimated 700 workers. These estimates have not been checked. Nor has any inquiry been made to determine the reason for this condition, as related by civic leaders.

Randolph County of which Roanoke is a key city has a population of 16,696 whites and 5,817 Negro persons. About 30.7 per cent of the 5,392 Roanoke population is non-white. In other words there are over 1,617 Negro persons living in Roanoke. There isn't but one city school in Roanoke and it is not open to members of the Negro group. The 1957 ASTA Yearbook lists only four Negro schools for Randolph County.

Negro citizens are able to vote in Roanoke but their civic leaders give the impression that they can get jobs on an open basis in the textile mills and the related industries. It has been said, in substance, "No equality exists where there are barriers beyond which some men may go and others may not."

Civic leaders are aware of the job problem but seem to be helpless to correct it. Or to put it another way, they never mention any steps they have taken to try to improve the situation. One who is unable to get a job is worse than second classed. Job denial based upon race, religion and national origin is one of the worse forms of intolerance. Likely the business, political and industrial leaders of Roanoke are not aware of such indicated job restrictions, if such exist as related to this correspondent.

Such a job picture is not limited to Roanoke. The Tuskegee Civic Association says it has reports that a new industry plans to locate in Macon County and employ only white labor. In many Black Belt counties where plants have migrated are units organized which do not employ Negro workers, except on an extremely restricted basis.

The job problem like full employment is a national challenge. For the good of America something needs to be done about the manpower waste due to scandalous job discrimination. There is not a single agency in Alabama working in the field of fair employment. Job unfairness tends to sour the spirits of its victims. That is neither good for a community nor for America.

Roanoke can not be listed as a mean city. On the other hand, the civic leaders speak kindly, and even boastfully of their elected public officials. Their attitude is one of a friendly spirit toward those who employ, although they indicate an unfair sharing of the job market. Then, too, this correspondent has only their side.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Looking back over 1958 ten names jump up in Birmingham of persons keeping alive or adding to efforts for the total advancement of the Negro group.

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, the colorful, courageous, controversial, uncompromising president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, was a center-of-fire leader on the local desegregation front. Time magazine, Jet magazine and other publications recognized him as Birmingham's No. 1 crusader for civil rights.

He is the sparkplug, if not the symbol, of the unpopular local integration struggle. Birmingham has often been regarded by its critics as a tough, terrible, turbulent city insofar as race relations. There was more integration litigation in Birmingham in 1958 than any other Alabama city.



History pours itself through men. Men are the pipelines of history. The Rev. Shuttlesworth has gone to court, sweated it out in jail, and lifted his voice on the platform seeking to remove racial discrimination from state-supported services. He has his critics; he has opposition, yet he commands substantial support from those cut the deepest by damaging discrimination.

H. D. Coke, an insurance execu-

tive, is seeking to eliminate through legal action eating barriers in the Atlanta Airport.

James Cotton, president of the Young Negro Democratic Club, Inc., formulated a program of flexible, authentic, dynamic political action which was financed by the membership of his organization. His group did not engage in any fund-raising campaigns, yet provided both voter-registration literature and service without charge. They can point to a record of what they accomplished.

Will Hall, chief of the voluntary guard of Bethel Baptist Church (North) and the Shuttlesworth home, was cited by the Alabama Christian Movement and designated the 1958 "Birmingham Citizen of the Year" by the Alpha Phi Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. Mr. Hall performed a heroic service which thwarted the bombing of Bethel.

The Rev. J. L. Ware, president of the Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, furnished the leadership by which there was a partial break-through of the Birmingham wall of silence after a minister was arrested for allegedly preaching disturbing gospel related to open seat riding on local transit buses. Threats were made that the signers of the published statement might be jailed if they went through with announced plans to preach sermons on freedom of the pulpit.

The Rev. J. S. Phifer, pastor of Zion Star Baptist Church, and a close associate and friend of the Rev. Shuttlesworth, was one of the jailed open-seat bus riders. His fervent praying with its ring of sincerity and creative beauty is the inspiration of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. While in City Jail, he carried on the freedom fight, continued to preach the neighbor-love gospel, converting about nine to Jesus Christ. He revealed that he was denied an opportunity to attend the Sunday services while in jail, yet from his cell he was able to sing, pray, and preach as did the Apostle Paul in those evil days when bad men, cruel rulers, and oppressors tried to prevent change and hold progress back. He refused to be silenced, even though he was jailed.

City Hall allegedly had the Rev. Calvin Wallace Wood, 25-year-old pastor of East End Baptist Church arrested (March 25, 1959) for allegedly giving stay-off the segregated buses advice from his pulpit. The charges are not couched in language precisely as used here, but that is the substance. The Birmingham-born minister says he will defend the freedom of the pulpit. His case could become the most celebrated freedom-of-religion constitutional test ever to arise in Alabama. The battle is likely to pit City Hall against the Baptist pulpit. The Rev. Woods is likely to pick up substantial support for his right and commitment to preach a Christ gospel instead of City Hall gospel.

Few persons worked as hard and devotedly in the field of voter-registration during 1958 as Mrs. Bernice Cunningham Johnson, a city school teacher. W. W. Whetstone, principal of Hill School, was the civic workhorse during the same year. On another front, Dr. Carol W. Hayes, director of Negro schools, Birmingham Public Schools, spearheaded the campaign for improved reading.

Certainly this brief list is likely to have omitted other deserving names. These used came to mind first. Also, it is a personal impression selection. It is narrowed as to fields with overlappings. Our ministers were the target leaders in the area of civil rights.

THE TIP OFF

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Civic leaders are aware of the job problem but seem to be helpless to correct it. Or to put it another way, they never mention any steps they have taken to try to improve the situation. One who is unable to get a job is worse than second classed. Job denial based upon race, religion and national origin is one of the worse forms of intolerance. Likely the business, political and industrial leaders of Roanoke are not aware of such indicated job restrictions, if such exist as related to this correspondent.

Such a job picture is not limited to Roanoke. The Tuskegee Civic Association says it has reports that a new industry plans to locate in Macon County and employ only white labor. In many Black Belt counties where plants have migrated are units organized which do not employ Negro workers, except on an extremely restricted basis.

The job problem like full employment is a national challenge. For the good of America something needs to be done about the manpower waste due to scandalous job discrimination. There is not a single agency in Alabama working in the field of fair employment. Job unfairness tends to sour the spirits of its victims. That is neither good for a community nor for America.

Roanoke can not be listed as a mean city. On the other hand, the civic leaders speak kindly, and even boastfully of their elected public officials. Their attitude is one of a friendly spirit toward those who employ, although they indicate an unfair sharing of the job market. Then, too, this correspondent has only their side.

THE TIP OFF

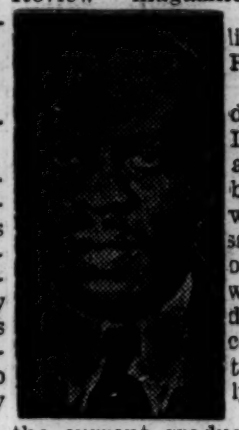
EMORY O. JACKSON

Pulling together material from three different sources a columnist is able to produce an essay.

Frank Holeman, writing with a Washington, D. C. dateline in the New York Daily News, reports a quotation from a speech made by President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo., May 16, 1959. The President gave this advice to the 1,071 cadets, according to Holeman:

"Make sure you get enjoyment out of every day. Life therefore, should be a thing of joy. Make certain that your face doesn't grow longer as the day grows older. Go to bed with a smile and remember a very fine day. And with that custom, I am quite sure you will find a long, happy and fruitful life — fruitful to yourself, to your community, and to humanity."

The May 30 issue of "Saturday Review" magazine carries a delightful article by Ralph L. Woods entitled, "Ladies With The Last Word." The article unearths brilliant, clever, witty and acid sayings by famous women who were able to duel with men coming out triumphantly. (Looking over the current graduating list of honor students in high schools in the Jefferson County area it appears that the girls are coming out ahead in the scholarship competition.)



Meanwhile the Woods article seems to find companionship in the May, 1959 issue of "The Delta," official organ of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. The Delta production seeks to focus attention on "Delta women in the scheme of things politically in America today." It reveals the part Delta women play on the larger stage of civic, cultural, and political action. The issue pridefuly points to women in the abolitionist movement and the woman's suffrage campaign who "did much to alter the course of a moving America."

"For too long," the Delta issue says, ". . . there were individuals who could expect little help from other women. After the struggle for the franchise was won, women's voices began to be heard in chorus instead of solo." Yet in a number of places in the South Negro citizens are barred from the ballot box. In Alabama, for instance, women need to lift their voices for the right to vote in notorious Lowndes and horrible Wilcox counties. While there are more Negro than white residents in both counties there is not a single Negro voter. There isn't even a protest by Negro men for the constitution-given right to vote.

The Delta organ says 23 members of their sorority were asked to contribute "articles for use about their activities which were appropriate to our emphasis." It added: "They were also asked to tell how they became so involved; the persons with whom they have contact; why they think their work significant; and ways in which others can prepare for or participate in similar activity."

In the editorial on "Delta Women in Government and Politics," the Delta organ commented: **"We eagerly look forward to the time when one of our distinguished sors who has spent many years of her life fighting for the rights of Negroes in the South, will be able to speak and not be silenced by bigots. She has a story of dedication to relate and we want and need to hear it."**

The profile of Mrs. Verda F. Welcome, of Baltimore, a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, has an interest which has transferrable utility. She observed: "I will always believe the principal asset that led to my election was the fact that the people remembered that I had worked in many efforts for a better community and they told me so on election day."

She recalls her elation at listening to the election returns. Said she: "The announcement over television that I had won the election will always be a highlight of my life — for a fleeting second my mind travelled back to the pert little girl who vowed, 'I'll vote!'; and then it returned to the present as I said to myself — not only have I voted, but I've been voted for — and felt a lingering emotion of happiness and dedication."

Mrs. Hortense Houston Young, a member of the Housing Authority in Louisville, Ky., suggests: "Do seek to do that which captivates the imagination of the public purely for publicity; do the drugery, uninteresting things no one else wishes to do. Constantly doing the little unheralded things each day or when asked, produces the significant larger things tomorrow. It is not so much doing what we want to do as it is doing what others think we can do that creates service to mankind."

31a 1959

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The ruling by Federal Judge Seybourn H. Lynne that the newly-formulated written rule that an out of-state lawyer cannot file a complaint in his federal district without local associated counsel is unworkable tends to dramatize the need for a committee of top level local citizens to try to end the Birmingham leadership stalemate.

No one has to except Judge Lynne's explanation for the need for such a rule. Yet the timing of its formulation and the justification for it being waived in the school case is something else. It would appear that if the rule meant so much it should not have been relaxed in the school case. Yet that is the realm of discretion.



The plain fact is that the school case might have been handled differently, certainly with better preparation, with a careful examination of the existing facts and the assistance of the veteran civil rights leaders. There is always a role for the consultant leadership.

This too, it seems to me, points up the need for a committee to rescue us from the stalemate which is now endangering our group's progress, weakening our already too feeble leadership, and wrecking confidence in our leadership generally. The little folk who foot the bill, who pay off our professionals who feed our businesses are beginning to talk. The wake up must come before it is too late for us to reform, rebuild, and return to the battle lines for civil rights.

The Birmingham leadership stalemate has its roots in something deeper, wider and more intricate than that civil rights cases. It is not merely a four-way conflict involving the local district federal court, Atty. Ernest Jackson of Jacksonville, Fla., the Masonic Temple lawyers and the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth as president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. It is basically a total leadership handicap in the area of rounded action for the agreed-on goals of one-standard citizenship.

In her speech June 5 at the third anniversary of the Alabama Christian Movement held at New Pilgrim Baptist Church of which the Rev. N. H. Smith, Jr., is the paster, Miss Ella J. Baker, a tired and true advocate and spokesman for first-class citizenship urged, "beware of the accommodating type of Negro leader who says what he thinks local Southern officials want to hear."

Right now some of these officials would like to hear that local Negro leadership is divided, stalemated, and has become blamemakers instead of peacemakers. There are powerful local Negro persons who could break the leadership stalemate if they were truly interested in trying to advance the group forward, it seems to me.

Take, for instance, the Jefferson County Betterment Association; the Alabama Federation of Colored Civic Leagues, the Mineral District Medical Society, and Periclean Club. These groups could come out publically for an end of the leadership stalemate, letting the chips fall where they may, and letting all holler who care. This stalemate has now become an intolerable situation.

Miss Baker, who could be described as one of the queens of the civil rights struggle observed in her important speech:

"The leader, self-style or otherwise designated, who is quick to limit the Negro's drive for civil rights to some one phase, such as voter-registration, and who pointedly avoids mention of desegregation of schools, buses, housing, public facilities, etc., is as dangerous as those white persons who lump together the NAACP and the White Citizens Councils as the two 'extremists'. Both are mis-representing the facts, and therefore befudding the issues."

That seems to spotlight the leadership stalemate in Birmingham The blame-swappers are using this stalemate to even justify individual do-nothingism. There are always things which require no more than individual effort which one can do to help this struggle for single-class citizenship. Voter-registration, self-improvement, excellence of conduct ,efficiency and dependability on the job. using purchase power in a way to buy freedom, saving part of what one earns to help support the freedom determination.

It seems that a committee composed of Grand Master Charles V. Hendley of the Alabama Prince Hall Masons; the Rev. G. W. McMurray, pastor of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church; Mrs. Bessie S. Estell, president of the Alabama State Teachers Association and secretary School and Baptist Training Union Congress; Joseph Bowman, owner o a string of businesses and W. Wesley Whetstone, principal of Hill Elementary School and chairman of the board of management of the 18th Street Branch YMCA, could check into this leadership crisis.

Such a committee could render a fine service and find a formula for ending this stalemate, it seems to me.

Warning signs are everywhere that the public is becoming feed up, disgusted, and alarmed over the local leadership stalemate. Our leaders can ignore these warnings. It is up to them. In doing so they might recall that they were not always leaders. The public helped to make them what they are and helped to put them where they are.....

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

MOBILE, Ala., — (SNS) — The six-conference Ninth Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church reflects the new spirit moving in the hearts of people today, whether or not they are church-goers.

Africa whose name is honored in the title of this church organization which has made many inspiring contributions to the freedom movement and to the ever-improving status of the Negro group, is trying to shake off colonialism, establish a voice in the way the dark continent in government, and to remove oppressive disabilities. In America the Negro as a group is trying to shed enforced racial segregation and dump the repulsive burden of second-class citizenship.



Religious groups no less than civil and political units reflect the thrust of this aching quest for a new recognition by the oppressed, the burdened, the bruised, the unjustly deprived. They seek "a brotherhood that binds the brave of all the earth". For they feel that a part of the common conscience and as such are entitled to better considerations. Among many who subscribe to Christian communication there appears the flick of evidence of the embracement of the Christ credo without possessing the Christian conscience.

A good example of proclaiming the Christ credo and disdaining the Christian conscience is the Methodist laymen group, a non-official pro-segregation Methodist unit headed up in Birmingham. This group of color-line Christians seem to give Jim Crow a standing higher than Jesus Christ. When you add the color-line to Christianity you cancel out the Christ line. The color line is an ugly defacement of Christianity and defamation of Christ, it seems to me.

With Africa on the rise and the darker brothers everywhere clamoring for recognition as member of God's family with all the rights enjoyed by other members of the humanity's family the Jim Crow Methodist can serve only as the missionaries of bigotry in a world which is now demanding brotherhood. Hence the role of the African Methodist Church, under wise and constructive leadership, could become increasingly significant. Jim Crow Christianity has limited circulaton and practcally no missionary attractiveness in the global competition of men's hearts, not just their minds.

The Laymen Seminar of the Central Alabama Conference of the A. M. E Church held its second annual session at Greater Pine Grove A. M. E. Church here Sunday, July 12. The church is pastored by the youthful Rev. Henry B. Edwards, who grew up in Dothan, Ala. Prof. James F. Kidd, a member of the faculty of Daniel Payne College in Birmingham is the lay leader for this conference.

Today in the A. M. E. Church there are three powerful groups which probably are working as a team. They are the Bishops' Council, The Brotherhood of ministers and the Laymen Organization. It has been the Brotherhood which fought for the fiscal and budgetary reforms which seem to have saved this powerful church from breaking down under oppressive assessments, an unlovely arrogation of power and protected corruption. Because of what the A. M. E. Church has meant to the Negro group, of its contributons to this nation and of its inspiration to oppressed in Africa, the A. M. E. Church affairs is of concern to the Negro as a group, it seems to me. Whether the A. M. E. Church can maintain its budget program, refine its fiscal controls and bring into being the spirit of supervision as the highest duty of those who obtain the chief offices of the church cannot be forecast.

The lay organization is a function authorized in the A. M. E. discipline. Yet to survive it needs the good will of the pastors, the understanding of the laity, and the sympathy of the bishops. It has the opportunity to both set the example and give the demonstration of how good leadership should serve. In that its influence would be felt on the bench of bishops and also in the ranks of the Brotherhood.

Correctly it appears that the lay leadership has sized up the situation and knows that it is on trial and cannot afford to make the slightest slip up. They seem to realize that they have a selling job to do and must produce in a way to satisfy the needs of their church and justify their existence. By studying the subjects listed on the printed program one would get a glimpse of what the lay leadership is trying to do.

In his speech, Prof. Wayman C. Matherson, state lay president, of Birmingham, dealt with the kind of program he thought the lay organization should develop, the price of a good church, and the role of cooperative leadership. Throughout his message ran the emphasis that lay leadership is supporting rather than competing leadership. He seems to try to utilize his speech to put at ease any of those who uneasy over the function of lay leadership in the church.

Shared leadership seems to be needed in this day of heavy problems. Bishop George W. Baber says: "The finished product of the church is the conscientious, industrious and serving laymen or laywoman."

Hence lay leadership is supporting, cooperating and serving leadership. Such leadership is vital anywhere. The A. M. E. Church with its budget reforms, the prestige of its rich heritage and the talents of its lay leadership put to work is in a stronger position to serve humanity and assume the leadership of Methodistism.

Shuttlesworth, Gray Headline Rights Confab At Ill. State

By EMORY O. JACKSON

A local human rights clergyman and a Montgomery civil rights lawyer are scheduled to discuss "Civil Rights and the World Crisis" at the "Summer Conference on World Issues" set for Tuesday, July 7 at the Illinois State Normal College, Normal, Ill.

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and pastor of Bethel Baptist Church (North) and Atty. Fred Gray, of Montgomery, lawyer of record in the Montgomery bus protest, will be the headlined guest speakers.

The discussion is almost certain to project further into the national limelight the so-called "Birmingham leadership stalemate" which erupted into widened public attention when Frank L. Stanley's Louisville Defender Louisville, Ky., on May 28 published on its front page a featured interview with the Rev. Shuttlesworth and on its editorial page commented on the deadlock between some Alabama lawyers and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in trying to initiate civil rights action.

Youthful Atty. J. L. Chestnut, of Selma, Ala., in the course of a speech June 14 before the Alabama Independent Beauticians Association came to the defense of the Birmingham Negro lawyers.

Meantime, the Rev. Shuttlesworth this week opened a two-week soul - saving crusade at the Triedstone Baptist Church, Detroit, Mich., of which the Rev. M. B. Terrell is the minister. It is likely that in Detroit the Negro press will seek his views on the latest developments in the stalemated civil rights leadership in Birmingham.

Later on this month, the Rev. Shuttlesworth will journey to Vienna, Austria to attend the "Power for Peace" conference Aug. 5-12. The Rev. Shuttlesworth says he will be at the conference as an observer rather than as a participant. The conference is expected to provide for him the opportunity, if he cares for it, to place the world spotlight on the so-called "Birmingham leadership stalemate" which is said to be hampering the forward-going work of civil rights.

In his third annual report to the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, held June 5 at the New Pilgrim Baptist Church of which the Rev. N. H. Smith, Jr., is the pastor, the Rev. Shuttlesworth gave an elaborate and detailed report on what he termed the "legal situation" in the local effort for court action to broaden the realization of equality of opportunity and social dignity.

A motion by Atty. Ernest Jackson, of Jacksonville, Fla., seeking to overcome the so-called "Lynne Rule" is being placed before U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. The "Lynne Rule" formulated by U. S. Judge Seybourn H. Lynne requires an out-of-state lawyer to associate with him a local lawyer of record in all cases filed in the district federal court here. Judge Lynne refused to waive the rule for Atty. Jackson at a hearing June 19 on an Ad Hoc motion.

The open-seat bus case is expected to come up for hearing on its merit before U. S. Judge H. H. Grooms about the middle of August.

Groundwork is understood to have been laid for a court suit that would seek to bring about wider use of the Birmingham city-sponsored park and recreational activities. Atty. Jackson complains in his motion to have the "Lynne Rule" waived that he is unable to get any local lawyers to serve with him on a complaint he has drafted for filing.

Birmingham is the South's lone city of its population and industrial class which has not done away with its dual seating practices on urban buses. The Tri-Cities of Alabama voluntarily dropped racial seating. Montgomery bowed to the removal of racial seating under the pressure of the federal courts. Racial seating laws are being challenged in the federal courts at Mobile.

Civic leaders in Birmingham call attention to the fact that Negro citizens provide much of the bus patronage in this city. Several cases related to the fair-seating struggle on Birmingham public buses are also pending in the state courts.

Jackson Says Christians Bear Crosses, Not Burn Them In Talk

The real Jesus Christ followers bear crosses; they don't burn them", declared Emory O. Jackson, managing editor of the Birmingham World in delivering the featured message on the Men's Day Service of Metropolitan Community Church Sunday morning, June 21.

"When you burn crosses (as the KKK does) you offend God and also turn to the worship of fire, smoke and fumes," Editor Jackson argued.

"There is a kind of cosmic joy which comes from standing up for Jesus Christ. There seems to be a kind of idolatry in standing up for Jim Crow. The devil worships in Jim Crow robes and presides at the burning of crosses", declared Mr. Jackson.

He used for back ground of his message Acts 18:9, "Then spoke the Lord to Paul in the night by vision. Be not afraid but speak, and hold not thy peace."

This scripture he sought to tie in with the Men's Day theme, "The Role of Christian Men in the World of Yesterday, Today and Aomorrow."

Jackson quoted from J. Saunders Redding's "No Day of Triumph", called up the Roman Poet Virgil; referred to quotation from the humorist. Josh Billing and worked in current literature in contending that "credocrats" should not be mistaken for Christians.

Mr. Jackson said that usually the Jim Crow church placed highest value on social items in contrast to the Jesus Christ church which places emphasis on spiritual, ethical and moral values.

He stressed work, responsibility, social concern and vital growth as the pillars of the Christian faith. He suggested that there is no place for Jim Crow, or racial exclusivisism in the truly Jesus Christ church.

"It is our responsibility as communicants of the Jesus Christ church to see that Jim Crow worship becomes a discarded practice." Mr. Jackson contended, He said this was the responsibility of the layman no less than the clergyman.

Guest Speaker Jackson was introduced by Dr. R. M. Howard, secretary of the Jefferson County Dental Study Club.

Welcome greetings by Jim Hollins; solos by Dr. H. I. Isadore Alexander; solo by Alexander Hickson; organ music by Walter T. Locke, director of the choir at Miles College and remarks by Pastor R. W. Hayden, rounded out the highlights of the program.

Meantime, the Rev. Hayden announced the weekly workshop sponsored by the National Council of Community Churches set for Aug. 8-16 at Nassanetta Springs, Va. He said a 40-passenger chartered bus will carry delegates from Birmingham to this workshop.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

In a page 1 editorial, the eight-year old Herald-Dispatch, one of the four or more Negro-produced weeklies in Los Angeles, Calif., takes the National Newspaper Publishers Association to task in its July 2 issue in connection with the NNPA's 21st annual convention held in that lovely city.

Although the Herald-Dispatch, seemingly an ultra race-line weekly with a mixture of religious dogma, failed to give the proper title to the NNPA, that is not basic in the consideration of the observations made by that journal. The Herald-Dispatch complains that NNPA "completely (ignored) all but one of the Negro weeklies" at its convention.

However, NNPA is a membership organization which permits participation in its business sessions only of members in good standing and the invited convention guests. There is only one NNPA member in Los Angeles, that being the Los Angeles Sentinel, which served as host paper. Perhaps the only reason for any of the other Negro-interest Los Angeles weeklies not being in the NNPA is for their own reasons.



The critical Herald-Dispatch also complains that the convention "esconses itself comfortably and in the usual superior fashion in a downtown hotel, and began to dispense its favors upon a holy few (one in fact) of its sister journals."

Actually, the host paper determines arrangements for the NNPA convention facilities. The Los Angeles Sentinel extended the invitation to NNPA to hold the latter's 1959 annual meeting in Los Angeles. It appears that the other Negro weeklies did not share in this bid. Meantime it would seem that the Los Angeles Negro weeklies should themselves join hands, and also work within the NNPA.

The other part of the criticism on this point has to do with the feeling that too many Negro organizations of national strength are are now overlooking the hotels in the Negro business community. Negro hotel and motel owners have question this trends. A few Negro newspapers have lashed out against this drift. Yet convention arrangements are made by the host paper. It seems that this is something which will have to be tackle from the host city level.

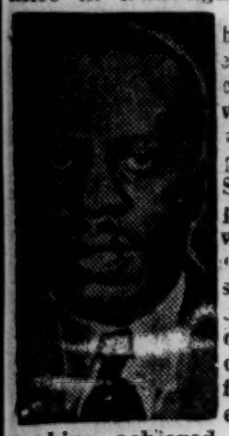
THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Commencement time in the schools is also scholarship evaluating time in the community.

Here in the Birmingham area several organizations and individuals not connected, directly or indirectly, with schools have shown a demonstrated interest in the performed excellence of scholarship. High schools in this locality seem to have a new motivation, an inspired concern and a sharpened determination with regard to quality scholarship.

A school principal of my acquaintance in Birmingham related how



he had encouraged seniors to compete in the various nation-wide further-opportunity tests. Such test competition is open without regard to section school system, division of a school system, or any of the other ridiculous factors. He was elated over the ranking achieved by his students although none placed high enough to qualify for scholarships.

The national testing provided an opportunity for these students to compete with other students, some of which local laws will not yet permit to learning together in the same classroom. Secondly, seniors who are products of different divisions of the same school system had the opportunity to see how they rate in competition which asked only, "are you qualified to take this test?" The test offered a spur to these students to work harder, prepare more thoroughly, and to perform boldly.

Another sidelight on the place of high-grade scholarship in the battle for opportunity can be found in a book review by Horace Mann Bond which appears in the Spring, 1959 issue of The Journal of Negro Education. He discusses "Negroes and Medicine" by Dietrich C. Reitzes in which there is valuable material related to "preparation, motivation and financial" handicaps in the path of the Negro student desiring medical education. He points out that "high schools and colleges can do a great deal about increasing the number of Negroes who can compete, even on a test-score basis."

Too often scholarship selections are not based either on competition or the test-score. In many instances selections are handpicked. Considerations other than creaming off the best of tested scholarship seems to be the case To improve scholarship will require improved competition, teaching, testing, and encouragement it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The "leadership stalemate" in Birmingham is being projected into a consuming issue.

It has many facets, ramifications, and colorations. Since the May 17, 1954 United States Supreme Court decision on public education there has been a need for a reassessment of leadership. Since then, the NAACP has been banned in Alabama. Some of the traditional organizations saw their leaders become de-vocalized, impotent, and withdrawn.



The present discussion of the "leadership stalemate" in Birmingham should be considered, it seems to me, against this overall background. Only a few of the organizations locally and presently on the scene seem to be working at the new problems with the fresh zeal, sharpened tools, and sacrificial considerations needed to inch the cause further toward fruition.

The issue, it seems to me, is not signularly and exclusively a division of views between the Alabama Christian Movements for Human Rights and the local Negro lawyers. Lawyers play both a professional and a leadership role. It is one thing to listen to discussion as between one in his role as a professional and the other seeking professional services. It seems to me that it was in the role of leaders that Frank L. Stanley, editor and publisher of the hard-hitting Louisville Defender on May 28, 1959 discussed editorially the "Birmingham leadership stalemate." It seems that it was as professionals that youthful Atty. J. L. Chestnut, Jr., of Selma, Ala. approached the situation in his June 14 speech before the third annual convention of the Alabama Independent Beauticians Association in session at Masonic Temple.

Stanley's newspaper editorial said that "a tragic situation now exists in the Birmingham, Alabama desegregation movement." His editorial also said that from the information it had appeared that "the Negro lawyers of Alabama are hindering the work" of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. It added that in the light of its information that the Alabama Negro lawyers were hindering this desegregation work by setting "high fees" and "keeping outside lawyers from participating in the movement" and also giving the appearance of "colluding."

That is not the whole story. At least five of the Negro lawyers in the Birmingham - Bessemer area have handled or are handling cases dealing with civil rights in which some members of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights are litigants or otherwise interested. Atty. Ernest Jackson of Jacksonville, Fla., handled the school desegregation case before a three - judge federal court panel in Birmingham, lost it, and carried it to the United States Supreme Court where the adverse decision was affirmed.

As to whether Atty. Jackson has the status of general counsel for ACMHR is not clear. In representing certain persons claiming to be interested in seeking to widen city-sponsored park and recreational facilities, he claims that one of the local lawyers agreed to associate with him, but later changed his mind. In the meantime, since the school suit was litigated and lost, it appears that the U. S. District Court here is insisting that a local lawyer be a lawyer of record in litigation arising in this district. This rule tends to bar out-of-state lawyers from practicing before this court unless they have associated with them local lawyers.

Under the present mood and economic pressure it is not likely that the boldest and most sympathetic white lawyer would associate in any civil rights cases locally.

On the point of association there are conflicting versions. One lawyer who said he exploratorily accepted association with Atty. Jackson, said that after examining the document drawn up found defects in it ,and thought it best to either pull out entirely or handle the case totally with the assistance of his local brothers at the bar. He has not yet explained, so far as this columnist knows, why the alleged associate fee paid to him has not been returned. He also makes other points relative to the preparation of the case. On the other side, are damaging statements attributed to this local lawyer.

Another lawyer claims that he personally has never been approached by Atty. Jackson on the matter of association. He also explains that he had discussed handling the recreational case, suggested a fee, only to learn that there was some apparent under - bidding. As one familiar with civil rights cases, the fee suggested was in line with those usually quoted for this type of litigation. However the fee controversy is nothing new. For a long time there has been some strong and critical opinions on this matter.

It seems that there is a conflict between Atty. Jackson of Florida and the Masonic Temple lawyers on a matter in which legal pride is involved; sensitive personalities rubbed, and an honest difference of opinion on the cost of legal service. These are problems which are hard to present because of their complicated background, interrelation to leadership, and vitalization in the civil rights struggle.

It seems to me that it would be helpful if a committee of public-spirited citizens would be asked to look into this stalemate to find a solution and thus salvage or rescue this leadership collision. A committee composed of Grand Master Charles V. Hendley, W. W. Whetstone, Mrs. Bessie S. Estell, the Rev. McMurray and Joseph Bowman, probably could find an answer to the Birmingham leadership stalemate. Certainly this conflict must not be allowed to drag us down.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — (SNS) — Away from home one gets questions tossed at him.

They've heard about the KKK welcome signs in four Alabama cities (Tuscaloosa, Bessemer, Birmingham, Montgomery); the jailing of Asbury Howard, Sr., president of the Bessemer Voters League (he sought to stimulate a voter-registration campaign) and the Birmingham leadership stalemate.

What can a visitor do? The former residents of your hometown seem disturbed over the ugly conduct of a segment of the Birmingham leadership. They grill you on such things as the United Community Stores, Inc. They hold clippings on you, dig up oral reports, and relate things told to them which probably escapes one who doesn't travel the gossip path.



You try to shift the conversation, but they sit and wait, then ask about certain names. You try to

roll with the questions, turning the ear to one who offers you refreshments. You break through to put questions of your own. You get quick, crisp, ready answers. A voice in the corner of the room raises itself, saying, "getting back to the buses, what have you done?

One rushes in from the golf course where he gets word that you are in the city. "What have you done about playing on all of the golf courses in Birmingham? Look what Negro leaders did in Atlanta", one exclaims with glee.

The questions saddened me. I had been bouyed by the speech of Publisher P. B. Young, Sr., who had thrilled those who attended the NNPA awards banquet. Mr. Young had argued that the "Negro citizen wants a voice before the bar of public opinion." He had made a roll call of Negro editors and publishers who have gone to their reward who advanced the cause of freedom and first-class citizenship with their pen and these newspapers.

Unfairly, perhaps, but when you talk with some of those who left Birmingham seeking wider freedom, equality of opportunity, and dignity of the person, you get the feeling that they seem to think that some of the Birmingham Negro leaders are more interested in the rake of than in the race. They offer no valid evidence to back up such an impression. It only goes to show that some Birmingham leaders who have apparently left the freedom firing line have allowed a bad public opinion of them to develop.

This bad public opinion of some of our Birmingham leaders is equaled in hurtful effect to the Birmingham leadership stalemate which is now threatening to dry up the streams of militant action for the authenic goals of freedom. Let the involved blame, condemn, and even spurt madness, if they care. That will serve only to concretize, dramatize, and popularize the ugly opinion which is building up.

Too often those outside of the South wonder why Birmingham with its widely advertised Negro purchasing power (an exhibit of a study of this buying power made by one of the Birmingham dailies was pointed to in substantiation) the loudly proclaimed Negro civil rights leaders, the so-called leadership depth, and the numerous organizations, lags so far behind. Those who have stopped over in Birmingham by air travel recall the racial signs on the toilets and water fountains at the Birmingham airport, the inability of a Negro air passenger to get limousine service in Birmingham and the racial ban on cafe priviledges.

They wonder how any Birmingham Negro leader could tolerate without challenge the racial signs and restrictions at the Magic City air terminal. Only those Negro persons in the more favored economic bracket or traveling on an expense account can usually afford air travel. Yet it would appear that it is the supposedly better-class Birmingham Negro traveler who accepts without protest these humiliating and downgrading racial practices. None of the Birmingham Negro leadership has so much as mentioned a signs down campaign, using their buying power, there voice power, and their prestige power as tools of first-class citizenship.

It is refreshing to visit this city of golden opportunity. Even a visitor feels that is is great to be an American citizen when he sees what freedom really means. A Birmingham visitor can sense the need for returning home to spend the rest of his days trying to make his hometown surge and quiver with unspotted opportunity for all, discrimination against none.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

So far little seems to have been done to break what is called the leadership stalemate in Birmingham.

This jammed leadership has bogged down the efforts to widen the struggle for the realization of equality of citizenship, full opportunity and status with dignity. It is stalled because of a complexity of involvements which include strong personalities, a confusion of issues, and the trading of blame.

Among the involved personalities are the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, one of the chief figures in the prevailing civil rights leadership and head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and his trusted friend, Dr. W. E. Shortridge, chairman of the ACMHR legal redress committee; Atty. Demetrius C. Newton, one of the six lawyers in the Masonic Temple and a member of the Charles H. Houston Legal Study Club; Atty. Ernest Jackson of Jacksonville, Fla., who handled and lost the school opportunity case and sought to file a court suit to eliminate racial barriers in city-sponsored recreation



only to run up against the "Lynne rule" which requires out-of-state lawyers to associate with the local lawyers of record.

Atty. Jackson, who ran for a spot on the City Council in Jacksonville, Fla. and who is said to have a firm of lawyers and lucrative practice in that city, went to court trying to get the "Lynne rule" waived after he said that Atty. Newton, now president of general alumni association of Wilberforce University had pulled out of an agreement to associate with him after being paid $1500. At a hearing on a waive motion June 20, U. S. Judge Seybourn H. Lynne decided that the new rule governing the practice of out-of-state lawyers would not be relaxed under any circumstances.

Atty. Newton is co-counsel in the "Waiting Room Case" in which the federal court is being asked to strike down city-required dual waiting rooms at the Birmingham Terminal Station. He has stated his reasons for refusing to go along with Atty. Jackson on the suggested right-to-play complaint. Statements attributed to Atty. Newton have tended to implicate some other Masonic Temple lawyers with creating the leadership stalemate.

The Rev. Shuttlesworth who is an indirect litigant in the open-seat bus case, a petitioner in a request to have city-sponsored park and recreational facilities opened to all citizenship without any of the handicapping discrimnations, and one of the litigants in the unsuccessful school democracy case, has charged that it is difficult to secure legal service from local lawyers in positive, new opportunity civil rights cases at reasonable fees. Atty. Jackson who seems to be performing in the role of general counsel for the ACMHR, claims that he has been unable to get local civil rights lawyers to work with him. The lawyers in the Masonic Temple deny these charges and seem to feel hurt over them.

All of this makes for complication. It seems unlikely that this situation is going to work itself out. On the side of the local lawyers is the angle of legal pride. They also seem to feel that taking the leadership stalemate to the public was a calculated effort to embarrass and hurt them. This of course is denied by the other side. Most of the lawyers in the Masonic Temple feel that they have built up a national name for themselves in the area of civil rights. So they insist, and seem to feel that they should call the signals. It comes down to an imagined issue between insiders and a now unwanted outsider. This is not going to be admitted, however.

What are the prospects of Atty. Jackson patching up any differences which might be attributed to him and the lawyers in the Masonic Temple? Answer to this question is unknown. It seems to me that as lawyers both Atty. Jackson and his brothers of bar in Masonic Temple would see the light and bring to an end this stalemate. The Masonic Temple group carries the lable of leaders as well as the title of law-

Under the "Lynne rule" the local lawyers hold the trump card, it seems to me. This same rule tends to put into the hands of those hostile to the advancement of the Negro group what could become a maneuvering tool. Some of our civil rights leaders are trying to link the lawyers in the Masonic Temple with such a maneuver. However there is nothing factually to support any notion of this kind.

Hence it seems to me that some how a committee of public spirited citizens should be asked to voluntarily assemble and try to find a way to end this damaging leadership stalemate. A committee made up of Grand Master Charles V. Hendley, a distinguished lawyer in his own right; W. Wesley Whetstone, principal of Hill School and Southern regional director of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; the Rev. G. W. McMurray, pastor of Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church and a member of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity; Joseph Bowman, owner of several business operations and Mrs. Bessie S. Estell, president of the Alabama State Teachers Association and a member of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

Concededly this is only one phase of the leadership stalemate. Within the group there are other leaders who are contributing to the stalemate. However this has not yet reached the public in the way the Rev. Shuttlesworth has triggered and spotlighted the legal stalemate. It seems to me that this stalemate must be broken, and quickly.

the quality of citizen found in

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Of course, Bessemer, Ala., has organizations to back up its civic leaders.

Then how can the cult of silence which has descended on Bessemer's civic leadership since the jailing of Asbury Howard, Sr., in the "Vote Sign Case" be explained? If the situation was reversed, and the leaders of any of the other numerous civic and community organizations confined in the Bessemer City Jail on a six-month sentence, do you think that Asbury Howard, Sr., would be silent?

No one can answer that question, perhaps. When a test suit was dropped seeking to widen the doors of recreational opportunities in Bessemer, Mr. Howard's position was known and expressed. As president of the Bessemer Voters League he sought to dramatize the idea of voter-registration by having a newspaper cartoon reproduced as a poster with the addition of a get-the-ballot punch line. For this he and a white sign painter were arrested under a foggy Bessemer ordinance.



Two Bessemer circuit judges ruled that an application for appeal from the conviction in the Bessemer Recorder's Court was faulty. Specifically it is not recalled here what details the court said made the application for appeal invalid. Yet it has been explained by some other legal minds that for an appeal from Recorder's Court in Bessemer to be valid it must have either the signature of the recorder or of the mayor. Ordinarily one would expect lawyers practicing in Bessemer to know this.

Was this the way appeal cases have been traditionally handled? If so is where the Alabama Bar Association, it seems to me, should step in. For the impression has been circulated that for about 25 years appeals have been taken from convictions in the Bessemer Recorder's Court without benefit of the signature of either the recorder or the mayor. All of this is now enshrouded in discomforting silence.

The puzzle boils down to whether the appeal flaw resulted from a technical flaw or a traditional fluke. Civic leaders do not seem to have probed this angle. Those who have announced an interest in the case seem to have paid no attention to this angle. Upon the solution of this riddle depends the answers to what the "Vote Sign Case" is about, it seems to me.

Max Eastman in one of his essays speaks of "that small inward doubt." Something within me will not let me believe that enough of the facts have been revealed surrounding the history of the practice of making appeals in the courts of Bessemer.

A resident of Bessemer on March 30 handed this columnist a printed leaflet which he said had been picked up in a Negro neighborhood in Bessemer which reads:

"To the Negroes of the Alabama Area."

"What Do You Want"

"Segregation or Starvation?"

"Does the Negro want Integration and Starvation through the continued employment or segregation with the opportunity to support his family and live in peace? Are you sure of YOUR job? Ninety per cent of the Negroes work for white employers!"

"Will the NAACP subsidize these many Negroes? No. These parasites live and operate on your contributions. When the money stops, they stop."

"What can the good Negroes do to prevent this? We are of the opinion you, the good Negroes, can control these few agitators of your race, if, you are interested in maintaining good social and economic relations with your white friends. When a fast talking preacher or lawyer tells you to send your children to a white school or move to a white neighborhood ask him, who is going to buy your groceries?"

"Remember, these agitators live on YOUR dollars. They can afford to talk. Consider this carefully!"

"The Decent White Citizens of This Area."

The circular did not identify its sponsors other than "Decent White Citizens." It is unusual to find "Decent White Citizens" who restrict their identification in this fashion. The White Citizens Councils do not usually write "Negro" with a capital "N." The Ku Klux Klans seldom dress their literature with such grammatical refinement.

In Alabama the NAACP was put out of operation when Gov. John Patterson was Attorney General. It is doubtful whether at any time while the NAACP was in operation in Bessemer it had as many as 15 per cent of the adult working Negro population of Bessemer. It is inconceivable that any "decent" citizen, regardless of his station, section or skin would penalize any other citizen for trying to live the life of a good American and enjoy fully all of the privileges accorded under the constitution and the interpretations of the United States Supreme Court.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Any man no older than Asbury Howard, Sr., and in his physical condition, could probably do a six-month jail sentence in the Bessemer City Jail without too much impairment to his body. Yet the real damage, it seems to me, that any man who has to serve time under the circumstances of those which sent Mr. Howard to jail, is to democracy and to that city's name. Today Bessemer's once proud roster of civic and labor leaders seems to have fallen into silence.

Mr. Howard is president of the Bessemer Civic League and eastern



vice-president of the 64-year-old Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. He is Alabama-born and a Baptist deacon. Among those who may not share all of Mr. Howard's views you will find an affirmation that he is a solid American. Unless I am fooled, Asbury Howard's Americanism is as pure, or purer than any Bessemer city official. If otherwise, let those who think differently bring forth the proof.

Suppose he was a man of fractured patriotism, that still would not hasten the circumstances in which this eventual jailing was wished. To hire a man to reproduce the cartoon which started Mr. Howard's troubles, is no violation of Bessemer's law, from what I can read. There was no chance to test the law as applied in the specific instance of the violation city officials alleged against Mr. Howard.

What bothers me is the untold facts surrounding the unsuccessful appeal. It is not clear that under the appeal provisions of Bessemer city law, where there is a court conviction the appeal has to be signed either by Recorder or by the Mayor. The Howard appeal, it seems, carried neither one of the required signatures which would have made the appeal valid. Was the method of making a valid appeal known to those who handled the Howard case?

It is hard to find anyone who will permit himself to be quoted on the appeal. Angle. At first the impression was circulated that the appeal bond had been lost or its location could not be established. Second, it was hinted that for 25 years in Bessemer it was the practice to make an appeal bond without having to bother about anything else. It has not been possible to get anybody whose name would carry proper weight to lend it to this latter version. Third, some civic leaders suggested that Mr. Howard wanted to be in jail because that would serve his cause better. (This angle was checked and found to be wholly untrue).

This is the riddle of the unsuccessful Howard appeal. The other puzzle is the silence of Bessemer civic leaders. (On this one is told that prayer meetings are held and money raised but the sums collected are not announced for fear the information "will be carried back." However, the meeting was no secret. Hence this version seems to be leaky.)

Langston Hughes, poet and columnist, has asked in one of his pieces why resident Eisenhower has not directed a probe into the alleged mob attack on Mr. Howard in the corridors of Bessemer City Hall shortly after he left the courtroom where he was convicted. Samuel Hoskins, writing in the Afro-American newspapers appealed to Columnist Drew Pearson to look into the case. The cartoon which offended Bessemer authorities has been published widely since the "Vote Sign Incident."

It seems to me that the spotlight should be centered on the appeal failure and the facts surrounding it. Once this is properly settled, other things will be solved. For it seems to hold the secret of why Asbury Howard, Sr. was arrested in the first place.

While silence seems to grip the Bessemer civic leadership, and nothing is done by the stronger press to dig up the facts surrounding the appeal failure, nationally there has been announced plans of action on behalf of Mr. Howard. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Council of Churches, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, A Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, are among them.

One can name probably more than a dozen civic leaders in Bessemer who carry forward the work of voter-registration if they so desired. Among them are Clinton Lewis, vice-president of the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Perry L. (Tiger) Thompson, who offered and withdrew as a candidate for lieutenant-governor in the 1958 statewide Democratic primary; Dr. W. J. Dowdell, chairman of the Bessemer Division of the Boy Scouts of America; Andy Hall, business man; William Thomas, president of the Bessemer Branch of the NAACP at the time it was banned; the Rev. Leon Glover, pastor of Starlight Baptist Church where Mr Howard is a deacon; the Rev. J. H Browder, pastor of Canaan Baptist Church; Blevins Stout, one of two litigants in a suit to test the racial recreation laws in Bessemer (the suit was subsequently withdrawn), Silas Griffin, Sam Allen, Jesse Gaines ,and Paul Jones, former executive secretary of the Interracial Committee of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces.

The point is that there may be an excuse for the enigma of silence in Bessemer but certainly that should not be the case on voter-registration. Members of the Bessemer Voters League in six month time should be able to give Asbury Howard a welcome home party of a 1,000 new voters, it seems to me.

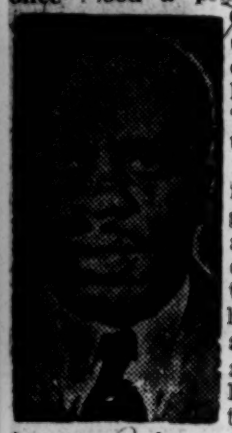
THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

ANNISTON, Ala. — (SNS) — Emphasis is being placed upon civic community development by the Southside Progressive Club here of which Raleigh Byrd, owner and operator of a cleaning establishment is the president.

Membership in the club represents generally all levels of desirable neighborhood life. Included are pastors, workers, business men, war veterans and political action advocates. The club holds weekly meetings at which they dine together. Special meetings are promoted which attract the neighborhood and the citywide people.

Southside Anniston is in the area where Barber College once existed. A housing project now covers what was the campus of this all-girls Presbyterian-founded college. The cultural atmosphere of the neighborhood is still felt. No longer is there a high school in this area where once stood a private prep school.



Community leaders are conscious of the need of a high school on "this side of town".

Anniston does not have a Negro doctor. There are two Negro dentists with established practice here. Civic leaders are trying to find a Negro doctor to locate here. Once there was a Negro general medical practitioner here but that is not now the case. These civic leaders have plans to make the coming of a Negro doctor attractive, profitable and stimulating. Likely his coming would inspire the building a business and civic center like what has been erected at Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

But this development would result from progressive impulses rather than economic pressure. The civic atmosphere here has a healthy background and a promising present. There is a wide sprinkle of Negro-owned business. Approximately 34 per cent 31,150 Anniston population is of the Negro group. Ft. McClellan, the WAC center, has its positive influence. Negro and white Baptist ministers hold joint meetings. Anniston Memorial Hospital would likely be friendly toward the idea of staff privileges for a Negro physician and surgeon.

Here in the Choccolocco Valley are many things to grab the attention of a visitor. On Joy View Heights new homes are up and going up. It is said that this new home-building project is under the guidance of C. J. Clemmons. These are the modern-type homes. Yet the area has the general characteristic too often found residential area where Negro citizens live. It is buffered off from the general community by a railroad. Two foundries partially obscure it and the industrial fumes from these plants compete with the fragrance from the wild flowers from the Appalachian range. The city dump is adjacent where the flames from burning rubbish send garbage-made clouds fading toward the skies.

Thankful Community, or Central City, which spurted up as an all-Negro community has a modern-looking new public school. The old pre-May 17, 1954 school building still stands as a tragic and shabby symbol of the separate but equal doctrine as it really works. But for residential potentialities this community, to a lay observer, seems to have them in dramatic abundance. Without Negro-accumulated capital and far-looking developers this community is not likely to cash in on its possibilities. Our group needs developers who are backed up with money which allows development on the highest look and with the most favorable future.

Anniston, founded in 1873, is called the "Model City". Yet its general business district follows the usual pattern. Negro-owned business is on the threadbare fringes. A sign hangs on what one might mistake for a deserted dwelling which reads, "Negro Hotel". The poolroom, the funeral home, and etc. constitute the Negro-owned business which hang on the main business section like the tattered ends of a farmer's overworn overalls.

Years ago Anniston was regarded as the "Barbecue Capital of Alabama". There are three Negro-owned barbecue places here. Not one of them is located in the downtown business area. There is a well situated Elks Home and the popular "Club 35".

The Rev. Joe E. Boone, who has moved to Atlanta, was regarded as a civic ball of fire. He pastored the Congregational Christian Church and served as president of the Calhoun County Voters League. This meant that the political action leadership was in the hands of church leadership rather than leadership with a stronghold in the night clubs, a visitor gathers.

Meanwhile the Southside Progressive Club seems to be pioneering in the overlooked area of civic needs. Emphasis is placed upon progress more than on protection of those engaged in vice - like activities. There is a shared joy of civic search for a better community, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

In his New York Daily News column, Danton Walker on May 19, 1959 published this item. "New York City's four public colleges about to upgrade their requirements because of the heavy increase in enrollees."

Stiffened requirements and artifeals ones have often been used by private and public universities to bar applicants. These restrictions have been racial, religious, sectional, and because of national origin and ancestry. In Georgia restrictions have been added for the



purpose of turning away prospective Negro applicants. Legal, tradition, and freshly - created restrictions operate in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina which totally hold off the admission of any Negro applicants to state-supported schools.

Scholarship is going to play an increasingly important role in the acceptance of [illegible] public and [illegible] not [illegible] white teachers' salaries be equaled, **the school term the same,** class-size compare favorable. Those other intangible factors will have to be considered. Just now the question is being raised right here in Birmingham about the curriculum offerings.

Despite the so-called testing programs, the numerous surveys, and the other reports which try to convey the impression tha under the two-division school system in Birmingham that the content is equally adequate, no one comest up with a comparision of curriculum. When school kids have to pass one high school to get to another one; when racial rejections slips find their way through the mail, and mobs greet those seeking peacefully to determine their legal rights, how does this picture itself in human relations?

More schools may not mean more education. Hence a closer look will have to be made of education in this city. School building are going up. But correspondingly there is not much going up of teachers. Still there are no Negro members of the Birmingham Board of Education, no assistant superintendent, none on the supervisory staff, with a lone 'director of Negro schools."

More school buildings may not mean more school opportunity. A Negro student in Birmingham has no opportunity to attend a school like either Glenn Vocational or Ramsey Tech. He is barred from ROTC. Apprentice training is withheld from him. Yet 10 years of progress on "your side of the fence" is being discussed. One side seems to have more than the other side.

The scales of educational progress need to be examined. The yardstick needs to take in account the school children for whom the schools chiefly operate. Neither a Negro child nor a Negro teacher in the local public schools have as good an opportunity as a white child or a white teacher. The fact that a Negro teacher of long continuous tenure and stacks of degrees may eventually earn more than a white teacher of lesser tenure and fewer layers of degrees is no valid test of opportunity. Can a Negro teacher be upgraded on a similar basis to a white one?

No Negro school in Birmingham has produced a promotion to school electrician, superintendent, warehouse manager, assistant superintendent, or director of physical education and athletics. Yet there are all Americans and at least two 'Dr. men" in the Negro schools of Birmingham. They are passed over, not passed on. Upgrading is one of the tests of progress with opportunity.

There are jobs other than teaching [illegible] public schools. Yet the pattern with regard to upgrading is about the same A Negro maid or janitor can go no higher. A lunchroom attendant is denied the starting status. Skilled jobs are usually closed to the Negro group. It is not valid to measure opportunity in public schools merely by comparing teaching situations

Yet there has not been produced much job and opportunity research by our civic, P-TA and civil rights leadership. School integration without implemented opportunity will not bring about the progress necessary for worthwhile first-class citizenship. To be able to achieve widened opportunity will require flawless preparation, rugged determination, and unexcelled competitive ability, it seems to me.

Scholarship is one of the signs of the ability for competence and for competition. Skill has a kinship to scholarship. Scholarship and talent should not be confused. Talent is a gift of God while scholarship is the grind of man.

31a 1959

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

ROANOKE, Ala. — (SNS) — You take a look, listen to the townspeople asks questions and come away saddened.

Unlike Wilcox and Lowndes counties, one can find the population segments represented on the voters" list. Within pattern, there appears on the surface a friendly feeling. Yet there are underlying fears of change, a concern about events rumbling elsewhere, a suppressed uneasiness.

Civic leaders here say the Negro group faces a stonewall in the job spread. Most Negroes work out of town, one leader said. He added "there is no payroll for Negroes in Roanoke."



Of course, there are Negro farmers in the rurals. But the Negro city folk are shy of jobs in the mills or factories. Negro civic leaders seem to like the tools for job-making.

These civic leaders felt a visit to that Roanoke has three big payrolls. That in Factory A approximately 700 persons are employed with only about two of them Negro workers. That Factory B employes an estimated 1,400 persons of which seven are Negro employees. And that Factory C has only two Negro wage earners among its estimated 700 workers. These estimates have not been checked. Nor has any inquiry been made to determine the reason for this condition, as related by civic leaders.

Randolph County of which Roanoke is a key city has a population of 16,696 whites and 5,817 Negro persons. About 30.7 per cent of the 5,392 Roanoke population is non-white. In other words there are over 1,617 Negro persons living in Roanoke. There isn't but one city school in Roanoke and it is not open to members of the Negro group. The 1957 ASTA Yearbook lists only four Negro schools for Randolph County.

Negro citizens are able to vote in Roanoke but their civic leaders give the impression that they can get jobs on an open basis in the textile mills and the related industries. It has been said, in substance, "No equality exists where there are barriers beyond which some men may go and others may not."

Civic leaders are aware of the job problem but seem to be helpless to correct it. Or to put it another way, they never mention any steps they have taken to try to improve the situation. One who is unable to get a job is worse than second classed. Job denial based upon race, religion and national origin is one of the worse forms of intolerance. Likely the business, political and industrial leaders of Roanoke are not aware of such indicated job restrictions, if such exist as related to this correspondent.

Such a job picture is not limited to Roanoke. The Tuskegee Civic Association says it has reports that a new industry plans to locate in Macon County and employ only white labor. In many Black Belt counties where plants have migrated are units organized which do not employ Negro workers, except on an extremely restricted basis.

The job problem like full employment is a national challenge. For the good of America something needs to be done about the manpower waste due to scandalous job discrimination. There is not a single agency in Alabama working in the field of fair employment. Job unfairness tends to sour the spirits of its victims. That is neither good for a community nor for America.

Roanoke can not be listed as a mean city. On the other hand the civic leaders speak kindly and even boastfully of their elected public officials. Their attitude is one of a friendly spirit toward those who employ, although they indicate an unfair sharing of the job market. Then, too, this correspondent has only their side.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Sports promotion in our schools should fit in with the language arts emphasis program of the Birmingham Public Schools and also contribute to giving utility to the credo of better neighbor relations, it seems to me.

Surveys of newspaper readership place the sports page near the top. Sports are an important segment of the school publication. Sports writing is the training ground of reporters and feature writers. Schools get more support from their public from sports than any other direct promotion. Sports are the process through which sportsmanship best shows itself. Sportsmanship is the heart of the American spirit. In a way, it tends to illuminate the Golden Rule.

All of this rushes to mind in connection with the eighth annual all sports banquet of the Birmingham Grid Forecasters set for Thursday night, Jan. 15 at Downbeat Club in Ensley. This event will bring together a brilliant list of athletes who performed exceptionally during the 1958 sports year and other celebrated figures. There is nothing to equal this type of gathering in any other Alabama city.



The sports promotion in high schools tends to represent more team work, ..coordination, ..community involvement, and public relations than any other school activity. Cheer leaders trained by the auditorium teacher, the band under the music teacher, sportswriters coached by the English teacher, the scorer, trainer, business manager, and all given expression to ..many talents and strike fire in the language arts. Sports should be of interest to those in the area of guidance.

Sports have become a breadwinning occupation no less than the medical arts. Most professional sports except in the Deep South, are open on a competitive basis where talent, ability and skill are recognized. Yet this is not the only essential thing in amateur and school sports. For sports have a teaching value and can be made the servant of instruction.

It seems to me that the Birmingham Grid Forecasters have served to spotlight the importance of school sports, Sports have been a magnet which have attracted a number of boys and girls to school and hel dthem there. It has helped and stimulated others to go to school college. Through sports a number of boys and girls have found themselves and others have been discovered. Athletics enables a teacher to get close to a student and possibly understand him better.

Once while riding from Alabama A. and M. College with Coach Major Brown and Coach Tilford Cole, a college youngster, who was returning to Birmingham with us, revealed that he intended to stay at home because of some dissatisfaction he had found with the team and the college he was attending (not Alabama A. and M. College). This youth had not been under the coachship of either of the two teachers. Yet they let him relate his side, discussed the points made by the dissatisfied youth, and suggested that on the basis of his complaint, he might be making a mistake. They ..advised.. him to think over what they said and return to school. This youth, after the counselling talk, sat silently, and upon reaching Birmingham, expressed thanks for the ride.

Some weeks later, this youth came by the desk to talk with me. He had returned to his college, stayed on the team, and made good. He was appreciative of the talk which came from the two friendly coaches. Upon graduation from college, he again came in to see me, and to say that he had a job coaching. He said he had something he wanted to get over to boys.

Some boys can be reached through sports which otherwise could hardly be the case. Today youth from local high schools are found on college teams in many parts of the nation. This means that the coaching skill of our high school coaches is standing up nationally.

New South, organ of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, in its September, 1958 issue carried an article by Harry W. Ernest on the "West Virginia Press." It observed in part that "sports writers have pioneered equal treatment for the Negro as an athlete, not a Negro." Richard L. Strout, writing in The Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 1, 1959 suggested: "School athletics, where teamwork counts, have been outstandingly successful in interracial cooperation."

Sports can be made the vehicle of good will and a source of desirable communication. Excellence of performance and manly competition are qualities which fair-minded Americans appreicate. Through sports a better Birmingham can be developed, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

She lay there smiling at me — a broader smile than she had created for any other — when I was in to see her the afternoon of Jan. 10, 1959. It was that last big smile which told me to produce this piece.

Those who came up in large families whose parents were of either the rural or of the small rural town know that the children were paired off in twos. The older was the caretaker for the two. That is the way country folk and those of Buena Vista, Ga. used to bring up their children.

I was less than nine, perhaps, when our parents allowed us to go off to pick cotton on a nearby plantation in Marion County, Georgia. Other times we picked peanuts on Ladd Gordon's plantation in the same county. My sister had to look out for me. She felt that way all through life.



Our parents came to Birmingham seeking better educational opportunities for their children. Disease had dipped into our family deeply. Racial discrimination stood against us. Other handicaps bedevilled us. I was left behind when the other members came to Birmingham. Tragedy struck again while I was living with kinfolk in Schley County, Ga. My younger sister was already in Birmingham when the others came. I have heard members of the family tell the hard time our mother had making the trip, too many children for too little fare.

Our parents had worked to organize an independent school in Buena Vista, trying to provide a better education in a city indifferent to the quality of education provided for Negro children. On Enon Ridge our parents helped there.

My older sister was the first to make it off to college . . . Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga. This was somewhat of a triumph for a struggling family who left a rural Georgia small town. Some years later the older son was privileged to make it to Morehouse College. All the way each was pulling for the other. Each spilled his college experiences for the entertainment of other members of the family.

When my sister, Katherine, went to teach in an adult school at Oxmoor, the family decided that I should accompany her. On this there is so much that could be written. The adult school was an improvement over the job my sister left. My encouragement was a factor. It has always been a feeling of mine that Negro youth needs encouragement, inspiration, and honest friendship.

What does this have to do with a news or opinion column? The other day (Jan. 7, 1959) Robert G. Spivack in his column in the Chicago Daily Defender observed: "Pride in one's family is also one of the things which has made America great." The local TV program, "What's Your Problem?" concerned itself Jan. 11 with the large family. When inspite of disease, discrimination and unfriendly circumstances one can see members of his family pushing through ruthless obstacle and rugged opposition to try to amount to something in life is a source of comfort, if not for a column.

In her days of severe illness my sister put up a hard fight, and we backed her all the way, as far as human effort can go. We even went a little further, traveling on faith and leaning on God. That wasn't enough, and no human being has enough. For she seemed to have pulled forward, then slipped back, finally easing away from us.

What I am trying to get over is that unless one can understand the large family which is based upon teaming up the children in twos, they missed the key to some which might confuse them. They miss much which only biography and history can unfold. It will be too late for them to redeem mistakes made now. There are those who have burned themselves out trying to make the way easier and better for others. My sister. Katherine, was one of those.

There are hurts which can't be hidden. There are blows which seem too heavy to bear.

My sister was the stronger . . . . she could bear more, do more, endure more. I understand now why the Bible was usually at her bedside desk at night and the breakfast table in the morning. Those who have the faith seem to find the strength. My faith looks up.

King, Shuttleswotrh Protest Beating Of Negro Advocate Of Voting Protection

by Emory O. Jackson
For ANP

Bessemer, Ala. — Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, UN General Dag Hammarskjold, Alabama's Governor and the Attorney General of the State were asked to protest the brutal assault against a Negro who was attacked because he urged Negroes to vote.

League President

Victim of the attack is Ashbury Howard, Sr., president of the Bessemer Voters League, an official of the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers. Howard was arranging to post a sign urging people to exercise their right to vote when the poster was confiscated and he was arrested and hailed off to court.

He was sentenced to six months in jail and fined $105 for "breach of the peace."

As he left the courtroom he was attacked by some 40 angry whites. Although the police department was located in the same building, no one intervened except officers who arrested his son, Howard, Jr., for coming to his father's rescue.

The senior Howard suffered a head injury which required 10 stitches to close, and his son was charged with "disturbing the peace."

Last April the Howard home was dynamited and to date no one has been arrested in connection with the bombing.

Appeal To Governor, and Attorney General

Shocked and outraged that a reputable civic leader could be so treated under the very eyes of the law, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth sent an appeal to Alabama's newly inaugurated Governor Patterson.

The telegram said in part:

To Governor Patterson (sent to Executive Mansion)

"Civic Leader Ashbury Howard badly beaten by mob in lobby of City Courthouse, Bessemer, today after trial. Howard claims deed happened in presence of some law officers.

Instead of protection, Officers arrested Howard's son, also attacked by mob. Terrible circumstances when individuals attending judicial processes cannot have safety from mobs.

Out of respect for your office as Governor, and in view of your pledge for proper law enforcement, we urge you order at once full-scale investigation of this event — particularly lack of protection, and see that guilty parties punished." Respectfully,

Alabama Christian Movement
For Human Rights
Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pres.
Rev. Martin L. King, Jr.

To U. S. Attorney General:

"We urge immediate and thorough investigation by your Department of circumstances surrounding beating by mob of civic leader, Ashbury Howard today in Bessemer Courthouse.

Howard has verbally stated some officers saw him being attacked and offered no protection, instead arrested his son also attacked by mob. The fact that Howard was there in Court and attacked on the way out shows lack of safety for certain persons even while attending judicial processes."

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pres.
Rev. M. L. King, Jr.



M. L. King, Jr.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Delaying Tactics Bar Civil Rights Action

Efforts were made twice last week to have the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee meet and work on a civil rights bill.

The first time a quorum failed to show up at the scheduled meeting. The subcommittee has nine members. Only three were present. They were Senators Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, chairman; John A. Carroll, Colorado Democrat, and William Langer, North Dakota Republican.

One member, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming Democrat, was in the Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Md., recovering from a stroke.

The three Dixie members—Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina—stayed away. That is one delaying tactic.

Also absent were Senators Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin and Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska, Republicans.

* * *

THE SECOND time the Senate met at 9:30 a.m., to consider the bill to extend corporate and excise taxes.

Under the rules, no committee may sit without permission while the Senate is in session.

When permission was sought for the Constitutional Rights subcommittee to meet, an objection was voiced. Consequently, there was no meeting.

Strategy calls for the House to act first on civil rights legislation, then bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee with the House - approved bill, as was done in 1957.

If, perchance, a bill is voted out of the Constitutional Rights subcommitee, it would be filibustered to death in the full Senate Judiciary Committee, the graveyard of civil rights legislation.

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi is chairman of the Judiciary Committee. If he runs true to form, he would follow the expedient of recognizing only Johnston, McClellan and Ervin (in the 15 - member committee) to offer time-consuming amendments.

The Senate Judiciary Committee meets only once a week—at 10:30 a.m., on Mondays. The Senate usually convenes at noon. That means that there will be less than an hour and a half to kill each week to keep civil rights from being reported to the Senate. Eastland, Johnston, McClellan and Ervin can do that easily.

On the House side, the bill approved by an all - northern House Judiciary subcommittee is slated for rough going in the full Judiciary Committee and before the House Rules Committee.

But Reps. Emanuel Celler of New York, committee chairman, and William M. McCulloch of Ohio, ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, can get it over these hurdles.

THE UNKNOWN quantity in the situation is Sentor Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader.

His latest word is that he believes the Senate will pass "a reasonable civil rights measure which will appeal to free men who wish to make progress rather than make an issue."

He gave this as his "judgment" but would not predict what kind of action will be taken on civil rights or any of the other bills which he expects the Senate to pass.

Senator Johnson himself is the author of a civil rights bill which would establish a Community Relations Service which would mediate differences over civil rights in local communities.

It may be that he can persuade the Democratc members of the Judiciary Committee to report out his bill, in which case stronger legislation could be offered on the Senate floor as a substitute or as an amendment, or get the Senate to adopt it as a substitute or an amendment to the House-approved bill.

RAYMOND OVERSTREET, an electrical engineer graduate from the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada, came to Washington looking for a Government job. He had no success. He tried a private firm in Northern Virginia working on Government contracts. The personnel people saw he was colored and turned him down.

Then he picked up a Sunday newspaper and saw that an interviewer was in town from Convair in California, which is working on the Atlantas missiles. He went for an interview and was hired on the spot. He started work July 1.

Capt. Clarence M. Hurtt of Baltimore, former assistant professor of military science and tactics at Morgan State College and more recently adviser to the Vietnam army, has been promoted to the grade of major. In view of his outstanding record, Capt. Hurtt was selected two years ahead of his contemporaries.

He is presently commanding officer of the headquarters company at Fort Devens, Mass.

SECOND LIEUT. Chester Wilson of Washington, D.C., an artillery officer and Howard University graduate, has successfully completed the Artillery School at Fort Sill, Okla., and will report to the First Infantry Division at Fort Riley, Kan., this month for duty.

Major William N. Sexton, transportation officer at Fort Hamilton, N.Y., has been selected for assignment to the Military Assistance Advisory group on Formosa. Before reporting for duty he will attend the four - week Defense Department operated Military Assistance Institute at Arlington Towers, Va.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Writer has doubts about non-violence

By LOUIS LAUTIER

NEW YORK — Dr. Martin Luther King, one of the most magnetic young leaders of the day, addressing the Friday night session of the 50th anniversary convention of the NAACP, preached the doctrine of "love and non-violence."

He told the delegates that for colored people, privately or publicly, to "call for retaliatory violence as a strategy during this period would be the greatest tragedy that could befall us."

Violence, he said, "would only serve to increase the fears of the white South, and thereby increase the resistance."

Earlier, the NAACP convention had sustained the six-month suspension of Robert F. Williams from the presidency of the Union County (N.C.) NAACP Branch for advocating "meet violence with violence."

* * *

RESISTANCE to British rule in India by Mahatma Gandhi through non-violent means may have worked very well with the Hindus and helped to gain Indian independence.

To turn the other cheek may be Christian.

But non - violence and the turning of the other cheek do not appeal to a very large segment of the colored population of this country in this day and time.

An overwhelming majority of the American people, white and colored, are law abiding and believe in peace and law and order.

No intelligent person would urge that anybody take the law into his own hands and seek to redress wrongs.

But the law of the land gives a person the right to defend himself and his property against attack.

This right a large segment of colored men are determined to exercise.

* * *

A COLORED man in Mississippi should make up his mind (1) to protect himself and his family, or (2) get out of that lawless state.

If a mob comes in the dead of the night to lynch a man, what can he accomplish by non-violence and love? What he needs to do is get his gun and die with his boots on.

The abduction and murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till of Chicago in Mississippi might have had a different ending if his grandfather had not supinely complied with the demand that he turn the boy over for chastisement.

* * *

FROM ITS founding the NAACP has defended the rights of colored persons to defend themselves against attack of their persons and property.

It did it in:

1. The Elaine, Ark., riot case which arose out of a group of colored sharecroppers firing into a mob who sought to break up their peaceful meeting in a church.

2. The case of Dr. Ossian Sweet and his family, all of whom were charged with murder as the result of the defense of their home against a Detroit mob.

3. The case of 79 colored persons who were convicted in Phillips County, Ark., of killing a white planter who was a member of a mob which raided a meeting of colored farmers called for the purpose of organizing a union to protect their rights.

Other cases in which the NAACP defended the right of colored persons to defend their lives and person include the Columbia, Tenn., race riot and the Rose Lee Ingram case in Georgia.

IN ITS resolution of June 8, affirming the suspension of Mr. Williams, the NAACP Board of Directors reiterated its historic position:

"The NAACP has never condoned mob violence but it firmly supports the right of colored people individually and collectively to defend their person, their homes and their property from attack. This principle has always been the policy of the NAACP."

This position, it is hoped, the NAACP will never abandon in favor of any policy of non-violence and the turning of the other cheek.

The Williams case turned in the convention on the question of supporting NAACP leadership—not on the merits of the case.

* * *

IN THE FIRST place, Williams was never suspended in accordance with the NAACP Constitution.

The constitution provides that an officer of a local branch may be suspended by the national Board of Directors for conduct inimical to the best interests of the association.

Mr. Williams was not suspended by the board but by a paid executive.

The convention, however, has ratified the suspension.

In a calmer atmosphere, the association can now study and evaluate anew its historic position and determine whether it wishes to abandon it and adopt a policy of non-violence.

In doing the latter, however, it should take into consideration the temper of the masses of colored men, who are determined to defend themselves, their families and property.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Is Brooks Hays Key To Jackson Letter?

The key to the antipathy of the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, to the NAACP may be Former Rep. Brooks Hays of Little Rock.

A lot of people wondered why Dr. Jackson sent a telegram to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, expressing "regret" that the NAACP had filed suit against the Little Rock Board of Education challenging the validity of the Arkansas pupil placement law.

Mr. Wilkins replied, citing the headline in a New York morning paper, "Negro Hits

NAACP." He said the suit was filed to seek compliance with the school desegregation plan adopted by the school board in 1955 and upheld by the Federal courts.

* * *

THE PLAN provided for desegregation at the senior high school level as the first stage. Desegregation at the junior high and elementary levels was to follow.

The plan called for desegregation at the high school level to begin in the fall of 1957, and for complete desegregation to be completed by 1963.

Under this plan, nine colored children were admitted to Central High School in Little Rock and attended under protection of the bayonets of United States Army paratroopers.

The United States Supreme Court on Sept. 12, 1958, unanimously rejected an appeal by the Little Rock school board for delay of desegregation at Central High for two and a half years.

* * *

IMMEDIATELY AFTER the court's decision, Gov. Orval Faubus signed into law anti-desegregation measures passed by the Arkansas General Assembly and ordered Little Rock's four high schools closed.

The Little Rock Private School Corporation was formed and operated makeshift private high school for white pupils in the school year 1958-59.

The private school was a flop. The Private School Corporation was unable to raise enough money to operate the Raney High School. The District Court ruled that the Arkansas pupil placement law was "constitutional on its face."

The school board decided to reopen the schools on Aug. 12 with token desegregation. The decision was designed to head off possible interference with the board's plan by Faubus and the Arkansas Legislature.

Dr. Jackson sent his telegram of "regret" to Mr. Wilkins on Aug. 10.

* * *

THE SCHOOL board relied on the Arkansas pupil placement law to dispose of applications from 60 colored students seeking transfer to white schools. It assigned six colored students to such schools — three to Central, where there had been nine in 1957-58, and three to Hall — and the 54 other colored students were assigned to the all-colored Horace Mann High School.

Brooks Hays is a moderate. In the fall of 1957 he attempted to act as mediator between President Eisenhower and Faubus, but negotiations broke down when Faubus would not give Mr. Eisenhower the assurance that he intended to use his full powers as Governor to prevent the obstruction of Federal court orders.

Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine colored children from attending Central High.

President Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard, taking them out of Faubus' hands, and sent battle-trained paratroopers to Little Rock to break up the mob that was preventing the colored childen from attending Central.

* * *

MR. HAYS, a layman, was elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1957.

Shortly aterwards, Mr. Hays saw this reporter in a Capitol corridor one day and asked whether the late Rev. William H. Jernagin was president of the colored Baptists.

I told him that Dr. Jackson was. He said he wanted to meet him. Later, a Baptist meeting was held at a colored Baptist church here. Dr. Jackson was in attendance. Mr. Hays also went to that meeting. They were introduced. Both spoke from the same platform.

Not only did a friendship develop between the two heads of Baptist Conventions, but Mr. Hays became a donor of $50 to a National Baptist Convention ministers' retirement fund —a Jackson project.

Now the tip comes from a good source that the friendship between these two men accounts for the telegram of "regret" Dr. Jackson sent to Mr. Wilkins. Putting two and two together makes four.

* * *

DR. AND MRS. William E. B. DuBois were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. George B. Murphy Jr., while they were here to attend the reception for Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Russian Embassy Thursday evening.

One of the finest and most modern post offices is about ready for dedication at Tuskegee Institute. Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield plans to make the dedication a big affair.

For the first time in history people will know that there is a United States post office at Tuskegee Institute. The new office is built on the campus of the school Booker T. Washington founded.

In the past it was thought that the post office was maintained by the school because it was located in the administration building.

* * *

THE POST OFFICE Department has spent about $65,000 for the building, which is ready for dedication.

In Nation's Capitol

Dr Jackson No Student Of Nat'l And International Affair

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

The Rev Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, is one of the foremost pulpiteers of the day. But he is no profound student of national and international affairs.

As eloquent as was his annual report to the National Baptist Convention in San Francisco last week, and as forceful as was his delivery, he left himself open to criticism on several points.

1. He made an eloquent defense of the N A A C P against the states which seek to destroy it, ban its activities within their borders, prohibit its advocacy of school desegregation, and to insulate state enforced segregation against attack by colored citizens.

But Dr Jackson's position on the wisdom of the NAACP's bringing suit against the Little Rock Board of Education is untenable.

The Little Rock school board asigned only six colored students to two white high schools - Hall High and Central. This number was fewer than the nine colored students who had attended Central High under Federal court order in 1957 58. Some of those nine students were not included among the six students the board assigned to the two schools.

As Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary correctly pointed out to Dr Jackson unless suit was brought on behalf of the children who attended Central in 1957-58 and were not returned to that school this year by the board, their rights would have been waived.

The Litle Rock board purported to act under the Arkansas pupil assignment law. In so acting it assigned only six of 50 pupils who had applied for transfer to all white schools.

Pupil placement laws were designed to maintain segregated schools. No state pupil placement board has yet assigned any colored child to a white school. Local school boards have been ordered by Federal courts to disregard the actions of state pupil placement boards and enroll colored children in certain previously all white schools.

If the Arkansas law had gone unchallenged, it might have set a pattern that could continue racially segregated schools indefinitely.

But, basically, Dr Jackson should know that every child is entitled to the enjoyment of his constitutional right now to attend an unsegregated school Any deviation from that principle smacks of gradualism.

2. Dr Jackson was wrong in influencing the Board of Directors of the National Baptist Convention to adopt his recommendation commending the Little Rock school board, chamber of Commerce and police department but containing not a word of praise of the NAACP for the long and financially burdensome fight it made to have the Supreme Court declare segregation in education unconstitutional and pry open the doors of white schools to colored children in Arkansas and other southern states.

3. Worse still is the Christian philosophy which Dr Jackson preached. He is a theologian and believes in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. How then, in heaven's name, can he advocate racial segregation in the Christian church and the putting of a dollar mark, instead of the cross, the symbol of Christianity, on places of worship?

He makes of the Christian church a private institution which has the God-given and legal right to exclude a person because of his color and poverty, and he tells colored people they have no right to impose themselves upon a white congregation which does not invite and welcome them.

The converse of his proposition would come closer to Christian morality. No church has the right to close its doors to a would be worshiper because of his race, color, creed, or national origin.

If the preacher believes that he professes, God's love for man is absolutely free, greared to a neighbor's needs not his ability to tithe (give a tenth part of his income for the support of the church)

3. Dr Jakson also showed a lack of knowledge of world problems. All of the equities are not on the side of the Jews in the Arab Israeli situation. The partitioning of Palestine into two independent states one Arab and the other Zionist left bout 900,000 displaced and nonadic rabs. Their fate still remains uncertain.

Dr Jackson urges colored Americans, who are physicians, scientific farmers or possess other skills, to immigrate to Liberia. President William V. S Tubman of Liberia has told him that such Americans would be welcome if they come to become naturalized citizens and buy land.

Liberia is one of the most backward and unprogressive countries in Africa. The Whig party is the only political organization which exists in that country. Political opposition is suppressed.

The Firestone Rubber Company has the concessions for growing rubber, selling Ford cars, and bottling Coca Cola. Republic steel has the concession for mining iron ore. The Americo - Liberians are all on the government pay roll. The Africans in Liberia re mostly poverty stricken and illiterate.

The National Baptist Convention, which has a dime budget in comparison with the budgets of the American and Southern Baptist Conventions, can best serve Liberia by sending missionary teachers there to build schools and by bringing Liberians to this country for training in medical schools.

Dr Jackson has a great potential for good He should re-study the fight colored Americans are making for first-class citizenship and bring his thinking and preaching into line with that of individuals and groups leading the fight

The Protestant church must drop their color bars just as the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association and other professional organizations and as professional sports have done. And Dr Jackson should be in the forefront of those advocating such a policy.

In The Nation's Capitol

'Love, Non-Violence,' Dr King

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

Houston, Texas

Dr Martin Luther King, one of the most magnetic young leaders of the day, addressing the Friday night session of the 50th anniversary convention of the NAACP, preached the doctrine of "love and non-violence."

He told the delegates that for colored people, privately or publicly, to "call for retaliatory violence as a strategy during this period would be the greatest tragedy that could befall us."

Violence, he said, "would only serve to increase the fears of the white South, and thereby increase the resistance."

Earlier, the NAACP convention had sustained the six-month suspension of Robert F Williams from the presidency of the Union County, N C, NAACP Branch for advocating that colored people "meet violence with violence."

Resistance to British rule in India by Mahatma Ghandi through nonviolent means may have worked very well with the Hindus and helped to gain Indian independence.

To turn the other cheek may be Christian.

But nonviolence and the turning of the other cheek do not appeal to a very large segment of the colored population of this country in this day and time.

An overwhelming majority of the American people, white and colored, are law abiding and believe in peace and law and order.

No intelligent person would urge that anybody take the law into his own hands and seek to redress wrongs.

But the law of the land gives a person the right to defend himself and his property against attack.

This right a large segment of colored men are determined to exercise.

A colored man who continues to live in Mississippi should make up his mind (1) to protect himself and his family, or (2) get out of that lawless state.

If a mob comes in the dead of night to lynch a man, what can he accomplish by nonviolence and love? What he needs do is get his gun and die with his boots on.

The abduction and murder of 14-year old Emmett Till of Chicago by two white men in Mississippi because the boy wolf-whistled at a white woman might have have had a different ending if his grandfather had not supinely complied with the demand of the white men that he turn the boy over to them for chastisement.

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1. The Elaine, Ark, riot case which arose out of a group of colored sharecroppers firing into a mob who sought to break up their peaceful meeting in a church

2. The case of Dr Ossian Sweet and his family, all of whom were charged with murder as the result of the defense of their home against a Detroit mob.

3. The case of 79 colored persons who were convicted in Phillips County, Ark, of killing a white planter who was a member of a mob which raided a meeting of colored farmers called for the purpose of organizing a union to protect their rights.

Other cases in which the NAACP defended the right of colored persons to defend their lives and person include the Columbia, Tenn, race riot and the Rose Lee Ingram case in Georgia.

In its resolution of June 8 affirming the suspension of Mr Williams, the NAACP Board of Directors reiterated its historic position:

"The NAACP has never condoned mob violence but it firmly supports the right of Negroes individually and collectively to defend their person, their homes and their property from attack. This principle has always been the policy of the NAACP."

This position, it is hoped, the NAACP will never abandon in favor of any policy of nonviolence and the turning of the other cheek.

The Williams case turned in the convention on the question of supporting NAACP leadership-- not on the merits of the case.

In the first place, William was never suspended in accordance with the NAACP Constitution.

The constitution provides that an officer of a local branch may be suspended by the national Board of Directors for conduct inimical to the best interest of the association.

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The conviction, however, has ratified the suspension.

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In doing the latter, however, it should take into consideration the temper of the masses of colored men, who are determined to defend themselves, their families, and property.

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NEW YOR K(NNPA)- The 50th anniversary convention of the NAACP voted Saturday to hold the 51st annual conference in Philadelphia.

Chicago and Rochester, N Y, made bids but the Committee on Time and Place unanimously recommended Philadelphia. The dates for the 1960 convention are July 9 to 16.

Testimony Of Intimidation Heard

Clarendon Economic Reprisals Aired

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — The Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee heard testimony concerning intimidation and economic reprisals in Clarendon County, S. C., which followed the decision of the United States Supreme Court against segregated public schools.

One of the five cases in which the Supreme Court struck down statutory and constitutional provisions requiring or permitting racial segregation in public schools came from Clarendon County.

Although he himself has been a victim of efforts to intimidate, Billie S. Fleming of Manning, S. C., testified concerning activities of both the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan in Clarendon County.

Mr. Fleming is the manager of a funeral home, owner of an insurance agency, president of the Manning Branch of the NAACP chairman of the executive committee of NAACP Branches, and president of the Clarendon County Improvement Association.

After the decision in the school segregation cases, Mr. Fleming testified, the Rev. L. B. McCord Clarendon County superintendent of education began organizing Manning Chapter of the White Citizens Association.

ORGANIZED COUNCILS

S. E. Rogers, a Sumerton, S. C., attorney, became so enthusiastic about the new organization, Mr. Fleming said, that he undertook the task of organizing Councils throughout South Carolina.

The plaintiffs in the Clarendon County suit were led to believe that if they dropped their fight Mr. Fleming testified, "all would be forgiven." Some asked that their names be taken from petitions, he said. Nevertheless, they lost their jobs and credit, he asserted.

Harry Briggs one of the original plaintiffs, Mr Fleming said, lost his job and found it impossible to get other work in Clarendon County and had to move out.

To meet the challenge of the White Citizens Council, the colored people organized the Clarendon County Improvement Association.

Since the organization of this association. Mr. Fleming testified, not one colored person has been forced by economic reasons to leave Clarence County. The association, he said, is furnishing relief by suplying fertilizer, seed, insecticides, cash loans and other services which the people could not get elsewhere.

Asked by Senator Olin D. Johnston, South Carolina Democrat, where the association got its money, Mr Fleming replied that it came from several sources. He said the association is now operating as a cooperation.

SOUGHT CHARTER

He also testified that on three occasions the association had sought a charter from the Secretary of State of South Carolina, but each time the charter was refused and their check returned.

Later, Johnston read a telegram from the Secretary of State stating that he has never turned down any application for a state charter except where the law is not complied with.

The Secretary of State also denied that he had ever sent investigators into any county to check on any application. He said he did not have the facilities to

In one section of Clarendon County, Mr. Fleming testified, members of the White Citizens Council refused to rent to any known member of the NAACP any type of harvesting equipment.

As a result, all colored farmers in that area, who were members of the NAACP in 1957, had their crops to rot in the fields because they could not rent harvesting equipment, Mr. Fleming said.

He added that he went with one of them, Hammet Pearson, to several white farmers to rent harvesting equipment but they were refused. Before the White Citizens Council was organized, he stated, colored farmers had no trouble in renting machinery.

In a speech before the mid-winter conference of Region 9 of the United Auto Workers in New York City, Mr. Fleming told of the plight of colored farmers. He said the delegates were so shocked that they raised money for the purchase of a combine and gave the funds to the improvement association.

The association, he said, was unable to buy a combine in Clarendon County and had to buy it in another county. The combine, he stated, is now being used by all the colored farmers in the county.

Clarendon County has 2,400 colored farmers. Mr. Fleming was unable to give a breakdown of how many owned their farms, how many were tenant farmers and how many were sharecroppers, but he estimated that 50 per cent of them were farm owners.

Mr. Fleming testified that the colored business man also was subjected to economic pressure. He said they found that they were no longer able to purchase from wholesalers. Milk, bread, beverage, and novelty trucks, wholesale grocers, fuel oil dealers, and other suppliers, he testified, refused to sell to colored merchants.

It was necessary; he said, to get colored merchants in other sections of the state to buy merchandize for colored merchants in Clarendon County and "at night slip" the merchandize into their stores.

Mr. Fleming said some merchants had to buy from supermarkets at retail prices and sell their goods without profit in order to have the things their customers wanted. But today, he said, these merchants are still in business.

In the Sumerton area of Clarendon County, he testified, cotton gin owners were supplied by the White Citizens Council with a list of the petitioners for school desegregation and known members of the NAACP. Colored farmers whose names were on the list, he said, were refused gin services.

Capital Spotlight

By LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The question of anti - Semitism as a factor in the opposition to President Eisenhower's nomination of Lewis Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce is now in the open.

It was ventilated by Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Democrat, on the Senate floor. Calling it "a very delicate matter," Morse told the Senate it "must face up to the question."

Morse was told by two Jewish leaders that their offices had received a great many phone calls making the charge that much of the opposition to Admiral Strauss in the Senate is anti - Semitic.

Before Morse took the floor, Representative Steven E. Derounian, New York Republican, said it was being impressed upon him constantly that opposition to confirmation of Strauss "is based on religious prejudice."

"If this is true, said Derounian, "it revolts me as an American citizen."

Opposes Anti-Semitism

Strauss is a Jew, a trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and a past president of Congregation Manu-el in New York

If Morse has been consistent on any one thing during his 15 years in the Senate, it is his opposition to anti - Semitism, religious intolerance, and any semblance of discrimination based on race, creed or color. He says he would vote for a Catholic or Jew for President.

Morse is opposed to Strauss. He has called Strauss "an enemy of democratic government" and "an enemy of the people."

Senator Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican, challenged Morse's characterizations of Strauss. He said he served in the Army Chemical Corps while Strauss served in the Navy, that the two had a confidential relationship, and he has always believed Strauss to be "a man of honor."

Javits — himself a Jew and proud of the fact — said he did not think the issue should be raised or used that Strauss is Jewish.

Incidently, Dixiecrats have tried to pit Jews against colored people on the civil rights issue by proclaiming high regard for a few Jews in their states who have achieved prominence.

For example, Governor Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina testified recently before a House Judiciary subcommittee against civil rights legislation that—

Jews In Civil Rights

"There's no such thing as a 'restricted' hotel in South Carolina. The Man of the Year in my home town of Charleston recently was a distinguished Jew named Edward Kronsberg. In public office another Jew, Solomon Blatt, has been the unanimous choice for years as the Speaker of our House of Representatives."

The fact is the big Jewish organizations like the Anti - Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress are strong supporters of civil rights legislation, as are also individual Jews like Javits and Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and believe that no minority group is safe from race or religious discrimination so long as any one minority group is subjected to such prejudice.

Walking across the Capitol grounds one day, I bumped into a Georgia Congressman, a former solicitor - general for a

southwestern Georgia judicial district. He said to me that he believed that colored people and southern white people could get together on the school desegregation issue and that he believed Thurgood Marshall would be reasonable if it weren't for the "damned Jews." He added that the Jews were the ones who kept things stirred up.

We stopped and talked for a moment in front of the Old House Office building. Another southern Congressman walked up and asked the other one what was he telling this newspaperman. The Georgia Congressman repeated his statement and the newcomer agreed with his views.

Who knows how widespread anti - Semitism is on Capitol Hill, but it's there — and the Congressional spokesmen for the White Citizens Councils are just as vile in their anti - Semitism and anti -Catholicism as they are in their racism.

Senator Vance Hartke, Indiana Democrat, a freshman, was distressed at some of the comments he heard during hearings before the Senate District of Columbia Judiciary subcommittee on "home rule."

He discovered that often the subject of race was injected into the discussions. He found that some of the opposition to a "home rule" bill of any kind stemmed obviously from persons who object to giving voting rights of any kind to a city in which about half the electorate might be colored.

Speaker of the Liberian House of Representatives Richard Henries was among the guests who attended the luncheon which President Eisenhower gave for the Foreign Ministers who attended the funeral of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Mrs. Benjamin O. Davis Sr., wife of Brig. General Benjamin O. Davis Sr. (retired), is one of the only two living members of the faculty of Lincoln high school, Kansas City, Mo., in 1912

The former Miss Sadie E. Overton of Mississippi, she and the general were married in 1912. They live here at 1721 S. Street northwest.

Incidentally, Gen. Davis received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Morgan State College exercises. He was cited as a "soldier and diplomat."

In the suit brought by six members against the Elks, which is scheduled for trial in the Essex County (N.J.) Superior Court beginning June 15, one of the complaints is that the grand lodge has never set up any death benefits.

Elk oldtimers recall that the late J. Finley Wilson, who served as grand exalted ruler longer than any other individual, was elected in Newark in 1922 on a platform which called for the establishment of a group insurance plan.

But as popular as Finley was he never succeeded in getting the Elks grand lodge to vote to set up a death benefit program. Some local lodges have such programs. But the Elks grand lodge repeatedly voted to reject propositions to create a death benefits program.

Solons Submit Civil Rights Package

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D C (NNPA) — Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, Tuesday introduced on behalf of himself and 11 other Senators seven civil rights bills, one of which is an omnibus bill incorporating the other six proposals.

The Humphrey bills would prohibit segregation in interstate travel in line with the Supreme Court decision outlawing such segregation, make it a Federal offense to attack bodily a member of the armed forces, prohibit discrimination in employment, outlaw the poll-tax as a condition of voting in primary or other elections involving Federal officials, strengthen existing Federal criminal civil rights law, and strengthen the criminal laws relating to peonage, slavery and involuntary servitude.

Co-sponsoring this package of bills are Senators Joseph S Clark of Pennsylvania, Paul H Douglas of Illinois, Philip A. Hart of Michigan, Warren G Magnuson of Washington, Eugene J McCarty of Minnesota, Pat McNamara of Michigan, Wayne L Morse of Oregon, James E Murray of Montana, Richard L Neuberger of Oregon and John O Pastore of Rhode Island, all democrats, and Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York.

In offering his bill, Senator Humphrey called "commendable" pending civil rights bills, including the measure introduced by Senator Lyndon B Johnson, of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader.

The Johnson bill would establish a concilation service in the field of civil rights, make the transportation of explosives for bombing and interstate conspiracies to intimidate people with bombs Federal offenses, give the Attorney General subpoena powers in voting rights cases, and extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission to Jan 31, 1961.

The Administration proposals and the Douglas-Javits-Celler bill of which Senator Humphrey is one of the sponsors, also was called commendable, as was an antilynching bill sponsored by Senator Hart.

"The recent tragic kidnapping and murder of Mack Charles Parker by a white mob in Poplarville, Miss," Humphrey said, "makes all too clear the real need for effective antilynching legislation."

All of the civil rights bills which he mentioned, Humphrey said, "represent strides in the right direction and they warrant the approval of the Congress." But he asserted that the Douglas- Javits-Celler bill is "the most comprehensive measure now before the Senate."

He pointed out that it deals not only with school desegregation, but also would give the Attorney General authority to bring suits to enjoin violations or threatened violations of constitutional rights.

This country 'must face up to the evil of segregation and discrimination," Humphrey said, adding:

"There is no greater stain on the moral conscience of America. And we in the Congress have a duty to do all within our power to aid in eradicating this blight upon the face of the land.

"The gap between the noble principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and the denial of true freedom to all too many of our fellow citizens must be closed.

And it can be closed if we will deal with the vital issue as men of reason who believe as did the Founding Fathers in the basic and God-given rights of all men."

Liberia is described as backward nation

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Liberia apparently is determined to go its own way and not join in any union of West African States under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana.

President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia and George A. Padmore, Liberian Ambassador to the United States, have made this quite clear.

According to a statement by J. Rudolph Grimes, Acting Secretary of State of Liberia, which appeared in the Liberia Official Gazette of Jan. 26, the Tubman Government favors an organization to be known as the Associated States of Africa.

Members of this association would consult on common problems, set up regional associations to work on health problems, engage in regional scientific research and training projects, set up regional cultural institutes, and draft a convention reducing tariffs and customs.

* * *

THAT PROGRAM is not only far less imaginative than the dream of Dr. Nkrumah, who would make Ghana a base for Pan African liberation, but it is far less than the cooperative program being carried out jointly by the United States and Liberia.

These two Governments are currently carrying on 15 programs under the technical cooperation program which brings American skill and knowledge to underdeveloped countries.

These programs are directed in two areas — in the field of highway development and agriculture.

The International Cooperation Administration has sent technicians to Liberia to assist the Liberian Government in developing a network of highways which is being financed by the Export - Import Bank.

And in the field of agriculture the United States has made a major effort to help farmers develop their little plots.

* * *

LIBERIA IS rich in natural resources. Its mineral resources include gold and iron. Diamonds have been found in some districts. Iron ore from the Bomi Hills mines is rated as the highest. Production, more than 1,000,000 tons a year, is exported chiefly to the United States.

Firestone has a huge rubber planation in Liberia. The United States gets about 10 percent of its rubber from Liberia.

Despite the economic and financial aid Liberia is receivng from the United States, and its rich natural resources, the country is one of the most backward and least advanced of African countries south of the Sahara.

When Vice President Nixon visited Liberia in 1957, newsmen accompanying him asked President Tubman why was hat so.

His reply was that Liberia has had to pull itself up by its own bootstraps.

* * *

THAT IS NOT exactly the truth. Ever since its founding in 1822, the United States has been Liberia's patron. Freedmen from the United States were assisted by American colonization societies in settling at Monrovia.

In modern times, the United States picked up the expense tab for the Liberian delegation which attended the Versailles peace conference in 1919. The Firestone concession brought in American capital.

During World War 2, American Army engineers built Roberts Field near Monrovia. Monrovia's harbor was developed with United States aid.

If Liberia has not been a political colony of the United States as the African Gold Coast was of Great Britain, it has at least been an economic colony.

* * *

THE TROUBLE with Liberia is that it is an oligarchy — if not a dictatorship. President Tubman has been in office since 1943. He has served one eight-year and two four-year terms. He has been unanimously nominated for a fourth term.

There is no oppostion party worth mentioning. Opponents usually land in jail. Liberian newspapers are subsidized by the Government and, therefore, dare not criticize the Administration. Nearly all the Americo - Liberian adults, who work, are on the Government payroll.

There has been little integration of the African natives into the Liberian Government but President Tubman has a yatch, which costs Liberians $25,000 a year to maintain and operate, to visit areas outside of Monrovia.

Everywhere in Africa nationalism is on the march. Since World War 2, six new African states — Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, the Sudan, and Guinea — have become independent.

SOMALIA, BY the decision of the United Nations General Assembly, will receive its independence in 1960. Nigeria is scheduled to receive its independence at about the same time.

Among other British African territories, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Uganda are proceeding rapidly along the road to self government.

In all the French territories south of the Sahara advanced forms of representative self-government have been instituted.

Unemployment, trade deficits, scarcity of skilled labor and managerial personnel, lack of resources, capital and economic dislocations are but some of the problems facing the independent nations of Africa today.

Liberia, as the oldest republic in West Africa, should help them with their problems and not stand aloof.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

The Two Mitchells Now In Agreement

Everything is now hotsy - totsy between Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and Clarence Mitchell, AFRO columnist and head of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

At the "summit" conference of last May, sponsored by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, the two fell out when Secretary Mitchell told the conference that "Congress passed a weak, watered-down and, in my opinion, ineffectual civil rights bill," adding:

"They could have done better. They might have done better if some of the people who stand up professionally for civil rights had not deserted the stronger legislation demanded by the House."

"That is not the truth," yelled Lobbyist Mitchell from out in the audience.

* * *

BUT AT THE hearing Thursday before a House Judiciary subcommittee on civil rights legislation, the two Mitchells shook hands before Secretary Mitchell testified in support of the Administration proposal to make the Nixon Government Contracts Committee a statutary Commission on Equal Job Opportunity under Government Contracts.

After Secretary Mitchell testified, the two Mitchells huddled briefly.

The fact is the two Mitchells had been friends ever since World War II days when Secretary Mitchell was a key official in General Somervell's Army Service Forces Headquarters in the Pentagon and Clarence was an official with the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Both were fighting way back then to eliminate race and religious discrimination in employment and they're still fighting to that end.

* * *

GEORGE M. JOHNSON, former dean of the Howard University Law School, will return to the law school in his professorial rank if he is confirmed to be a member of the Civil Rights Commission.

George E. C. Hayes, chairman of the District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission, is being mentioned to succeed David B. Karrick as a member of the three - member Board of Commissioners which runs the District of Columbia. Karrick's term expires soon, but there also is an effort afoot to get him to accept reappointment.

Incidentally, Washington has a population of 825,000, of which only 387,000 are white and 438,000 are colored.

The population pattern of the metropolitan area of Washington has been similar to that of other major metropolitan areas. The increase in total area population since World War II has been tremendous. But the increase has occurred almost entirely in the suburbs.

The suburban growth here has been characterized, as elsewhere, by the out - migration of young white families from the District of Columbia and, to a lesser extent, an influx of young families from other parts of the country.

* * *

WHILE THE total population has been rather static in recent years, the percentage of white to colored has changed from about 64 per cent white in 1950 to about 47 per cent white in 1958.

Whites represent primarily the older population segment and colored the younger. Colored, low - income persons constitute, at this time, 11.9 per cent of the colored population or about 6.3 per cent of the total population.

Of the white population, 4.4 per cent is classified as low income, or 2.1 per cent of the total. Low - income persons are those who are presumptively eligible for public assistance in the District of Columbia.

These figures have got a lot of persons hot and bothered that Washington, in time, may become virtually an all - colored city.

* * *

FRANK S. HORNE, executive director of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, was one of the principal speakers at the annual meeting of the National Housing Conference here. He shared the platform with Sen. John J. Sparkman and Rep. Albert Rains, both of Alabama, and Senator Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican, and Norman P. Mason, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Southerners get a taste of their own medicine in the House Judiciary Committee, of which Rep. Emanuel Celler, of New York, is chairman.

Southerners dominate most of the key Congressional committees and are in position to push or block legislation.

Sen. James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, is a prime example. As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he has made his committee a graveyard for civil rights legislation, a springboard for attacks on the Supreme Court, and a device for holding up judicial appointments.

* * *

AS CHAIRMAN of the House Judiciary Committee, Celler appoints all Northerners to Subcommittee No. 5 which handles civil rights matters. He is the chairman of that subcommittee. Other members are Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr., New Jersey; Byron G. Rogers, Colorado; Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts; Lester Holtzman, New York, Democrats, and William [illegible], Ohio; William E. Miller, New York, and George Meader, Michigan, Republicans.

Politicians weigh his chances for '60

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Politicians are trying to assess what, if any, damage has been done to the chances of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas to obtain the Democratic Presidential nomination by three sharp attacks on his Senate leadership.

A rebellion, earlier sparked by Senator William Proxmire, Wisconsin Democrat, was joined during the Easter recess by Senator Pat McNamara, Michigan, Democrat, who charged "a serious breakdown" in the Texan's leadership.

Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Democrat, Saturday night rapped the Democratic Congressional leadership as "The Charlie McCarthy in a political ventriloquist act."

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC leader of the House is another Texan, Speaker Sam Rayburn. He and Johnson make up one of the most powerful teams that has ever operated on Capitol Hill.

Morse levelled his attack at the Democratic leadership at a testimonial dinner for Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin Democrat, in Madison, Wis., Saturday night.

A long list of Congressional reforms was urged by Morse in launching his attack upon his party leadership. He called for an end of Democratic Party control by minority groups, abolition of the seniority system in selecting chairmen of Congressional committees, party conferences on all major legislative issues in the Senate, and full public disclosure by members of Congress each year of the amounts and sources, including gifts, of their income.

He also urged a full disclosure of the payroll and expenditures of a member's office.

* * *

"THE DEMOCRATIC Party must stop diluding itself by aiding and abetting the unsound policies of the Republican Administration," Morse declared, adding:

"It should be a party of leadership and of enlightened opposition to the reactionary policies handed down by this sorry Republican Administration."

Morse said time and again the Democratic Congressional leadership "has been the collusive ally with President Eisenhower" and other Administration Elders.

"Test the overall legislative record of Democratic leadership since the Eisenhower Administration has been in office, and for the most part, on most of the great issues, you will find that the Democratic leadership on Capitol Hill has been the Charlie McCarthy in a political ventriloquist act."

* * *

"ONCE IN A while, the Democratic leaders, in Charlie McCarthy style," Morse said, have talked back to the Republican ventriloquist, but the political love-fest has gone on."

"Where is this great legislative record of the Democratic party about which its leaders sing such a sweet song of political melody?" Morse asked.

He charged that the Democrats had not kept their 1956 platform pledge to raise the personal tax exemption to $800.

"Couldn't be that the Democratic party has failed to pass adequate housing and slum clearance legislation because the real estate lobby is as powerful within the Democratic party as within the Republican party?" Morse asked.

* * *

"LIKE THE OIL interest, it plays both sides of the political street.

Where is a Democratic civil rights bill "that refuses to compromise the 14th Amendment?" Morse asked.

"Oh you say, 'Mr. Senator, aren't you wrong in that criticism of the leadership of the Democratic Party. Didn't the Congress in 1957 pass the first civil rights bill in 80 years; at least, that's what our Democrat leaders tell us.'

"My answer is that you are right about what the Democratic leaders tell you, but you are completely overlooking what the Democratic leadership did not tell you about the unconscionable compromises with principle that honey-combed the so-called Civil Rights Bill of 1957.

* * *

"WHEN TITLE III of the original 1957 bill was stricken and the jury trial amendment added, there was consummated a compromise between Democratic and Republican leadership in the Senate of the U.S. that destroyed the spirit, intent and purpose of the bill in respect to civil rights protection.

"It was a walk-out by Congress on the courts of the land. It amounted to a postponing on the part of the Democratic Party of keeping faith not only with its political platform of 1952 and 1956, but with its even greater obligation of keeping faith with the guarantee of the 14th Amendment of the Constifution in respect to equality of citizenship in the U.S."

Morse said he was proud to be a co-sponsor this year of the Douglas civil rights bill which would enact Title III of the 1957 bill.

He added that the Douglas bill would make it possible for the Attorney General to obtain injunctions against interference by state officials or anyone else with rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

* * *

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS, Morse said, must stop compromising. "The trouble with too many liberal Democrats is that they have let their political courage be dulled by an opiate injected by the Democratic leadership that in order to get along in Congress, in order to get anything done at all, you have to go along with the leadership," he said, adding:

"It is suggested that those who don't will be put in cold storage and never get anything accomplished. The net result is unconscionable and unnecessary compromise everywhere."

One figure of speech used by his liberal colleagues to support this political posture, Morse said, is that "half a loaf is better than nothing."

"The sad fact is that time and time again the 'half-a-loaf compromisers on a legislative bill end up without even a slice or crumb of the loaf, but stand foolishly holding the political wrapper of that loaf which isn't even edible."

* * *

AS AN EXAMPLE, Morse cited the fight at the opening of this session of Congress over amending the filibuster rule.

He said the "half-a-loafers" gave their support to the Johnson proposal which did no more than go back to the filibuster rule that prevailed in the Senate from 1917 to 1949, "and under which not one single filibuster on a civil rights issue was broken."

"It was advertised as progress," Morse said. "The truth is it was a change, but it wasn't progress. It was only a label, given to the 'half-a-loafers' to hold.

"The Democratic leadership was perfectly willing to give liberals the form of victory on the filibuster, but it carefully retained the substance for itself."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

What Masons are entitled to emblems?

For the NNPA News Service

What Masons are entitled to wear the emblems and regalia of the Freemasons?

Recently, the Supreme Court refused to answer that question. It allowed to stand the conviction of four Scottish Rite Masons — H. V. Turner, Arthur L. Sweeney, P. C. Copeland and Peter L. Menser—for wearing the emblems and regalia of the Prince Hall Masons in a parade in Kansas City, Kan., on Oct. 1, 1955.

Freemasons are members of a secret society, called more fully Free and Accepted Masons, consisting of persons who are united for fraternal purposes.

Prince Hall Masons claim direct descent from the Freemasons of England.

Scottish rite is the ceremonial observed by one of the Masonic systems, called in full Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite, and also the system itself, which confers 33 degrees, of which the first three are identical with those of the York rite.

* * *

THE YORK RITE system in the United States confers 13 degrees, the last three in commanderies of Knights Templar. In England, only four degrees are conferred.

With these general definitions, this column takes the reader to the Wyandotte County court, Kansas City, Kan., where Turner, Sweeney, Copeland and Menser were charged with illegally wearing the universal square and compass and lambskin apron of Masonry in Kansas.

The Prince Hall Grand Lodge claimed to be the only legitimate colored Masonic organization in Kansas. They also claimed that Scottish Rite Masons had no right to work except in the degrees from the fourth to the 33rd degree, and that they had no right under Kansas law to wear any emblem of the Blue Lodge.

Dr. J. G. N. Soanes of Kansas City, Kan., is a member of Pride of the West Lodge No. 53, Prince Hall Masons. He has been for 50 years. He has been grand master of the lodge for 25 years. He was made a Mason in the British West Indies.

DR. SOANES has read most of the modern writers on Freemasonry, including Grimshaw and Pike's History of Masonry.

According to Dr. Soanes, Masonry among colored people began with Prince Hall, who was a native of the British West Indies. Prince Hall came to the United States while a boy and lived in Boston. He was a preacher. He got a charter from England.

About the time of the Revolutionary War, Prince Hall, who was then a resident of Boston, applied to an English general, who was in Boston, for a charter to become a Mason. After a while, he and some other colored men were made Masons. They called the lodge the "African Lodge."

During the American Revolution and afterwards they applied to the Massachusetts grand master for a charter for a grand lodge. They were a small subordinate lodge and wanted to be established as a regular lodge.

THEY APPLIED also to the Grand Lodge of England and a charter was granted them. Then they were recognized by Massachusetts Masons as regular Masons and members of the Organization.

Massachusetts Masons attended meetings of the African Lodge, and African lodge members attended their meetings.

P. G. Porter of Olathe, Kan., a retired school teacher, a member of Morning Star Lodge No. 4, Atchison, Kan., has been grand master of the Prince Hall Masons of Kansas Jurisdiction for nine years.

Mr. Porter also has made studies of the origin of Masonry among colored people in the United States. He has written and delivered lectures on colored Masonry. Prior to becoming grand master, he was Grand Orator, he was Deputy Grand master for 12 years, and has examined relics of the Prince Hall Lodge.

* * *

MR. PORTER has seen the original charter which was issued in 1784. He has a photostatic copy. The copy was sent to Kansas by an older Mason. When Mr. Porter became grand master, it was handed down into his possession.

The Lawrence (Kan.) lodge dates back to 1875. The Grand Lodge was established in Lawrence in 1875 with three subordinate lodges. The right to establish it came from the Ohio Prince Hall Grand Lodge. That grand lodge got its authority from Philadelphia.

The Philadelphia Grand Lodge got its authority from the African Grand Lodge. Prince Hall was appointed by the Grand Master of Masons in England as one of the continual grand masters.

* * *

PRINCE HALL got his authority from the Grand Master of the Modern Lodge in England. At that time there was only one grand lodge, and that was the Free and Accepted Masons of England.

Mr. Porter was instrumental in getting the Kansas Legislature to pass the Kansas Emblems Registration law. This law permitted registration of the names and emblems of any organization and provided criminal penalties for persons who wilfully displayed the registered names or emblems without being entitled to do so.

When the law became effective, Mr. Porter went to the office of the Secretary of State of Kansas and registered the Masonic pin (square and compass), the lambskin apron, and the emblem (square and compass with the letter "G" in the center).

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NEGRO (LOUIS LAUTIER)

Dawson, Nix Oppose Bill To Scuttle Court

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Representatives William L. Dawson of Illinois and Robert N. C. Nix of Pennsylvania, both Democrats, Tuesday urged the House to reject the bill which would scuttle the Supreme Court decision in the Mallory case.

The Supreme Court reversed the conviction of Andrew Mallory, a 19-year-old colored lad of limited intelligence, who was charged with rape.

The court held that there was undue delay between time of arrest and time of arraignment, in violation of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, which require that an arrested person be taken before a magistrate "without unnecessary delay."

The House vote to reverse the Supreme Court decision was 262 to 138. The same bill, sponsored by Representatives Edwin E. Willis Louisiana Democrat, was passed last year by a 294 to 97 vote.

CHARGE RESENTED

The debate on the bill got rather heated when Representative William C. Cramer, Florida Republican, expressed resentment of the charge that the reason the bill was before the House was that Mallory is colored.

Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who led the fight against the bill, said there was nothing new in the Mallory decision and the only reason there was so much hubbub over the bill was that a colored man and the crime of rape were involved.

Cramer said that, as a southerner, he "deeply resented" Celler's "draggin gthe racial herring" into the debate.

Mr. Dawson told the House that the bill "weakens the rights and liberties of every American.

A civilized society, whose basic Constitution forbids arrest without probable cause, he said, cannot afford to invest police officers with the power to arrest a person on suspicion and while he is in police custody seek a confession to establish probable cause "and then to use the fruits of such illegal action to secure conviction of their victim."

Of the 300 or more persons whom he has defended on murder charges, and the large number of others charged with arson, robbery, burglary, rape and so on. Mr. Nix told the House, "at least 70 per cent had made confessions and of those making confessions, the circumstances surrounding 90 per cent of that number were such that the defendants could not possibly escape the coercive influence" of the police.

NOT AMONG OPPRESSED

Mr. Nix added that supporters of the bill "forget or have never been associated with the oppressed who are always fearful, the poor who, because of their comparative poverty when arrested are unable to project themselves because of lack of finance."

Such people he said would be impelled by fear to make incriminating statements which they thought would return them to their family or children.

Mr. Celler argued that the Mallory bill would make it easier for the police to get confessions through prolonged questioning of a prisoner.

He said he was not concerned about the wealthy or hardened criminal because they know their rights and can stand up to the police. "But the poor, insignificant fellow as in the case of Mallory, who does not know his rights, cannot," Celler said.

Rogers opposes Dixie proposal

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

The liberties of colored persons and organizations, as well as the liberties of liberal white persons and liberal organizations, will be endangered if a bill, which is now ready for House action, becomes a law.

The bill, a state's rights measure, is designed to nullify the Supreme Court decision in the Steve Nelson case, decided in 1956.

In that case, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed a decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the Pennsylvania sedition statute insofar as it applied to subversive activities against the United States. It ruled that Congress had preempted the sedition field.

* * *

UNLIKE OTHER bills which have sought legislatively to reverse the Supreme Court, H.R. 3 goes far beyond the area of state sedition laws and by shotgun legislation affects broad questions of civil rights, interstate commerce, criminal law, labor relations and many others.

The bill is sponsored by Rep. Howard W. Smith, one of the most reactionary members of the reactionary Byrd machine which rules Virginia politics and spawned Virginia's "massive resistance" program to the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public education.

The House Judiciary Committee has approved the bill, by a vote of 17 to 15, and the House Rules Committee, of which Smith is chairman, has granted a rule for consideration of the bill, which allows five hours of debate.

In approving the bill, the Judiciary Committee overrode protests of the Justice Department that it was "the most hazardous" measure before the Congress.

* * *

THE BILL provides that no act of Congress shall be construed by the federal courts to indicate the intention of Congress to occupy the field in which the act operates to the exclusion of all state laws on the same subject matter, unless Congress expressly provides for such exclusion, or there is "direct and positive conflict" between the act and state law.

The minority report on the bill states that if this provision is enacted "any state could gain concurrent power even over matters demanding national uniformity merely by passing an act which is the same as the federal act and then developing its own procedures and interpretive law."

A number of southern states have passed laws designed to destroy the NAACP, to prohibit its activities within their borders, to prohibit the advocacy of school desegregation and to insulate governmentally-enforced school segregation against attack by colored residents of these states.

If the decision of the Supreme Court is legislatively reversed and the states are permitted to enforce their sedition laws, it is conceivable that attempts will be made to bring the NAACP within reach of those laws.

* * *

DIXIECRAT SENATORS and Representatives and Southern Governors and Attorneys General repeatedly seek to equate the NAACP with subversive groups such as the Communist party and the Ku Klux Klan.

Indeed, in the opinion of Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and of the Internal Security subcommittee, the Supreme Court as well as the NAACP is communistic.

Recently, Governor Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina told the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee that there is a "revulsion" in his state "against pressure groups like the NAACP and Ku Klux Klan."

Those who doubt that Southern states can work mischief if they are permitted to enforce state sedition laws should read the opinion of Justice Owen J. Roberts in the Angelo Herndon case.

* * *

HERNDON, A Communist, was convicted by Georgia courts of violating an old slave statute against inciting insurrections.

He was found guilty of attempting to induce others to join in combined resistance to the lawful authority of the state with intent to deny, defeat, and overthrow such authority by open force, violent means and unlawful acts.

The indictment specified that an attempt at insurrection was made by calling and attending public assemblies and by making speeches for the purpose of organizing and establishing groups and combinations of colored and white persons under the name of the Communist party of Atlanta for the purpose of inciting riots.

It also charged that by speech and persuasion Herndon solicited persons to become members of the Communist party and the Young Communist League and circulated literature with the same intent and purposes.

* * *

BY A 5-to-4 decision the Supreme Court set aside Herndon's conviction. Speaking for the majority of the court, Justice Roberts said:

"The statute, as construed and applied, amounts merely to a dragnet which may enmesh anyone who agitates for a change of government if a jury can be persuaded that he ought to have foreseen his words would have some effect in the future conduct of others.

"No reasonably ascertainable standard of guilty is prescribed. So vague and indeterminate are the boundaries thus set to the freedom of speech and assembly that the law necessarily violates the guarantees of liberty embodied in the 14th Amendment."

One must be totally blind if he cannot visualize the application of similar statues to colored persons and liberal whites who agitate for school desegregation and first-class citizenship, if the right to enforce laws against sedition is given back to the states.

The House will probably take up the bill on June 15. There is no time to write. But persons who want their liberties to continue and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to remain uncurbed should immediately telegraph their Congress men and follow up their telegrams with letters to their Senators.

Dixiecrats beaten on Stewart

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Still smarting from the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools, Southern Senators have bitterly attacked the nomination of Associate Justice Potter Stewart to be a member of the Supreme Court.

But on a roll-call vote, his nomination was overwhelmingly approved, 70 to 17. All 17 votes against confirmation were cast by Southerners.

Five senators from states in the once-"Solid South" voted for confirmation. They were Senators Albert Gore and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Lyndon B. Johnson and Ralph Yarborough of Texas, and George A. Smathers of Florida, all Democrats.

* * *

THE ATTACK on the nomination was launched by Senator Richard B. Russell, Georgia Democrat.

Russell centered his attack on the anti-segregation decision and the practice of Attorney Generals of the United States recommending to the President persons to fill vacancies on the high tribunal.

He said the Attorney General as the political spokesman for the Administration "can deny appointments to the Supreme Court to any lawyer or judge, however able he may be," who does not agree with the Justice Department's position and does not approve the original decision against segregation in public education.

Senator Herman Talmadge, Georgia Democrat, cited the

case of James Henderson, who pleaded guilty to criminal assault in Mount Clemens, Mich., on Aug. 5, 1942, and was sentenced to life in prison.

* * *

AFTER LONG, drawn - out proceedings in Michigan courts, Henderson filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the Federal District Court on Aug. 1, 1956. When the case reached the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, on which Justice Stewart was then serving, he dissented in a 2-to-1 decision.

In his dissent, Judge Stewart pointed out that two hours and a half after Henderson had been turned over to Mount Clemens police, he had been sentenced to life in prison.

Judge Stewart said the reason for the "speedy proceedings in the dead of night" was "fear of possible mob violence." He dissented, however, on the ground that Henderson had not had the benefit of counsel.

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, also opposed the nomination because Justice Stewart, in testifying before that committee, endorsed the anti - segregation decision. Eastland also called him "a victim of the system" by which the Attorney General recommends to the President appointees to the Supreme Court.

* * *

IN HIS attack on the Supreme Court, Eastland, one of its worst critics, blasted the court for its decision of Monday reversing the conviction of David Scull of contempt of court for refusing to answer questions of a Virginia legislative committee out to "bust" the NAACP "wide open."

The court, in that decision, Eastland charged, "destroyed all the rights of the states when it stripped the states of their police power" and "arrogated to itself the right to determine what a state legislature could or could not investigate under its legislative powers."

Eastland also charged that Justice Stewart had gone beyond the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases in writing the opinion for the circuit court in a Hillsboro, Ohio, school segregation case. The decision required the integration of white and colored children in Hillsboro schools.

Coming to the defense of Justice Stewart on the Senate floor were Senators Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, William Langer of North Dakota, Kenneth Keating of New York, Republicans, and Wayne Morse of Oregon and Stephen Young Ohio Democrats.

Capital Spotlight

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—(NNPA)—Senator Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican, Wednesday needled Senate Democratic leadership over failure so far to bring up civil rights legislation.

Although Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, introduced a four-part civil rights bill last Jan. 20, Javits said, the Senate leadership has done nothing on this issue. The New Yorker called the Senate the "key to civil rights legislation."

The urgency of getting a civil rights bill reported from committee, Javits said, is demonstrated by defiance of the Supreme Court mandate calling for desegregation of the public schools, by legislation adopted in several states to block compliance, and by violence and law enforcement problems.

Affects World Opinion

A vital factor, Javits said, is the adverse effect upon the international position of the United States in other countries, especially the countries whose peoples are colored and are watching the attitude of this country toward colored Americans and other minorities.

Existing civil rights legislation is clearly inadequate, Javits said. Despite the 1957 Civil Rights Act, he pointed out, voting rights have not been "universally" given in southern states, and the addition of voters to the rolls has been "relatively meager."

As an example of obstruction, Javits referred to Macon county, Ala. It has been reported, he said, that the total number of colored voters in that county now is 1,100, or less than 8 per cent the total colored population and about one-third of the number of white voters, although nearly 85 per cent of the population is colored.

Other illustrations of the urgent need for legislation at this session of Congress, cited by Javits, included the Little Rock incidents, the Poplarville, Miss., lynching, and the bombings of schools, churches, synagogues and business places.

Javits also called upon Republicans to marshal and make effective their support of civil rights legislation.

Victory for Opponents

The Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee has not yet acted upon any of the 26 civil rights bills, including six in the package of seven recommendations by President Eisenhower. These bills are sponsored by 51 different Senators.

Javits said Senator Johnson has not been able to bring up a civil rights bill, although he pledged action on this issue as recently as June 9.

"We have reached that point in the session when every day that passes without floor action on civil rights," Javits said, "is a victory for the ardent opponents of even the most minor legislation in this field and a defeat for the overwhelming majority in this chamber and in the country who, I earnestly believe, support the strengthening of the existing statutes so badly needed."

Javits called the lynching of Mack Charles Parker "the most inflammatory, the most tragic, the most senseless act of violence this year.

The assertion that the lynching of Parker was the first lynching in some years, he said, "does not erase the basic obligation of our Federal Government to guarantee equal protection of the laws to every citizen."

Javits has introduced an anti-lynching amendment to the civil rights bill sponsored by Senator Johnson and to the Administration civil rights proposals, of which he is a co-sponsor.

He said he intends to call up his amendment if and when civil rights legislation reaches the Senate floor.

States Move Ahead

While the Congress has been standing still, Javits said, seven states have passed 30 laws, 25 of them in the field of education, to defeat public school desegregation.

Javits compared the "timetable of inaction" on civil rights at this session with the legislative history of the 1957 Civil Rights Act to "point up the gravity of our predicament this year."

The House passed the 1957 Civil Rights Act on June 18, 1957. This year the civil rights bill has not yet been reported from the House Judiciary Committee.

The Senate in 1957 voted on June 20 to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee and place the House-approved bill on the Senate calendar. The Senate began 24 days of debate on the bill on June 19, 1957 and passed a watered-down version on Aug. 7. The House concurred in Senate amendments on Aug. 27, 1957, completing Congressional action.

If debate were started immediately on a civil rights bill, and a similar period of time was devoted to its consideration, Javits predicted, it would be mid-September before the Congress could adjourn.

Since 1953, the latest adjournment date for a regular session was Aug. 30, 1957.

Job Progress

President's unit sponsors meeting

LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Slightly over 500 persons, representing various occupations, ranging from press agents to bishops, were in attendance Monday at the conference of religious leaders brought together to discuss ways of eliminating job discrimination in industries having Government contracts.

Invitations were extended by Vice President Richard M. Nixon, chairman of the President's Government Contracts Committee, to about 500 clerical and lay leaders of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Eastern Orthodox faiths in the U.S. to attend the conference which was held at the Sheraton Park Hotel in an all-day session.

The purpose of the conference was to discuss the policies and programs of the Nixon committee and ways in which religious leaders may assist in advancing its program of ending race or religious discrimination in employment under Government contracts.

* * *

THE TASK OF the committee is to obtain compliance with a clause in standard Government contracts obligating contractors and subcontractors not to practice race or religious discrimination in employment.

The meeting had political overtones. Mr. Nixon is the leading contender for the Republican nomination for President. Many of the churchmen in attendance also are political leaders in their states and local communities. Their presence gave the Vice President an excellent opportunity, without being obvious about it, to make a first hand impression on them.

Mr. Nixon opened the conference. At the morning session, greetings were extended by Francis Harmon, vice president of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Julius Mark, vice president of the Synagogue Council of America, and Monsignor Paul F. Tanner, general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Other speakers at the morning session included Alfred E. Driscoll, former Governor of New Jersey, A. Philip Randolph, vice president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; the Rev. Martin L. King, leader of the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott, and John A. Roosevelt, Republican son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Political Marriage Of Kennedy To Ala. Segregationist Puzzling

Deal may backfire, Louis Lautier hints

By LOUIS LAUTIER
WASHINGTON

Politics makes strange bedfellows. That truth applies to Sen. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, a Democratic presidential hopeful, and Gov. John Patterson of Alabama.

The two men have nothing in common. Senator Kennedy is intelligent and polished. He has the attributes which will appeal to voters. Whether religion will prove a bar to his nomination by the Democrats in 1960 only time will tell.

His war record is excellent. He joined the Navy in 1941, served in PT boats in the Pacific, and retired in 1945.

DURING THE WAR he was twice decorated by the Navy for his part in attacking a Japanese destroyer in the Solomons and for "his courage, endurance and excellent leadership" in towing injured members of the crew of his rammed PT boat to safety.

In 1954, Senator Kennedy underwent surgery for injuries sustained in combat during the war.

Born in Brookline, Mass., May 29, 1917, Senator Kennedy was graduated with honors from Harvard in 1940. He studied at the London School of Economics. He worked as a newspaper correspondent.

The son of Joseph P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to Great Britain, he was elected to Congress in 1946 at the age of 29, and re-elected in 1948 and 1950. In 1952 he became the third Democrat ever elected to the Senate from Massachusetts, defeating Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., and receiving the largest vote polled by a Senator in the history of Massachusetts.

IN 1956 he very narrowly missed the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination at the Chicago convention.

His record on civil rights — while not perfect — is good.

In 1957 he voted to bypass the Senate Judiciary Committee and put the House-approved civil rights bill on the Senate calendar.

He voted for the motion of Sen. William F. Knowland, of California, who was the Senate Republican leader, to take up the civil rights bill.

He voted against the motion of Sen. Wayne Morse (Dem., Ore), to refer the House-approved bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee with instructions to report back in seven days.

He was one of 13 Democrats who voted against stripping Part III from the bill.

Part III, which was deleted from the bill by a Senate vote of 52 to 28, would have given the Attorney General authority to bring civil suits to enjoin violations of constitutional rights, including the right to attend non-segregated public schools.

His one "wrong" vote was for the amendment providing for jury trials in criminal contempt proceedings in voting rights cases.

* * *

SENATOR KENNEDY is a Catholic. The Southern states, which are opposed to first-class citizenship for their colored citizens are anti-Catholic.

In the light of these facts, it is indeed strange to find Senator Kennedy and Governor Patterson in the same political bed.

Patterson is one of the most notorious racists in the United States.

He is for scrapping Alabama public schools to avoid complying with the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

As the Attorney General of Alabama, he did everything he could to thwart the investigation by the Civil Rights Commission of the refusal to register qualified colored persons to vote in Alabama.

As Governor, he will not fill vacancies on county boards of registrars. In counties where there are no boards of registrars, colored persons cannot even apply for registration to vote.

* * *

PATTERSON AND State Sen. Sam Englehardt, whose racism is even worse than that of Patterson, were recently breakfast guests of Senator Kennedy. Afterwards, Patterson announced that he would support Senator Kennedy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

But Sen. John J. Sparkman, of Alabama, who was the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee in 1952, has indicated that he thinks Adlai Stevenson, a two-time loser, is the best bet for the Democrats.

And if reports are correct, Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia has been busy in Alabama in the interest of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader.

Whoever gets the support of the Alabama delegation at the Democratic national convention will have what is considered a psychological advantage by getting his name before the convention first.

Alabama comes first in the roll call of states and, if it has no favorite son, it may yield to another state to make a nomination.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Will AFL-CIO Back Gov. Orval Faubus?

Washington hears that the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations will back Gov. Orval Faubus for the Arkansas Senate seat now held by Senator John L. McClellan, in 1961.

The AFL-CIO is against McClellan chiefly because Faubus has approved state legislation favorable to organized labor, while McClellan is the chairman of the Senate Rackets Committee which has sought to clean up organized labor.

The AFL-CIO believes that McClellan has pushed too far the probe of Jimmy Hoffa's conduct of the Teamsters union.

* * *

GOV. JAMES P. COLEMAN of Mississippi bought television time from his farm earnings to answer his critics and political opponents and picture himself as a successful segregationist.

Rejecting a suggestion that he follow Faubus' actions in school segregation, Coleman said Faubus has done nothing about integration at the University of Arkansas, Faubus sends his son to a mixed college, Faubus appointed a colored man to a high Democratic Party office, and Faubus made no effort to block desegregation of public schools at Hoxie, Van Burean and Fort Smith, but stopped it in Little Rock.

Answering criticism of his prompt request of the FBI to investigate the kidnaping of Mack Charles Parker from the Poplarville jail and his subsequent lynching, Coleman said President Eisenhower told a news conference that Mississippi was conducting itself honorably—and this was the first time in Eisenhower's career that he has publicly defended Mississippi people.

McCLELLAN ALSO is a segregationist. He has a consistent record of doing everything he can to block civil rights legislation.

He told this reporter one day that he has nothing against colored people, that he is their friend, that he has defended many of them in Arkansas courts without fee, but it is that NAACP.

The next day McClellan voted in the Senate Judiciary Committee against approval of the nomination of George M. Johnson to be a member of the Civil Rights Commission.

Between Faubus and McClellan, colored voters in Arkansas will have no choice in 1961. But if the AFL-CIO carries out its decision to back Faubus, colored members ought to raise holy Ned with AFL-CIO leadership.

CHAIRMAN PAUL BUTLER of the Democratic National Committee is having a meeting of colored Democrats here July 10 and 11. The meeting is dubbed "Party Relations Conference."

Rep. Bill Dawson, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, will address the opening session, at which Butler will preside. The group will hear remarks by Katie Loucheim, a vice chairman, and Vel Phillips, Wisconsin Democratic National Committeewoman, and Arthur Chapin, assistant to Butler.

A panel discussion will be chaired by Rep. Charles C. Diggs of Michigan and Robert N. C. Nix of Pennsylvania.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York, who has just been read out of the Democratic Party by Governor John Patterson of Alabama, has been given no spot on the program, but he is throwing plenty of sand into the party machinery in New York City.

POWELL CLAIMS that Carmine De Sapio, New York Democratic National Committeeman and Tammy Hall boss, promised that he would give a City Court judgeship to a colored person. Such a judgeship pays $25,000 a year—$7,000 less than a Court of General Sessions judgeship.

Powell says he told De Sapio he was not keeping his word to him, nor would a City Court judgeship represent what the Democratic community of Harlem had expected from their elected leaders.

Powell submitted a counter proposal that a colored judge be raised to the New York State Supreme Court; that a colored person be appointed to replace whoever is raised, and that a third judgeship be given to a colored person.

DE SAPIO SENT Powell a telegram that "So long as I am leader of the Democratic party in New York County, racial origins will not determine nor in any way influence our party's nominees for judicial office. By the same token, so long as I am leader of the Democratic Party in New York County no deserving and qualified candidate will fail to attain such office because of his racial origin."

Powell then laid down what he calls the "Powell Formula."

1. Under a long-established unwritten rule of Tammany Hall, judgeships have been decided on the basis of race and creed. The formula in days gone by has been and is one-for-one. In other words, a Jew for a Jew, an Italian for an Italian, an Irishman for an Irishman, a Catholic for a Catholic.

2. This formula was created at a time when there were no Puerto Ricans in New York and the colored population was only about 10 per cent.

3. Since the population of Manhattan has increased—28 per cent colored and 22 per cent Puerto Rican—the one-for-one formula still accounts for distribution of 90 per cent of the patronage to the shrinking 50 per cent non-white population and allocates only 10 per cent to the expanding colored-Puerto Rican 50 per cent population.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Wilkins' Handling Of Reuther Scored

NEW YORK — The national office of the NAACP may not admit it, but there was both open and off-the-record criticism voiced by delegates to the 50th Anniversary convention.

For instance, E. Washington

Rhodes was given a big hand at the Thursday morning session when he criticized the introduction of Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, and, in contrast, the ignoring of A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Rhodes is a Philadelphia publisher, a member of the Philadelphia Board of Education, and was a delegate to the convention representing the 10,000 - member Philadelphia Branch.

* * *

BOTH REUTHER and Randolph spoke on the same program at the Wednesday afternoon session.

A woman delegate asked Thursday morning why are there certain places where the NAACP is not respected.

Rhodes replied that it is axiomatic that if people do not respect themselves, others do not respect them.

He then pointed out that Wilkins had made a special appearance to introduce Reuther, and the whole audience stood and applauded the head of the UAW.

When Reuther finished speaking, the audience again stood and gave him vigorous applause.

After Reuther finished speaking, before anyone could ask him a question, he left.

* * *

WASHINGTON NOTED that Randolph, who in his book, is as great an American, got no special introduction from the executive secretary and it was necessary for the presiding officer, Cleveland Robinson, secretary - treasurer, District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Stores Union to ask for order so that Randolph could be heard.

"If we do not respect ourselves, how in the name of God can we expect other people to respect us?" asked Rhodes.

Some of the big names in attendance at the convention included Judge Howard Bennett of the Minneapolis Municipal Court and his wife, Marian (Clae); Oliver W. Hill of Richmond, Va., attorney for the Virginia NAACP Conference, and Mrs. Hill; Theodore Berry, former five times Mayor of Cincinnati.

Also Mr. and Mrs. Roy Garvin of Washington, D.C.; Ted Jones, president of the Chicago Branch; Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, a member of the national board; Austin T. Walden of Atlanta, a member of the national legal committee, and Mrs. Walden; Judge Carl Johnson of Kansas City, Mo.

* * *

THE MINNEAPOLIS Branch was represented by Cecil E. Newman, editor - publisher of and the St. Paul Recorder, and Judge Bennett.

The St. Paul delegation consisted of Leonard Carter, Carl Weschite, Donald Lewis, Anthony Sandys and Earline Neil; alternates: Mrs. Pierce Butler III, Chester W. Oden and James Murray.

The Minnesota State Conference delegates were Mrs. Addie Few, delegate, and Joetta Kemp, alternate.

The St. Paul Youth branch delegates were Mary K. Murray, Adrienne Coleman and Paula Thomason.

Mr. Newman and Judge Bennett sponsored a cocktail party for Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, coincidentally with the announcement by Governor Orville Freeman and Senator Eugene McCarthy, both Minnesota, tossing Humphrey's hat into the ring for the Democratic presidential nomination, at the Park Sheraton to introduce him to colored and white leaders attending the NAACP convention.

* * *

THE REV. George Lawrence, former publisher of the Ohio State News at Columbus, is now pastoring the Antioch Baptist Church in Brooklyn.

The Manhattan Branch of the NAACP gave Reuther and Randolph plaques as freedom fighters for their courageous efforts for FEPC, civil rights, and changing the United States Senate's filibustering rule.

The Rev. Marshall L. Shepard of Philadelphia at a breakfast for minister delegates at the Hotel Plaza made a rousing short speech.

Leo Brandt, the father of Wiley Brandt of Pine Bluffs, Ark., the local attorney in the Little Rock School desegregation cases, died around midnight, Sunday night, while Wiley was attending the convention.

Also here for the convention: George Howard, Arkansas attorney for the NAACP; Elwood S. McKenney of Boston, right - hand man of Governor Furcolo; Sterling Brown, Howard University professor.

* * *

THE DISTRICT of Columbia delegation included the Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, president of the Washington Branch; Charles M. Mason. Dr. Jesse Keene, Dr. Mathew Mitchell, Elizabeth Hinton, Julius Hobson and Joseph Beavers.

The alternates were Roy Garvin, an attorney, Mrs. Nancy Wilkins, Andrew Mattocks, Mrs. Jean Knoll and Mrs. Bessie Scott White.

Patterson behind Kennedy only to share in the spoils

Afro American p. 20 Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Gov. John Patterson of Alabama, as far as can be learned, was merely latching onto whom he thinks will be a winner when he announced his support of Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

There is a political adage to the effect that he who gets on board too late sits far back at the council table.

Apparently, in announcing his support of Senator Kennedy before the Massachusetts Senator has formally announced his candidacy for the nomination, Patterson was shooting for a front seat at the council table.

The NNPA was informed Tuesday very definitely that no promises were made to the Alabama Governor.

* * *

COMMENTING UPON a letter written to Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, by Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., a liberal white Southerner, a spokesman for Senator Kennedy denied any pact was entered into by Kennedy and Patterson.

Senator Kennedy, himself, said he never discussed civil rights with Patterson.

Besides, Patterson's announcement of support for Kennedy is likely to prove embarrassing to both Kennedy and Patterson.

In the case of Patterson, as NNPA learned, an appointment was simply made by Edward R. Reid, executive director of the Alabama League of Municipalities for Patterson to see Senator Kennedy.

It was the second time that Kennedy had seen Patterson. They first met in Birmingham in 1957 when the Senator addressed the Alabama League of Municipalities.

* * *

SENATOR KENNEDY and his supporters were taken aback by Patterson's announcement.

Not only was Kennedy embarressed, but Patterson's announcement immediately raised the religious issue. Methodists in Alabama criticized Patterson for his announcement.

Not only is Patterson drawing Protestant criticism, but the Dixiecrats also have begun to criticize him because of Kennedy's record on civil rights.

The Senator reiterated Tuesday that he favors enactment of so-called part 3, which was stricken from the civil rights bill in 1957 before Senate passage.

Part 3 would give the Attorney General authority to bring suits to enjoin violations or threatened violations of constitutional rights, including the right to attend nonsegregated public schools.

* * *

KENNEDY ALSO told this reporter Tuesday that he supports the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

If Patterson is not presently embarrassed by his announcement of support for Kennedy, he will be if and when civil rights legislation reaches the Senate floor. Every vote cast by Kennedy on such legislation is expected to prove embarrassing to Patterson, who is an ardent segregationist.

A spokesman for Senator Kennedy said the Senator did not know why Patterson endorsed him.

There is a suspicion that Alabama politics entered into it.

A Kennedy supporter said emphatically: "We did not ask for it. The important thing is that it does not indicate any change in Kennedy's views or record at all."

* * *

THIS KENNEDY supporter expressed the belief that because Patterson is young—he's in his 30's—he wants to associate himself with young men.

A second probable reason for his support of Kennedy is his belief that Kennedy is going to win.

Informed sources in Washington predict that Patterson himself will not be a delegate to the 1960 Democratic national convention. He is a one-term governor. In Alabama a governor is elected for a four-year term and may not succeed himself.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

No Message Sent To Accra By Ike

At the opening session of the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra, the capital of Ghana, when official greetings were read, there was considerable comment among the delegates on the fact that while there were messages from Nikita Krushechev and Chou En Lai as heads of their respective states, there was none from President Eisenhower or Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

On the next to the last day of the conference a greeting came from Vice President Nixon, but he made it clear he spoke personally and not for his government.

United States prestige at the conference suffered another setback when a white American, apparently trying to get around the strict regulations regarding the privacy of certain phases of the conference work, was arrested.

* * *

THE MAN is the chief of the editorial staff of an African report, published monthly in Washington, D.C. He had been climbing through a basement window of the conference hall and was nabbed in an area under the stage where the delegates' discussion going on above could be heard.

When placed under arrest, he said it was all a mistake, got in touch with the United States Embassy, and was shortly released.

This, however, did not stop the Evening News, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's paper, from publishing the story the next day with a photograph of the offender and underneath it the question: "Can He Deny Being a Spy?"

* * *

YEAR END reports of Assistant Attorneys General to Attorney General William P. Rogers show that colored persons are not bigtime rackets figures.

Assistant Attorney General Malcolm Anderson, head of the Criminal Division, reported that a special group of attorneys had been formed to institute immediate action against gangsters and racketeers and the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section had been designated to conduct the drive against syndicated crime in the United States.

Not one of the gangsters mentioned in the report is colored. There were 1,500 narcotics convictions in 1958. But the convictions of New York racketeer Harry Stromberg, alias "Nig Rosen," and 17 associates was the year's high point in this field.

Rosen headed a nationwide ring that imported 50 pounds of heroin a month and distributed the dope throughout the country. As an indication of the big profits involved, this ring's shipments were valued at $5,000,000 in black market channels.

* * *

THE NATIONALLY known "Hoxsey Cancer Clinics" of Portage, Pa., of which many a colored person has been a victim, was enjoined from operating and selling its "cure."

The Little Rock school case drew special comment in the report of J. Lee Rankin, the Solicitor General, who took part in the Supreme Court proceedings. In a press release on Mr. Rankin's report, the Justuce Department said:

"During the summer recess, the court reconvened in special session to hear argument in Cooper vs. Aaron in which the solicitor general, representing the government, appeared as amicus curiae (friend of the court).

"The court held, consistent with the argument of the Government, that popular opposition and violence resulting from actions of other state officials did not justify suspending the court-approved plan of the Little Rock School Board gradual integration and that the 14th Amendment forbids states to support schools which are segregated on racial grounds."

* * *

FBI DIRECTOR J. Edgar Hoover revealed that 1958 witnessed substantial increases in the national crime pattern. Federal bank robbery, burglary and larceny violations rose more than 30 per cent over the number which were committed in 1957. Final tabulations will show an increase of about 300 over the 11,368 convictions which were recorded in FBI cases last year.

Preliminary figures also reflect the location of about 9,000 FBI fugitives during the year, including more than 1,100 criminals whose apprehensions were being sought at the request of state and local authorities on charges of fleeing across state lines to avoid prosecution, custody or confinement in violation of the Fugitive Felon Act.

Attorney General Rogers has alerted all United States Attorneys to a growing number of schemes victimizing the public and instructed them to press prosecutions whenever federal criminal statutes are violated.

* * *

AMONG THE schemes outlined by Assistant Attorney General Anderson in a letter to United States Attorneys are:

1. Offer to act as agent: Fradulent obtaining of advance fees, the gist of these schemes is the swindler's offer to perform impressive services which will aid the victim in his attempts to negotiate a particular transaction.

Performance of the service is always contingent upon payment of an advance fee. Once the fee is paid, no services of appreciable value are ever rendered.

2. Vending machines: The prospect of obtaining large profits in return for a relatively minor investment and no physical labor is often irresistible.

Answer Sought In Washington

Did Race Preiudice Block Negro Page?

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. —(NNPA)— Did racial prejudice block the appointment of a colored boy as a page in the House of Representatives or was there an honest misunderstanding about the filling of the vacancy?

Newsmen were vigorously seeking to track down the truth Wednesday after it became known that James A. Johnson, Jr., 14, of Chicago, did not get the appointment that brought him to Washington.

Johnson was photographed on Capitol steps and his mother was interviewed Wednesday morning, but it became known later that the boy did not get the appointment, although he had been reportedly approved by the House Democratic Patronage Committee.

One report was that he was not given the appointment because Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas was opposed to a colored boy becoming a page in the House.

If the Johnson boy had been cleared by the Democratic Patronage Committee, the chairman of which is Representative Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, he would have become the first colored boy in the 170-year history of the Federal Government to be a page in the House.

Since Chief Justic Earl Warren has headed the Supreme Court, the court has had three colored pages. But neither the House nor Senate has ever had one. So far as could be learned, no colored member of the House has ever had a position as page included in his patronage.

The Johnson boy is a nephew of Miss Ethel Payne, a former newspaper reporter who is now an employee of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. He and his mother, Mrs. James A. Johnson of Chicago, were stopping with Miss Payne.

Representative Barratt O'Hara of Chicago, a liberal Democrat, selected the boy to be a House page. Illinois reportedly had one patronage spot. But Representative Thomas J. O'Brien of Chicago, dean of the Illinois delegation, had asked the patronage committee to name Martin J. Oberman as a page. The patronage committee approved O'Brien's nominee and he went to work at the start of the new Congress.

O'Brien named Oberman to the page position at the request of Jacob N. Orvey, Chicago Democratic leader.

The mystery in the mix-up is — how did the patronage committee also approve O'Hara's nominee on any presumption that O'Hara was co-sponsoring the page named by O'Brien.

According to Mrs. Johnson, her husband was informed on Jan. 22 that everything was set and have the boy come to Washington. But Walter said he informed O'Hara not to have the boy come here.

In addition to Walter, members of the patronage committee are Representatives Prince H. Preston of Georgia and Harry R. Sheppard of California.

One report was that the appointment was embarrassing to Rayburn and therefore "irksome" to O'Brien. The source said O'Brien regards Rayburn as his dearest friend.

Another explanation was that since the Illinois delegation usually clears its appointments with O'Brien, the patronage committee only glanced at O'Hara's letter and notified him that his boy was approved.

The Johnson boy flew to Washington Tuesday night. In addition to his mother, he was accompanied by a younger brother, Frederick, 6.

The boy's father is a post office clerk in Chicago and his mother is a child placement worker for the Cook County (Chicago) Welfare Department. He was notified of the appointment by Miss Payne. Miss Payne said she learned of the appointment from O'Hara.

Fifty pages are appointed in the House at the beginning of each session. They receive a gross salary of $337.28 each and a net of $251.45, out of which they must pay their living expenses. They attend the Capitol Page School in the Library of Congress without payment of tuition.

The school has a Parent-Teacher Club. Each year before the beginning of a session, a committee from the Parent-Teacher Club canvasses the area within a radius of eight or ten blocks of the Capitol to find available [illegible]

ters for the pages. The committee screens such quarters and submits its recommendations to the group. A list of the available rooms is made and sent to the Congressmen who request it. Usually two boys occupy one room.

Real Question Is Obeying Laws, Eisenhower Declares

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — American citizens, whether government officials or civilians, face the question of whether they must obey state and federal laws, President Eisenhower declared Wednesday.

At his new conference, Mr. Eisenhower was asked a cash of questions, some of them inspired by the decisions of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and the Federal District Court at Norfolk, striking down Virginia's "massive resistance" laws which the General Assembly enacted to keep the state's public schools rigidly segregated.

The text of the questions and his answers relating to civil rights follows:

Q. In Virginia, the State and Federal courts have ruled against laws that would have preserved school segregation. Yet the Governor of Virginia (J. Lindsay Almond) calls on his people to stand firm against integration. He says he has only begun to fight?

CHILDREN OF MILITARY

"Well, involved in this situation, sir, particularly in Norfolk, are the children of military personnel.

"Now, if these schools remain closed, are you going to do anything to assure a public-school education in Virginia and elsewhere for children of federal personnel so situated?

President Eisenhower: "Well, it's a very difficult question, and I have been going into it for a considerable time.

"There are something on the order of 15,000 students of this age in the City of Norfolk, and I think of this number about 5,500 are of military personnel, the sons and daughters of enlisted men and officers largely in the Navy.

"Now, of this number, 5,500, something on the order of 500 are children of people that actually live on the post; that is, on the federal reservation.

"Now, I am told, have been informed that HEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) and the Navy are now authorized by law to work out or to conduct educational operations that would be legal on the post. But I think the position with respect to the other 4,500 is not so clear.

"Of course, these folks all pay their taxes indirectly through the rents they pay, and also on the things they buy, sales taxes, and all that sort of thing. So they are entitled to education, just like any other youngsters of the city.

"More than that, I should point this out — and many people do not know it. The Federal Government, over the past something like eight or nine years, has put $900,000,000 in building about 40,000 public school rooms and in this coming year has got something like 50 or 51 million in the budget for building school rooms, and something in the order of 135,000,000 for conducting educational operations, all of this on the basis of these federally impacted areas, Norfolk of which being one.

"Now the only thing I can say with respect to that problem, which I think is critical, is that both the HEW and the Navy, or the Defense Department, are working on it very hard to see whether at least that part of it, that responsibility cannot be carried out."

Q. Mr. President, you have always appealed for implementation of school desegregation on the grounds that Supreme Court orders must be obeyed. But many persons feel you could exert a strong moral backing for desegregation if you said that you personally favored it.

If you favor it, sir, why have you not said so? If you are opposed to it could you tell us why?

President Eisenhower: "Because, I'll tell you why. I do not believe it is the function or indeed it is desirable for a President to express his approval or disapproval of any Supreme Court decision. His job is, for which he takes an oath, is to execute the laws.

"Now, if he, in advance of such execution, says "I don't like it but I will do it," and in the other cases, "I do like it, I still do it," he is constantly laying over the whole — laying the whole law enforcement processes of the Federal Government open to the suspicion that he is doing his duty one time well and the other time not well.

"Now, I just say this — I don't object to anyone else in the whole world disagreeing publicly with the opinions or decisions of the court or agreeing with them. I say I have got a particular function and I think it would make it more difficult to carry out that function if I indulged in that kind of, let's say, personal action with respect to court decisions."

Q. Mr. President, in answering Mr. (Merriman) Smith's question, you mentioned the Federal aid to the so-called impacted areas. Was there an implication there sir that you are studying the possibility of asking Congress to deny that aid to areas under court orders to desegregate?

President Eisenhower: "I didn't make any such implication whatsoever. I do believe this — that when you finally catch up with this problem, there are certain phases of it — I think the constructional part of it might some way diminish. But I made no implication whatsoever."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Powell Committee Uncovers A Mess

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem Democrat, presided Thursday at the first meeting of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Mines and Mining subcommittee, of which he is chairman. His staff sent him flowers to the committee room.

The meeting developed an issue. Questions raised by Rep. Gracie Pfost, Idaho Democrat, revealed a tie - up between the Government and Freeport Sulphur, one of the largest mining and smelting companies in the field of manganese, nickel and cobalt.

Powell, the No. 1 friend in the United States of Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, said this plays right into Castro's hands. Castro is investigating concessions which Gen. Fulgencic Batista, deposed Cuban President, granted last year to Freeport Sulphur to operate in Moa Bay.

* * *

CASTRO AND his Government feel that this was a deal out of which Batista got plenty of dough, and which was arranged officially or semi-officially by the United States.

Back of this is the situation in Mrs. Pfost's district in which is located the only mine in the United States where pure cobalt, a strategic metal, is mined. All other mines in this country are derivatives.

The mine in Mrs. Pfost's district is to close down on June 30 because the United States will not renew its contract.

Questions by Powell brought out that the United States has entered into a contract with Freeport Sulphur to furnish 25 million pounds of cobalt by 1964. This made Mrs. Pfost hit the ceiling.

* * *

THE DEAL will probably develop into a first - class stink. An Interior Department official said he himself urged two years ago that the United States not enter into a contract with Batista but due to tremendous pressures the Government went ahead with it.

Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Michigan, Democrat, has been put on two House Foreign Affairs subcommittees. One is Subcommittee No. 8 of Africa, of which Rep. Barratt O'Hara of Illinois is chairman, and the other is Subcommittee No. 9 on the Near East, of which Rep. L. H. Fountain of North Carolina is chairman.

Rep. Daniel A. Reed, New York Republican, who died at Walter Reed Army Medical Center Thursday, fathered the 1928 law which authorized annual Federal appropriations for Howard University.

Before his law was passed, Southerners, particularly James F. Byrnes, while he was a member of the House and before he became United States Senator, Supreme Court Justice, and Assistant to the President, would knock out funds for Howard on points of order that the appropriation was not authorized by law.

* * *

THE BOX score on colored youths in service academies: United States Naval Academy, 11; United States Military Academy, 8; United States Air Force Academy, none; United States Coast Guard Academy, none.

Each Representative is entitled to have four cadets at West Point, five at Annapolis, and 10 at the United States Air Force Academy. But appointments to the Coast Guard Academy are strictly on the basis of relative standing as the result of mental examinations and the passing of a physical examination.

Powell has nominated three youths for the Air Force Academy. They are Ambrose McIntosh, Kenneth Anthony Ellis, and Maurice E. Gray. Ellis is a football star at Central High School in South Bend, Ind. He will probably enter the Air Force Academy and be the first colored youth to play on any service major sports team.

* * *

AS PREVIOUSLY noted here Rep. William L. Dawson, Illinois Democrat, has nominated Charles Vernon Bush, the first colored youth to serve as a page boy in the United States Supreme Court, to the Air Force Academy.

William T. Coleman, Philadelphia lawyer, is in the forefront of persons being pushed for appointment by the President as the successor to the late J. Ernest Wilkins on the Civil Rights Commission.

Coleman is a graduate of the Harvard Law School and was a teaching fellow there after graduation. He served as law clerk for Judge Herbert F. Goodrich of the United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals and later to Surpeme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. He was with the law firm of Paul Weiss, Rifkind and (Adlai) Stevenson. He now is a partner in the Philadelphia law firm of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalisn, Kohn and Dilks.

He is being sponsored by Senator Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania Republican, who, while a member of the House, was one of the leaders of the civil rights bloc, and helped champion the Civil Rights Act of 1957 through the House Judiciary Committee, of which he was a member, and the House.

* * *

CARLISLE E. PRATT, a local attorney, is representing Mrs. Mary P. Dyson and Dr. Madison Briscoe, minority members of the Board of Trustees of Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va., who are suing in the District Court here to prevent the transfer of the college plant and other resources to Alderson-Broaddus College at Philippi, W. Va., an interracial, co - educational Baptist-affiliated liberal arts college with 400 students.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Closed door church policies questioned

The Afro American
Baltimore, Md.
10/17/59 p. 18

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Has the Christian church the legal and moral right to shut its doors to persons because they are poor and colored?

Is it legally or morally wrong for a poor colored person to have an appreciation for better music, better sermons, more comfortable pews, and the beauty of stained glass windows than he would enjoy in a formerly white church sold to a colored congregation because white parishioners have moved out of the neighborhood?

These questions arise from the annual report of the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, at the convention held recently in San Francisco.

* * *

DR. JACKSON urged colored people to fight for first - class citizenship, but first - class citizenship, as he conceives it, "does not involve the right to worship in a church that has a tradition of racial segregation or discrimination."

Later, Dr. Jackson said he was talking about the preservation of the colored church as an institution.

But even that point is questionable. Why should any segregated institution, in the process of evolution from enforced racial segregation to freedom from such segregation, be preserved?

The church enjoys certain governmental benefits. It is tax exempt. Its income also is tax exempt. Donations to churches may be deducted for income tax purposes.

Mere tax exemption would not necessarily change the character of property from private to public, but property enjoying tax-exempt status is not wholly private. Moreover, a church is a place of public worship and not a private club.

* * *

RACIAL SEGREGATION in the church was an outgrowth of slavery. The first colored church was established shortly after the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence.

Richard Allen led a small group of freedmen out of St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia because Allen was made to get up from the communion railing and told that the colored members had to wait until after the whites were served communion. They established Bethel Church. This was the real beginning of the AME Church.

The colored church cannot forever remain a Jim Crow institution while other institutions are being desegregated.

Public schools are in the process of integration. The success of integration in the armed forces furnishes strong evidence of the feasibility of integration in other fields.

Since the Supreme Court decision in 1948 that racial restrictive covenants cannot be judicially enforced, there has been a growing and substantial dispersal of colored families throughout residential areas.

* * *

THIRTEEN STATES and some 34 cities or counties have enacted laws against racial discrimination or segregation in housing. Norman Mason, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, has said he intends to develop policies that will further promote the principle of equal opportunity in all Federal housing programs.

With the Government spending billions of dollars on housing programs, such policies will have a terrific impact on segregated housing.

The President's Government Contracts Committee is working to end racial discrimination in employment.

The AFL-CIO is pledged to step up its drive to wipe out segregation and discrimination in labor unions.

State - supported colleges and universities in every southern state, except South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi are admitting colored students.

The policy of the American Medical Association is against racial qualifications in the admission of physicians to constituent societies.

Colored athletes are now common in professional sports, including baseball, football and basketball.

Only a few colored churchmen, who have a vested interest, are insisting on the church remaining segregated.

* * *

STRONG STATEMENTS against compulsory segregation were issued last Nov. 12 by the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States and by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church.

The Catholic Bishops, speaking for the Catholic Church as a whole in the United States at their annual meeting in Washington, said enforced segregation could not be "reconciled with the Christian view of our fellow man" because "Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people."

The Methodist Bishops, meeting in Cincinnati, reaffirmed their 1954 support of the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

Dr. Jackson got a good round of applause in his convention report for advocating that poor colored persons remain in colored churches and not impose themselves upon white congregations, whose ministers may be receiving salaries of $30,000 a year.

But it seems that the Christian church should be in the forefront of the fight to eliminate every vestige of enforced segregation from American life.

The colored church cannot consistently do that and, at the same time, remain a Jim Crow institution.

Birmingham World
31a Negro
Birmingham, Ala.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For The NNPA News Service

Toure Is Brainwashed

Week 11-18-59. P. 6

PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE of Guinea apparently was brainwashed between the time he and Mrs. Toure were guests of honor at a dinner given by Governor and Mrs. Luther Hodges of North Carolina in the Planetarium at the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, on the evening of Oct. 28 and his departure from Idlewild International Airport, New York City, for London on Nov. 5.

At a press conference in the Planetarium building (he delayed the dinner in order to continue the press conference), Toure was asked whether Africans were aware of racial conditions in the South of the United States and of the progress being made.

Toure sidestepped the question nicely: "I cannot answer this question precisely," he replied, "unless you give me more proof."

But in New York he was lavish in his praise of what he had seen of race relations in North Carolina.

As a watter of fact, ne had seen nothing of the racial segregation and discriminatory patterns which exist in North Carolina.

For instance: If, upon his arrival at the Raleigh-Durham Airport, he would have had occasion to use the men's lavatory, he would have seen a door marked "men" leading from the waiting room into the lavatory. But inside the lavatory, he would have seen two doors — one marked "Colored Men" and the other marked "White Men."

LARKINS SECTION

If he had visited the top colored state offficial, Dr. John Larkins, the head of the "Negro" Department of Welfare, he would have found his office in a dingy building in the colored section of Raleigh — and not in the State Capitol.

At Duke University where the university president, Dr. A. Hollis Edens, gave a luncheon for him and Mrs. Toure, not a single colored student has been admitted — not even to the theological seminary, despite the pronouncements of the National Conference of the Methodist Church that it is against sin and racial segregation.

There was some behind - the - scene backplay in the State Department because at least one official thought that the State Department should have got the University of North Carolina to give Toure an honorary degree instead of North Carolina State College, a Jim Crow school.

Incidentally, Asa T. Spaulding, president of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, attended an insurance executives' meeting in Montreal, Canada, last week.

SEEK JOHNSON SUCCESSOR

The special committee of the Howard University Board of Trustees, headed by Lorimer D. Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Company, has quite a job cut out for it in finding a qualified successor to Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, the university president.

The Milton committee is asking alumni and faculty members for suggestions. That is not how Dr. Johnson was selected 32 years ago. There was a trustee board committee, but the late Dr. Emmett J. Scott, who was the secretary-treasurer of Howard University at the time, had handicicked members of the trustee board.

Dr. Scott and some of his close associates thought that Dr. Johnson could be handled. It was not difficult for them to sell Dr. Johnson to Dr. Scott's friends on the trustee board.

But once Dr. Johnson was installed in office, Dr. Scott and his associates found out not only that Dr. Johnson could not be handled but that he would brook no opposition to his plans.

One of the first things he did after he really took over the reins was to stop recruiting and subsidizing of football players. Football at Howard has never recovered.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Opposes Minister as New Howard Prexy

An informed source told this column: "Howard University has no money problem. Everything is given to it by the Federal Government. Anybody can run that place if he just keeps half way clean."

He was talking about the selection of a successor to Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, who has indicated that he wishes to retire from the presidency of the university after the June Commencement exercises.

The source expressed the hope that the Board of Trustees will not select another Baptist minister but will require that the successful candidate have the same qualifications as a professor—a Ph.D.

HE THINKS well of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College. He also mentioned Samuel Westerfield, a Ph.D. from Harvard, who has a position in the School of Business Administration at Harvard this year but serves as a dean at Atlanta University. Westerfield is a native of Washington.

Also mentioned was Dr. Harold West, president of Meharry Medical College. My source pointed out that Dr. West has no medical degree, but was so well trained that he was chosen to head Meharry. West is a Ph.D. in chemistry and also a native of Washington.

My source reminded that it was the late Bob Church of Memphis and Chicago who maneuvered the choice of Dr. Johnson to succeed the late J. Stanley Durkee. The group led by the late Dr. Emmett J. Scott, then secretary-treasurer of Howard, were unable to agree on a choice after the late Bishop John A. Gregg of the AME Church turned down the offer of the Howard presidency. It was then that Church suggested Dr. Johnson, the pastor of a Charleston, W. Va., Baptist Church.

* * *

INCIDENTALLY, my source taught in high school. Lorimer D. Milton, the Atlanta banker, heads the trustee committee to find a suitable successor to Dr. Johnson.

Another source suggested that Dr. James M. Nabrit, secretary of Howard University and dean of its law school, will receive the mantle of Dr. Johnson.

He reasoned that Dr. Johnson is in control of the trustee board, that the board will approve Dr. Johnson's pick of a successor, and that Dr. Johnson's pick will be Nabrit.

With Nabrit installed as the favorite, the other entries are: Dr. Mays, Ralph Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations; Martin Jenkins, president of Morgan State; Howard Thurman, dean of the chapel at Boston University; Frank Snowden, dean of the college of liberal arts at Howard; Dr. Westerfield and Dr. West.

* * *

THURGOOD MARSHALL, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, did not participate in the oral argument before the Supreme Court of the Daisy Bates case.

The one-hour argument in behalf of Mrs. Bates and Mrs. Birdie Williams, president of the North Little Rock NAACP Branch, was made by Robert L. Carter of New York, NAACP General Counsel. Mr. Marshall sat at counsel table with Mr. Carter, as did George Howard Jr., an attorney of Pine Bluff, who was local counsel in the case.

Oliver Hill, NAACP attorney of Richmond, Va., and Frank D. Reeves of Washington, D.C., also a member of the NAACP legal staff, were interested listeners.

* * *

UNLESS THE Supreme Court rules unconstitutional the "Bennett Ordinance," the brainchild of Attorney General Bruce Bennett of Arkansas, Mr. Hill expects to have similar cases in Virginia.

Interested spectators included Mrs. Juanita Mitchell, a Baltimore attorney and wife of Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington NAACP Bureau, and her mother, Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore NAACP Branch.

* * *

THE SCHOOL at Huntsville, Ala., about which Attorney General William P. Rogers has Alabama Governor John Patterson talking like a Faubus, has a total enrollment of 1,065 students, of whom 571 are children of military personnel at the Redstone Arsenal, about 300 are children of civilian employees of the Arsenal, and about 200 have no relationship whatever to the Federal Government.

Rogers is insisting that the school be desegregated. If it is desegregated, Patterson has threatened to close every school in Alabama and call out the Arkansas National Guard.

The school is adjacent to the Arsenal on land which once belonged to the Federal Government but was given to the City of Huntsville as the site for the school.

The school was opened in 1958. It was built with Federal funds and the City of Huntsville continues to get Federal funds for the maintenance and operation of its entire school system because of children there who have a parent in the Armed Forces or a parent working at the Arsenal.

There are nine children of servicemen who are being denied admission to the school because they are colored.

Judge Should Know Constitution Does Not Leave Citizens Helpless

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Ala. case raises 2 pertinent questions

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

The decision of Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson in the suit brought by the Attorney General under the 1957 Civil Rights Act to enjoin racially discriminatory practices in Macon County, Ala., appears to have turned on two questions:

1. That the only two members of the Board of Registrars of Macon County, Grady Rogers and E. P. Livingston, had legally resigned and, therefore, the suit could not be maintained against them.

2. That the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was a compromise measure, that if the sponsors of the bill had intended for states as well as individuals to be used for depriving colored persons of their voting rights, the Civil Rights Act never would have passed;

That the State of Alabama cannot be named as a defendant, and, therefore, there was no defendant against whom the Attorney Gentral could act.

* * *

JUDGE JOHNSON'S reasoning appears strained. He may be correct in his ruling that the two registrars had legally resigned and the suit cannot be maintained against them.

But there is considerable doubt about his ruling that the Attorney General cannot proceed against the State of Alabama.

The complaint, filed in the Federal District Court at Montgomery, asked that the court declare illegal the practice of segregation in the registration office in Macon County and that the court enjoin the maintenance of segregated facilities as well as other practices alleged to be discriminatory and adopted to prevent qualified colored persons from registering to vote.

It was the position of the Federal Government that the U.S. admit of no discrimination on account of race or color in any part of the election procedure.

* * *

THE 1957 Civil Rights Act contains a declaration of the right to vote for Federal officers. It states clearly that it is unlawful for a private individual as well as one acting under color of law to interfere or attempt to interfere with the right to vote at any election involving Federal offices.

The remedy prescribed by the act is a civil action instituted by the Attorney General to prevent an action which would deprive a person of the right to vote.

The House Judiciary Committee, in its report to the 85th Congress on the civil rights bill, submitted by Rep. Peter W. Rodino, New Jersey Democrat, said:

"This right to vote for Federal offices is, as is the right to vote in all other matters, the foundation of our representative form of Government. It is the sole means by which the principle of consent of the governed as the source of governmental Authority is made a living thing.

* * *

"DEPRIVATION OF the right to vote is the first step on the road to tyranny and dictatorship. The right of franchise must be protected by the sovereign if representative government is to be maintained.

"Therefore, the sovereign, acting within its constitutional jurisdiction, must preserve this fundamental and basic right against any and all unlawful interference. That the proposal of this section does that very thing is very clear.

"Nothing contained in the proposal in any way infringes upon the power given to the states under the Constitution to fix the qualifications of the voters. It must be remembered that such power, however, is not unlimited, as indicated by the express power given to Congress to regulate the manner of conducting elections as well as by the 14th and 15th amendments, both of which expressly confer upon the Congress the power to enforce them by appropriate regulations."

In enacting the 1957 Civil Rights Act, Congress acted pursuant to its power "to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the 14th Amendment right to "equal protection of the laws."

* * *

IT DOES NOT appear that there would be any invasion of state sovereignty for Federal courts to enjoin Alabama from denying qualified colored citizens the right to vote.

The concept of state sovereignty is found in the 10th Amendment, which reserves to the states those powers which have not been "delegated to the U.S. by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states."

In other words, where some other article of the Constitution or an Amendment either delegates to the U.S. a power or function, or prohibits the states from exercising a power or function, the states' rights clause of the 10th Amendment becomes inapplicable.

The suit brought by the Attorney General to enjoin Alabama from depriving colored persons of the right to vote because of color involves the very powers which the Constitution says are not reserved to the states.

* * *

SECTION 1 of the 15th Amendment prohibited to the states the power to deny or abridge the right of U.S. citizens to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2 delegated to the U.S. the power to enforce this prohibition by "appropriate legislation."

If the hard-core confederate states can deny the right to vote to colored citizens because they are colored, and then escape Federal action to enjoin the deprivation by having their registrars resign, there appears to be no relief available to the victims of such disfranchisement.

The Constitution and laws of the U.S. do not leave citizens helpless against state action which deprives them of constitutional rights.

Attorney General William P. Rogers has promised a vigorous and expeditious appeal from Judge Johnson's decision. Certainly, the Supreme Court should speak the final word.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

By LOUIS LAUTIER, For NNPA and Atlanta Daily World

The Republican party has profited none from Presidential and Congressional election results since 1932 when the colored vote defected and Franklin D. Roosevelt defeated President Herbert Hoover for reelection by a popular vote of 22,821,857 to 15,761,841 and an electoral vote of 472 to 59.

From the adoption of the 15th Amendment to 1932, colored voters had followed the opinion of Frederick Douglass that the Republican party was the ship and all else the sea.

But since 1932 colored voters have voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates for Federal, state and local offices.

Significantly, colored voters in the South, who were barred from the Democratic primary in most southern states until 1944, and had voted almost solidly for Republican Presidential candidates have become Democrats.

Republicans have tried every possible blandishment to get back a majority of colored voters into the Republican fold, but we have not been able to do so.

DEFECTION CAUSE

One does not have to look very far to see the cause for defection of colored voters. It is Republican stupidity.

An example can be seen in a press release of April 3 from the Republican National Committee.

The release announced the meeting of the Southern Republican State chairmen in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., on April 4 and 5.

The meeting was called by G. Harold Alexander, Florida Republican chairman, to discuss implementation of the "Road to Victory" plan of Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn.

Also discussed at the meeting was the position of Southern Republicans with respect to the 1960 Republican platform.

Their position, of course, is identical with that of the Dixiecrats.

The Republican party was organized in 1856 to fight for human freedom — and one of its first acts was opposition to the Kansas - Nebraska Act which left the issue of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska to vote of settlers. But Southern Republicans, with few exceptions, are for nullification of the Supreme Court decision against public school desegregation and for leaving all questions of civil rights to the states.

The Republican National Committee release lists Wirt A. Yerger as Republican state chairman of Mississippi.

That means that the Republican National Committee recognizes the lily-white faction as the regular Republican organization in Mississippi, and the racially integrated "black - and - tan" faction, led by Perry W. Howard, National Committeeman for Mississippi, is doomed to be liquidated at the 1960 Republican national convention.

"STUPID" POLITICS

That kind of politics is stupid. Liquidating "black-and-tan" Republicans in Mississippi will win Republican candidates no Dixiecrat votes but will cost them votes of colored independents in pivotal states which Republican candidates must carry if they hope to win the 1960 election.

The Democratic party, in contrast, makes its bid for the independent colored vote in the pivotal states by appointing Representative William L. Dawson, of Illinois, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and lately Mrs. Vel Phillips of Milwaukee has been added as the

National Committeewoman for Wisconsin.

I. Lee Potter of Arlington Va., is assistant to the Republican national chairman for "the overall Republican Operation Dixie."

Mr. Potter is chairman of the Virginia Republican State Committee, a lily-white organization. The Arlington County Republican Executive Committee, over which, it is presumed, Mr. Potter wields some influence. also is lily-white.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Why Sen. Johnston Sought Hearing Delay

On the eve of the opening of hearings on civil rights before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee, Senator Olin Johnston, sought a delay.

He based his request for postponement on newspaper reports that members of the Civil Rights Commission had announced their intention to resign at the end of their present term and the committee ought to hear them before taking any action on civil rights proposals.

Johnston was not seeking to delay consideration of civil rights legislation as much as that is a desirable end to him, but he wanted to embarrass his colleague, Senator Strom Thurmond.

* * *

THURMOND HAD prepared a 17-page statement he intended to present to the committee at the opening hearing, and had sent copies of the statement to the news wire services on the day before the scheduled hearing.

Johnston reasoned that if he could get the hearings postponed for the remainder of last week, Senator Sam J. Ervin, North Carolina Democrat, also a subcommittee member, could block hearings during the week preceding Easter because he wants to go to his state during that week.

If Johnston had succeeded, he figured he would have made Thurmond look bad. But the ailing Senator Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, subcommittee chairman, turned down Johnston's request.

* * *

THE SCOTTISH Rite Masons are meeting here April 3 and 4. Dunbar Hotel is their headquarters.

Dr. Margaret Grigsby, who has been seriously ill in Freedmen's Hospital for several weeks, was reported Thursday as "improving nicely." Her physician is Dr. Kelley Brown. Earlier in the week he said she had been "seriously ill" but had improved. Her home is Houston, Texas.

Registered at the Dunbar last week were W. A. Bryant, athletic director at Fayetteville (N.C.) State Teachers College; J. E. Thompson, director of health and physical education, and T. H. E. Jones, dean of the college, St. Paul College;

Also Vernon E. McCain and Nathaniel Taylor, Maryland State College, and James Stevens, James W. Young and Floyd Brown of North Carolina College, who were here Thursday, Friday and Saturday attending the annual meeting of the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association on the Howard University campus.

* * *

LIKE IN other big cities, the rise in the public welfare case load has been virtually uninterrupted in the District of Columbia for many years.

F'rinstance, in the calendar year 1958, it rose from 10,043 cases and 20,836 persons in July to 10,704 cases and 23,535 persons on Dec. 31, 1958.

Expenditures, Federal and local, rose from $840,146 in July, 1958, to $1,000,503 in December, 1958.

The major increase in cases has been in the aid to dependent children and general public assistance categories.

The comparative figures show in aid to dependent children: July, 1958, 3,117 cases which represented 13,807 persons; December, 1958, 3,548 cases which represented 15,985 persons.

THE COMPARATIVE figures show in the general public assistance in July, 1958, 1,151 cases which represented 1,254 persons, and in December, 1958, 1,296 cases which represented 1,428 persons.

Among the major reasons for increase in the aid to dependent children program are increased birth rates. a disconcerting and increasing evidence of parent indifference, neglect, and abandonment by fathers particularly, and the probability that city living with its complexities has thrust pressures on individuals and families that they have not been prepared to meet.

Among the major reasons for increase in general public assistance are opportunities for ill or poorly trained persons are limited, chorinic alcholism, and the increase in the temporarily unemployed due to injury.

WHAT THE future holds with respect to public assistance is anybody's guess. There is no evidence that lends any hope for any reduction in the public welfare caseloads in the foreseeable future.

There is considerable evidence that any broadening of the welfare base open-end policy framework, such as supplementing all low incomes or aiding the unemployed unemployables would cost no less than two and one-half times the amount now being spent for public assistance.

The public assistance program is not alone in feeling the impact of parental neglect, indifference and cruelty. It also is reflected in the child welfare program, particularly protective services.

Family breakdown and child crises are coming to light regularly. The approach in the Department of Public Welfare is casework service which attempts to prevent family disintegration and child abuse.

* * *

AN ALTERNATIVE to prevention, which is the function of protective services, is removal from the home, possible commitment to the Public Welfare Department, and then life in a foster home or life in almost total anonymity in an overcrowded institution.

The child welfare staff of the Public Welfare Division is finding at its doorsteps not only more children numerically, but more children totally neglected, emotionally disturbed, frightened, and abused.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Alford Probe Puts Republicans On Spot

The Dixiecrats are trying to persuade Republicans that the fight to unseat Rep. Dale Alford, ardent Little Rock segregationist, is a Democratic scrap and they should stay out of it.

Rep. Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana, Republican leader, has not yet made up his mind.

The question of whether the House should investigate charges of fraud in the election of Dr. Alford comes up at a meeting of the House Administration Committee on April 15.

Republicans represent the swing vote on the committee. Democrats are about equally divided between the North and South. If Halleck gives the word and Republicans vote with Northern Democrats, a probe will be ordered. If the Republicans vote with the Dixiecrats, Alford will be allowed to keep his seat.

DR. ALFORD, backed by Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, defeated former Rep. Brooks Hays, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, in a sticker campaign, which in itself is said to be a violation of Arkansas law.

Hays is a moderate in race relations. In his years in Congress he sponsored a mild civil rights bill, which he represented as being as far as the South would go. In September, 1957, he attempted to act as mediator between President Eisenhower and Faubus.

Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill, Massachusetts Democrat, is a leader of the forces demanding an investigation of the election of Dr. Alford. O'Neill is expected to be a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1962.

* * *

SOME FOES of Alford are wary about unseating him. They fear that if he is unseated, he will become a martyr in the eyes of Little Rock segregationists and would be elected to fill the vacancy by a big majority. Mr. Hays, however, has indicated a willingness to testify against Alford.

The Arkansas political picture also is blurred by the threat of Faubus' opposing Senator J. William Fulbright for re-election in 1962.

Fulbright, a Rhodes Scholar, is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but he is so scared of Faubus that he identified himself with Little Rock segregationists by occupying a seat at the counsel table with the attorneys for the Little Rock Board of Education during the school board's plea before the Supreme Court for delay in desegregating Little Rock schools.

Dixiecrat politics also have Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, in a quandary.

* * *

FAUBUS HAS signed into law a bill which frees Arkansas Presidential electors from any political party commitment. The bill was patterned after a Georgia law as "the South's secret weapon against integration."

The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee voted, 45 to 25, to junk that part of the Alabama loyalty oath which required candidates entering Democratic primaries in that state to pledge support to the nominees for Presidential electors.

The purpose of these political shenanigans going on in the Dixiecrat states is to permit the sending of delegates to the Democratic national convention in 1960 to participate in the drafting of a party platform and the selection of Democratic nominees for President and Vice President.

* * *

THEN, AFTER returning to their homes, if the Dixiecrats don't like the civil rights plank and regard the nominees as too liberal on the civil rights issue, they will be free to support a Dixiecrat ticket, as they did in 1948 when Alabama Dixiecrats kept the name of President Truman off the Democratic ballot.

Butler hopes there will be no need for a loyalty oath at the 1960 Democratic national convention.

The 1956 convention adopted a rule committing delegates who took part in the convention to see that the names of the party nominees were put on the ballot. but even that rule will not be in effect when the 1960 convention convenes.

But Butler says this is 1959 and the convention is not until 1960. "We're not going to take any action now," Butler says. "We're just going to watch the situation and meet it with whatever action seems best for the party at the time."

* * *

THERE ARE, however, some Democratic leaders, including Representative William L. Dawson, of Illinois, who are not for waiting but want to throw the Dixiecrats out of the party before they have a chance to bolt.

The Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, president of the District of Columbia Branch of the NAACP, was a hit with white viewers on his TV appearance on WMAL-TV's weekly Celebrity Parade the other Sunday but left colored viewers cold.

It appears that he got the cart before the horse. Economic conditions of colored people are not the cause but the result of segregation and discrimination.

Judge and Mrs. Armond W. Scott are spending a three-week holiday in Los Angeles. He will not return to the District of Columbia Municipal Court bench until next fall.

Brownell Warned Action At Little Rock Was Necessary

Action Prevented Success Of Mob, Breakdown Of Law

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Success of the unruly mob which kept children from attending Little Rock Central High School in Sept. 1957, would have led to mob rule and a probable breakdown of law and order in an ever widening area.

That was the official opinion of former Attorney General Herbert Brownell. The Justice Department has just released the advice that Mr. Brownell gave President Eisenhower during the school crisis in Little Rock, which resulted in the use of Federal troops to enforce a Federal court school desegregation order.

Mr. Brownell put the advice he had given to Mr. Eisenhower on separate occasions into a formal opinion dated Nov. 7, 1957, just as he was leaving office to return to the private practice of law.

ADVICE KNOWN

Much of the advice given by Mr. Brownell on questions arising in the school desegregation case in Little Rock between Sept. 3 and Oct. 1, 1957, was known.

But because of the grave constitutional issues involved, and the direct bearing of those issues upon the action taken by President Eisenhower, Mr. Brownell said he believed it advisable that this advice should be made into a permanent record.

It is officially published in volume 41 of the Opinions of the Attorney General.

One fact, which was not previously made known but which is disclosed in the opinion, is that Mayor W. W. Mann of Little Rock telegraphed President Eisenhower pleading for Federal troops to be sent to Little Rock to "restore peace and order" and compliance with a proclamation Mr. Eisenhower had issued calling upon the mob at Central High School to disperse.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Cites casualty of Senate debate

The first casualty of the fight over the filibuster rule may be the "Leadership Conference," which includes in its membership Vice Chairman Joseph Rauh, Jr., of Americans for Democratic Action; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, and spokesmen for United Auto Workers' Pres., Walter Reuther and International Electrical Workers' President James Carey.

Reportedly, members of the "Leadership Conference," for the most part were unable to talk with Senators. One man from Ohio, who is credited with swinging the votes of Senators Frank Lausche and Stephen M. Young, Ohio Democrats, against the motion of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Senate Democratic leader, to kill the motion that the Senate proceed to adopt new rules, was given a rude brush-off when he asked where the "leaders" would meet.

* * *

LISTENING FROM Senate galleries to the debate on the filibuster rule were Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington NAACP Bureau; George L. P. Weaver, Bill Oliver and Theodore Brown, representatives of the AFL-CIO, and the Clarence Muses (Ena).

Mr. Muse is a veteran actor of stage and screen. In the old days he played the Howard Theater. Later, he became an established movie actor in Hollywood.

A delegation of 28, representing the Southern Conference Educational Fund, had an hour-long conference with Senator Johnson two days before the filibuster fight began and later handed over to Charles McWhorter, legislative assistant to Vice President Nixion, petitions for a rule to shut off debate by a majority vote. The petitions were signed by 18,000 in 45 states.

* * *

INCLUDED IN this delegation were Bishops Frank Madison Reid, president of the Bishops' Council of the AME Church, Kittrell, N.C.; S. L. Greene, AME Church, Atlanta; W. W. Matthews, Washington, D.C.; C. Eubank Tucker, AME Zion Church, Louisville, Ky.; Edgar A. Love, the Methodist Church, Baltimore, and Carey A. Gibbs, AME Church, Birmingham.

Also in the delegation were the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights; the Rev. William B. Abbot, Norfolk, Va., the Rev. M. Cecil Mills, pastor Canaan Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin B. Henderson, Falls Church, Va.

The delegation was headed by Aubrey Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, publisher of the Southern Farm and Home, a magazine, and of the National Youth Administration during the Franklin D. Roosevlt Administration.

* * *

THE POSITION of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.) on the seating of Dr. Dale Alford, ardent Little Rock segregationists, in the House on the day Congress opened its 86th session, raised some eyebrows. Alford, a physician, had the backing of Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas as a one-week write - in candidate. He defeated former Representative Brooks Hays, who had sought to act as mediator between President Eisenhower and Faubus in 1957.

A House elections subcommittee found that Joseph F. Wells, a fellow Little Rocker, had made out a prima facie case of fraud and irregularity in the conduct of the election in the fifth Arkansas district. It recommended that Alford be asked to stand aside and be not seated until a thorough investigation was made.

* * *

POWELL IS pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, one of the largest colored congregations in the country. Hays is the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, the third largest denomination in the country — Roman Catholics being first and the Methodist second.

Powell held a press conference two days before Congress convened and, in reply to a question, said he thought Alford should be provisionally seated because the doctor held a certificate of election signed by Faubus.

One question raised by the Powell statement is — Has the Congress the right to go beyond the legal qualifications of Representatives - elect —age, citizenship and residence —and examine their moral qualifications?

The Constitution says: "Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members."

* * *

SOUTHERN . Congressmen were threatening, if a move were made to have Alford stand aside — an objection to his taking the oath from one member was sufficient — to make a counter move and seek to block the seating of three Northern Democrats.

The Northerners are Powell and Rep. William J. Green Jr., Fennsylvania Democratic boss, and Thomas J. Lane, Massachusetts Democrat.

Powell is under indictment by a New York Federal grand jury on a charge of Federal income tax evasion. Green is under indictment by a Federal grand jury in Pennsylvania on a conspiracy charge involving use of his position to obtain a Government contract. Lane served four months in prison in 1956 after conviction of Federal income tax evasion.

Alford was requested to stand aside during the bloc oath administration. Objection was raised to his seating by Representative John Dingell, Michigan Democrat.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Party regularity is paying off for Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Michigan Democrat. The 37-year old Diggs has been given a choice Congressional committee assignment — the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Because he got the more important post, he was taken off two committees — Interior and Insular Affairs and Veterans' Affairs — on which he served in the last Congress.

The committee has 32 members, 21 of them Democrats. Diggs ranks 15th among the Democratic members.

Rep. D. S. (Judge) Saund, California Democrat, is a holdover member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee from the last Congress. He is a native Indian and ranks 14th, just above Diggs, among the Democratic members.

REP. WILBUR D. MILLS, Arkansas Democrat, was chairman of the Democratic Committee on Committees which selected the Democratic members to serve on House standing committees. But it's a cinch bet that Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas had a hand in the selections.

Reps. William L. Dawson, Illinois Democrat, and Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem Democrat, retained the committee posts they had in the 85th Congress.

Dawson is chairman of the powerful House Government Operations Committee and a member of the District of Columbia Committee.

The latter committee is again loaded with Southerners. It has a total membership of 25—sixteen Democrats and nine Republicans.

Nine of the Democrats are from former Confederate states —John L. McMillan, chairman, S.C.; Thomas G. Abernethy, Miss.; Howard W. Smith, Va.; James C. Davis, an admitted ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan, Ga.; James H. Morrison, La.; John Bell Williams, Miss; John Dowdy, Tex.; D. F. (Billy) Matthews, Fla., and J. Carlton Loser, Tenn.

* * *

POWELL CONTINUES as a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, on which he is the No. 2 ranking Democrat, and the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, on which he ranks No. 6.

Robert N. C. Nix, Philadelphia Democrat, was put back on the committees to which he was assigned last year — Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and Veterans' Affairs.

Dr. Dale Alford, ardent segregationists from Little Rock, who defeated the moderate Brooks Hays as a write-in candidate in the November election, was assigned as a Democrat to one committee — Post Office and Civil Service.

* * *

THE JUSTICE Department will move to enjoin Macon County, Ala., registrars from refusing to register colored persons, many of them holding graduate and professional degrees from the leading universities of the country, to vote.

Macon County, the seat of which is Tuskegee, is the site of Tuskegee Institute and the all-colored Veterans' Administration Hospital.

Washington reporters turned down an all-expenses paid junket to the Dominican Republic, whose dictator is Rafael Trujillo.

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LITTLE BEAGLE, 7-year old pet of the family of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, was the victim of an accident and what had become of him was not known for two days until a veterinarian returned the animal to the Johnson household.

The disappearance and return of the pet were front-page stories in a Washington daily for two days in succession. One newsman asked another why the stories were run on page 1.

"It was the first thing Johnson has lost in two years," replied the other newsman.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Powell's Seniority Is Ignored Again

WASHINGTON

After more than two hours of parliamentary jockeying the other day, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem Democrat, was again maneuvered out of a House Education and Labor subcommittee chairmanship, to which his seniority entitled him.

A group of Young Turks, organized by Rep. Stewart L. Udall, Arizona Democrat, walked into the meeting of the full Education and Labor Committee with a draft of a new set of rules. They had not consulted any of the older members of the committee.

The proposed new rules would not have helped Powell immediately, but the Young Turks believed they would have aided him in the long run.

THEIR PROPOSAL provided that anyone named to a subcommittee by the chairman of the full committee would be frozen in that subcommittee and the members of each subcommittee would advance on the basis of seniority.

Powell offered an amendment that the five subcommittee chairmen would be the five ranking Democrats. He ranks No. 2.

Rep. Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, committee chairman, fussed, fumed and threatened to resign as chairman if the Powell amendment were adopted.

Rep. Edith Green, Oregon Democrat, who is seventh in line for a subcommittee chairmanship, and whom Barden reputedly detests more than he does Powell, incensed at Barden's remarks, suggested that all of the new rules advocated by the Young Turks be thrown out if the Powell amendment was not going to be accepted.

* * *

UNDER THE proposed new rules, if no member of a subcommittee died, resigned or was defeated, Mrs. Green would have had to stay there while members with less seniorty could move up on their subcommittees.

She favored the Powell amendment but she made the parliamentary mistake of offering a substitute to throw out all seniority. That was just what Barden wanted.

Quickly realizing her error, Mrs. Green asked unanimous consent to withdraw her substitute. Rep. Clare Hoffman, Michigan Republican, objected. The vote occurred on her substitute. The substitute was carried, 15 to 12. There was, therefore, no vote on the Powell amendment.

Powell then offered a new rule — Rule 13, containing the same language as his amendment — that the five subcommittee chairmen shall be appointed by the general chairman from the five ranking Democrats.

That was beaten, 21 to 7.

SEVEN DEMOCRATS and no Republicans voted for the Powell rule. They were: Powell, Mrs. Green, James Roosevelt, California; Herbert Zulenko, New York; Frank Thompson, New Jersey; Ludwig Teller, New York, and Robert Giaimo, Connecticut.

Thirteen Democrats voting against the Powell rule were: Barden, Cleveland M. Bailey, West Virginia; Carl Perkins, Kentucky; Roy Wier, Minnesota; Carl Elliott, Alabama; Phil Landrum, Georgia; Udall, Elmer Holland, Pennsylvania; John Dent, Pennsylvania; Roman Pucinski, Illinois; Dominick Daniels, New Jersey; John Brademas, Indiana, and James O'Hara, Michigan.

Eight Republicans voted solidly against Powell. They were Carroll Kearns, Pennsylvania; Hoffman, Alber Bosch, New York; Joe Holt, California; William Ayres, Ohio; Robert Griffin, Michigan; John LaFore, Pennsylvania, and Edgar Hiestand, California.

Two Republicans, Stuyvesant Wainwright, New York, and Peter Frelinghuysen, N.J., who had promised Powell to vote for him, walked out of the meeting and left no proxies.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, wife of Dr. William E. B. DuBois, got back to Moscow from Africa on Dec. 21. She writes from there that Dr. Du Bois was a very sick man when he went to a sanitorium in the Soviet Union on Nov. 9. For two weeks things looked serious for the 90-year old scholar. But by the time of the opening of the African conference in Ghana, he was on the road to complete recovery.

Mrs. Du Bois says she went to the Ghana conference with some folks from the Moscow University, knowing that he was "not only having the best medical care in the world but also the most loving attention that can be imagined."

"Being here outside Moscow would seem to cut my activities, but I've really been busy every day," she writes.

"I re - wrote the last third of my "There Was Once a Slave" for publication here (Moscow). The edition will be so much better that I'm hoping to be able to get some English copies.

"You remember that I was forced to cut so much 'historical' data when the book was published in the U.S.A. Nobody wants to read dry history, I was told. Well, the publisher here (Moscow) wanted all the historical data!

"I'VE JUST finished a long article on the Accra conference for a magazine here. And I'm sending an article home for 'Political Affairs' on the conference. I plan to write an article for 'Mainstream' on 'Africa by Jet.'

"Boy, I had some trip. I climbed the great pyramid and walked around the Sphinx, visited monuments of the greatest African rebellion in the Sundan, and flew over the Sahara Desert to Nigeria. I've slept beside the Nile and dipped my hands in the Red Sea.

First Test At Start Of Congressional Session

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—Lines are being drawn for an all-out fight for tighter civil rights legislation in the 86th Congress which will convene Jan. 7.

The first test will occur at the very beginning of the session when liberal bloc Senators will move for adoption of new rules. If the liberal bloc prevails, Senate rules will amended to curb the filibuster and ease the way for passage of more effective civil rights legislation.

On the question of changing the rules, the South is divided. The moderate Southerners, headed by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Senate Democratic leader, will seek the adoption of a compromise which would provide for limiting debate by a two-thirds vote of Senators present and voting.

The hard core Southerners, led by Senator Richard B. Russell, Georgia Democrat, will oppose any change whatever in the filibuster rule—and are ready and willing to filibuster to prevent a change.

TWO-THIRDS VOTE

The Douglas-Javits bloc favors a rule which would permit debate to be shut off by a two-thirds vote two days after a cloture petition is filed and by a majority of the entire Senate, or 50 Senators, 15 days after a cloture petition is filed.

Since 54 Senators are sponsoring a change of one kind or another in the filibuster rule, it is likely that the Senate will adopt a new cloture rule.

President Eisenhower has not yet indicated what recommendations he will send to Congress on civil rigths in his State of the Union message. But Attorney General William P. Rogers has indicated that he has asked the President to make at least two recommendations.

One of these would authorize the Justice Department to subpena records of voter registrars. It does not have that power now and ran into difficulty in the first case it filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to enjoin registrars of Terrell County, Ga., from refusing to register colored persons. A Georgia judge instructed the registrars not to turn over their records to Federal officials.

The other recommendation Mr. Rogers has made calls for enactment of the so-called Part III which was stricken from the civil rights bill by the Senate before it passed the measure in 1957.

Part III would authorize the Attorney General to bring civil suits to enjoin threatened violations of constitutional rights, including the right to attend non-segregated public schools.

FLEMMING PROPOSALS

Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, also has declined to say what recommendations he will make on civil rights. But one suggestion made to him is that he urge the President to include in his message a recommendation for legislation to assist school districts to desegregate their public schools.

Under this proposal Federal funds would be allotted to local communities which lose state funds by desegregating.

This porposal also would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to cooperate with and assist local communities and initiate plans to promote orderly compliance with court orders for school desegregation.

Bills covering all of these proposals will be pressed in both the House and Senate.

The Lyons Den

the Montgomery Journal
Maryland

By Leonard Lyons

RALPH BUNCHE had a reception at his house for King George III, the Omukama of Toro. Soon after it began Bunche smelled something burning. He entered the kitchen, but nothing was on the stove. Then he went downstairs and found smoke billowing from the basement door. A fire alarm would have disrupted the party and sent 50 U.N. officials, ambassadors and civic officials out on the street. Bunche rushed into the basement found a burning ironing board and put out the fire. Then he went back to the party; the guests never knew of the fire.

31a Wire

GEORGE MEANY, head of the AFL-CIO, has left for the 10th anniversary session of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Brussels. This year they'll form an African unit . . . Sir Victor Sassoon took his bride to lunch at the Four Seasons the other day, before escorting her to the hospital for scheduled surgery . . . Dorothy Parker has been commissioned by Bernard Geist, the publisher, to write a book on the life of Ethel Barrymore.

JOAN CRAWFORD says that one of her daughters has expressed interest in a show business career. She asked Miss Crawford if she too could become a star and have fabulous gowns and jewels. "Sure," said Joan, "if you work hard at it" . . . "You mean," her daughter asked, "getting up at 5 a.m. and working until 7 p.m.?" "That's right," said Joan. "That's how I got these gowns and jewels" . . . The girl sighed: "Never mind. I'll borrow yours."

EPHRAIM KURTZ wasn't able to attend the New York debut of his wife, Elaine Shaffer, the flutist, at Town Hall Friday night. Kurtz was conducting a Beethoven series in Canada that night . . . Judy Garland will stay at Doctor's Hospital for three weeks . . . *Merman On Broadway* was taped for TV, without an audience. Then it was shown at the TV studios for a live audience. Their laughs and applause were recorded and blended into the final tape.

HELEN HAYES revealed recently that when her late husband recommended that she portray Harriet Beecher Stowe, she wrote to Robert Sherwood suggesting that he write a play. They didn't hear from Sherwood, who then was working at the White House . . . When they heard that a play about Mrs. Stowe, *Harriet*, would be performed at the Drama School of Syracuse University, they went there with producer Gilbert Miller, bought it and brought it to Broadway—Too late they were told that Sherwood had started the project.

JAMES MASON, who'll play the Mafia leader in Ben Hecht's *Brotherhood Of Evil*, is taking lessons in how to speak with an Italian accent . . . When Dag Hammarskjold returned from Laos he didn't even stop at his apartment, but went from the airport directly to the U.N. . . . Capt. Isaac Abromowitz, who was the skipper of the real-life *Exodus*, is studying Admiralty Law in Washington. The ex-Rev. John Stanley Grauel, a crew member, now owns the Tinkers Dam antique shop in Bronxville.

A ST. LOUIS psychiatrist recently visited New York with his 9-year-old son. They stayed at the Hotel Edison where the proprietor, Irwin Kramer, invited them to lunch. And during the meal Kramer heard the 9-year-old boy ask the psychiatrist: "Daddy, are we wealthy? I don't mean wealthy because we have each other or because we're secure. I mean, have we got the dough?"

SHELDON HARNICK, lyricist, and Jerry Bock, the composer, have become the hottest young songwriting team on Broadway, as the result of *Fiorello!* Their next show will be *Tenderloin* . . . When Phil Barry's *Philadelphia Story* first was produced, a private swimming pool was the symbol of great wealth. Now it's so common that the Dec. 7 *Special Tonight* show, about Philadelphia Main Line Society, will replace the pool with a private lake and boathouse.

SENATOR Hubert Humphrey, busy traveling around the country campaigning for the presidential nomination, was asked about his chances. "I'm running in a field of millionaires," replied Humphrey. "The others are all good men, and rich. I'm just trying to prove that it's still possible, in the American dream, for a poor boy to become president of the United States."

NIYOSHI UMEKI, who is leaving *Flower Drum Song*, says she loves the show and her role, "but after a year of being another person and reciting another's lines, I want to be my own self again. I can do that, with nightclub work" . . . Maurice Evans has worn out five putty noses, imported at $50 each, in his G. B. Shaw make-up for *Heartbreak House* . . . Dolores Gray, co-star of *Destry Rides Again*, spent $500 for a riding habit and lessons to ride in the Macy Parade.

LEWIS MILESTONE, the veteran director, is in Hollywood preparing the movie he'll film with Frank Sinatra in Las Vegas . . . *Can-Can*, which was budgeted at $4,000,000,

THINKING OUT LOUD



Reveals plans to sue Capital Press Club for defamation and slander

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

Sat. 5-16-59

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

I have just had a fruitful exploratory conference with my old friend and long time personal attorney, Hesa Shyster Esq. who assures me that I stand a pretty good chance of recovering substantial damages from the Capital Press Club, an organization of Washington newspaper people and the affiliated trades.

This optimism is typical of Mr. Shyster who can see great possibilities for a financial killing for any client who pays him a retainer regardless of how unworthy the grievance or how impoverished the defendant may be.

His enthusiasm matches the size of the ice and his sense of personal wrong, which sometimes reaches the point of tears, gives the injured party a feeling of togetherness so comforting to the lawyer - client relationship.

"We'll make them pay through the nose," he says emphatically. "They can't do that to us." Of course, we have never collected anything yet, but Mr. Shyster's sense of outrage and thundering threats of retaliation always give me a feeling of power and self righteousness.

* * *

BUT TO get back to the contemplated law suit. It is based on the fact that the Capital Press Club, with malice afore-thought (to use Mr. Shyster's legal terminology) presented me with a bronze plaque, Saturday evening at the 16th Annual Banquet for my 35-years of continuous service to the weekly press.

At the time I was very proud of this recognition which is given all too sparingly, especially from one's own associates and I was actually in the process of hanging it in a conspicuous place over my desk when my Shyster dropped in to catch his breath from chasing an ambulance.

Naturally, he inquired, "What's that?"

Upon being advised as to its significance he shook his head sadly, sucking his teeth and murmuring almost to himself, "This is terrible." Why would they do a thing like that to a nice guy like you? For a moment he was on the verge of tears which he can turn on and off like a spigot at so much per tear.

Noting my lack of comprehension, he hastened to explain: "Man can't you see what this dreadful thing means? This is libelous per se, slanderous and defamatory. This says that you have been a newspaperman for 35 years. That proves that you are lacking in imagination, unadventuresome, devoid of personal ambition. Ye God's man, you're in a rut. But tell me, was this thing done publicly? Were there witnesses to this wickedness?"

I assured him that the citation was presented at a banquet in the grand ballroom of the Willard Hotel attended by several hundred distinguished guests.

"Ah," he said, "that establishes the issue of publication. You were held up as an object of pity and derision, suffering untold agony and mental anguish."

"I was?" I asked. "Why I thought it was a very nice gesture."

* * *

"THIRTY - FIVE years," he kept repeating between his sobs. Do you know what this means? Think, man think. It means that you are an oldtimer, a has been, a tired old man. Your days are numbered, your usefulness is impaired. You are out of step with the modern world. You are ready for the junk heap." He turned suddenly and shook his finger in my face. "What," he snapped, "do you think of Rock and Roll and progressive jazz.?"

"Oh, I can take it or leave it alone?"

"That proves my point," he snapped. "I have seen your kind before. I'll bet you can hum ditties from 'Porgy and Bess,' and 'Shuffle Aolng.'

"You believe that the bottom has fallen out of the prize fight game ever since Joe Louis retired. You have nostalgia for the good old days when the East - West Classic drew thousands from all over the country to watch colored baseball teams play.

"I'll bet you remember the Kansas City Monarchs, the Bacharach Giants and the Baltimore Black Sox. I'll bet you believe Florence Mills was a great dancer, and Charles Gilpin was a great dramatic artist. And you thought the Howard - Lincoln game was a great athletic event. I'll bet you thought that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a great president and that the New Deal was an inspiring social revolution.

"I'll bet you even had a feeling of pride when Oscar DePriest was elected as the first congressman from Illinois. Tell me," he whispered, "were any of these awful things mentioned when this presentation was made?"

THINKING OUT LOUD



Passing of Gus Sun recalls early days of the theatrical world

The Afro-American
Baltimore Md

10-17-59

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

The obituary columns of many dailies carried a notice last week of a death which was probably passed over by many as of little consequence, but it must have jogged the memories of those familiar with the show world of the roaring twenties.

In Springfield, Ohio, as it must to all men, death came to a venerable old showman, the late Gus Sun, who died there at the age of 90.

Gus Sun was the midwestern counterpart of our own S. H. Dudley Sr., whose Theatre Owners Booking Association known affectionately as the TOBA or Toby Time supplied the talent for hundreds of performers who made their living in this precarious profession before the arrival of the talking pictures when no theatre was considered first class without an interlude of vaudeville.

* * *

THE TOBA stretched from Florida to New York, along the East coast and westward to Chicago, with its terminus touching Kansas City and St. Louis. Going to Los Angeles was like going abroad.

The Toba served as the training ground for hundreds of musical comedy artists traveling as singles, teams, quartets and in companies carrying from 10 to 75 or 80.

Dudley operated from his own Midtown Theatre here on Seventh St. where he played the smaller and less pretentious acts arranging bookings for others which insured them of a good season.

Gus Sun operated a similar circuit beginning in Ohio and stetching throughout the midwest where most of his theatres catered to predominantly white audiences. These theatres were considered of higher class than the purely Jim Crow houses on the TOBA chain, but not quiet up to the famous Keith - Albee or Orpheum Circuits which were at the pinnacle of the vaudeville world. Many got their first taste of big time through Gus Sun.

* * *

THE BEST comparison would be TOBA, grammar school; Gus Sun, high school; Orpheum, college, and Keith - Albee, postgraduate.

That meant that when an act heading eastward could say "direct from the Gus Sun Time" they got better billing and higher pay than acts which had not quite made the grade. Many boasted of playing the Gus Sun Time who never did.

Many names pop in my mind as I recall those hard days as every train brought hundreds of performers crossing and recrossing the country, bumping into each other in third rate boarding houses and often jumping from one troupe to another either in search of a better break, more money or lured by some romantic attachment.

Most famous was the Whitman Sisters, Drake and Walker, Chappell and Stinette, Dad James, Joe Wright, William Benbow, Clarence Muse, Hardtack Jackson, Tim Moore, Billie King and many others who carried their own companies.

Contemporaries of the period, but a notch or two above the TOBA regulars were Whitney and Tutt's famous "Smart Set" which played the bigger houses because their programs were two long to be sandwiched in between the movies, but they got around this by playing the first act one week and the second act the following week under a different name.

* * *

PERHAPS THE most colorful family of the era was the Miller Brothers, Flounoy, of Miller and Lyles fame; Irvine C. of the Brown Skin Models and Quintard, the youngest of Miller and Slater.

Although they were tops in their field they never worked together, each carrying his own show, often bitter business rivals, but each ready to rush to the other's aid when things got rough.

Flounoy hif the big time first when he teamed with Sissle and Blake to produce "Shuffle Along" on Broadway which touched off the renaissance in the colored theatre.

Irvin C. followed closely behind with "Roadway Rastus" and "Liza" becoming the first producer to operate on roadway in which even his house staff, from box office to stage door, was colored. While his older brothers were carving their fortunes on the Great White Way Quintard, basking in their reflected glory was the biggest box office draw on the TOBA and the Gus Sun time because he always billed his show as a "pre-roadway tryout."

He never quite made it because he never actually headed in that direction but he made a fortune "en route to Broadway" by way of Florida. The public loved him and until this day there are oldtimers who will swear that Quintard was the best producer of the three talented brothers, but "he just never got the breaks."

But just for fear we might have given the false impression that playing the Gus Sun Time was an unimportant accomplishment either in the theatre or in the progress of the race I cite just a few of the acts who also sprouted their wings under the guidance of Gus Sun and against whom our pioneer actors had to compete. There was Al Jolson, Bob Hope, Ted Lewis, Will Rogers, Sophie Tucker, Paul Whiteman and many others so that when our acts made the Gus Sun Time, they really had something on the ball. He placed talent ahead of color and is due credit for opening the door to many of our performers while the other circuits were drawing the line.

31a 1959

NEGRO (RALPH MATTHEWS)

THINKING OUT LOUD



Both Races Waste Too Much Time Thinking About Their Color

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

If the men from Mars should suddenly pay a visit to America, and I have no doubt that they will in due course, they will be most startled to find just how much of our time, which might otherwise be put to better use is consumed by the race issue.

They might well ask, as every sane earthling should, just what is there about the color of a fellow human's skin which creates such a problem and keeps our emotions in such a uproar.

The two races are interdependent, breathing the same air, eating the same food, speaking the same language, sharing the same opinions based on mutual ignorance, but still they devote a large part of their waking hours devising schemes of avoidance.

* * *

WHAT DOES THIS avail us, the Men from Mars might reasonably ask, imagining as I do that they are probably blue, green, purple or some other outlandish color we have never heard of.

This will be all the more confusing to our visitors when they discover, what we have, in our preoccupation, failed to notice that people can get along and overcome all sorts of intra-group conflicts based on physical differences but go into a complete tail spin the moment they learn or suspect that one of the other is of a different race.

* * *

COLORED PEOPLE, navigating within their own orbit, can be perfectly at ease with all shades ranging from midnight blue to dusty pink, passing through all the variations of beige, tan and brown and take them all in stride.

But the mere whispered intelligence, "He's white, you know" sets up a chain reaction which runs the gamut from open hostility to fawning obeisances.

* * *

THE UGLY hand of prejudice lays even heavier on the women to the point that perhaps shower you with patronizing gush to probe they are more endowed with brotherly love than Jehovah, Himself.

THEY CAN'T JUST BE neutral and accept you as another human being. They have got to make you something special, good or bad, when all you want is to be left alone.

OF THE TWO TYPES I am not sure which is the worst. The belligerant you can classify as ignorant and honest but the latter creates confusion. You are not sure whether he is a misguided liberal who will kiss you today and cut your throat tomorrow—under a different set of circumstances.

IN THE OLD DAYS this type used to give assurances that their love for colored folk goes all the way back to Ham and was especially concentrated on some old family retainer named Het or Uncle Mose whom they probably worked to death at starvation wages and robbed their offspring of their birthright with conivance of Uncle Mose, himself.

The current practice however is to pretend undying devotion to an able classmate who was loved like a brother. But if he made the fatal mistake of making goo goo eyes at his blonde sister the fraternal spirit ended.

Now this is the picture of America today with the two races intermeshed trying to live together and apart at the same time creating all sorts of emotional conflicts and confusions.

TRYING TO ESCAPE FROM the unescapable they butt their brains out in sheer madness ranging from Rock and Roll, television cowboy shows, liquor, dope and destroying each other in mad dashes up and down the highways in machines which are too powerful for their weak mentalities to control and preparations to defend ourselves against the men from Mars. These later will have one good look ot us, how nutty we are and fly home of their own accord believing they are lucky to get away in one piece.

the most miserable people in the world are the war brides, brough back by tan Yanks who could find no common ground between these two extremes.

I have yet to meet an interracial couple who were entirely rational and were not constantly on the lookout for an opportunity to make fools of themselves over imaginary slights.

* * *

THE OTHER DAY, for instance, I received a long distance call from the midwest in which the caller sought information. "I want to come to Washington" he said, "and wondered if I would run into any difficulty because my wife is white."

"What do you plan to do,' I asked, "carry her around with a placard on her back announcing her racial identity? There are thousands of colored women here as white as your wife could possibly be unless she is an albino. Bring her along and keep your mouth shut because nobody really cares but you.'

* * *

RACE IS IMPORTANT to colored Americans because they are always getting the dirty end of the stick in jobs, housing and other opportunities, but when all things are equal the thought of color never crosses their minds.

But with white folks it is different. They can mix and cavort together overcoming everything from language barriers to halitosis so long as they are reasonably sure the other party is a caucasian, matters not how low a breed of caucasian he stems from.

BUT JUST LET A so-called colored person loom across the horizon and they go into conniptions. Like their colored counterparts their innards start doing handsprings.

They feel they are compelled to prove something. They feel obliged to become either a complete jackass or a saint in shining armour. They either have to kick up a fuss, move their seats, demand their money back or have you thrown out on your ear or else they

THINKING OUT LOUD



Parallels between the revolt in Tibet and the American race problem

By RALPH MATTHEWS

PEOPLE WHO like to worry over international affairs shifted their gaze this week from Berlin to far off Tibet where the Chinese Communists have apparently made short shrift of a revolt staged by the half-Indian-half Chinese people across the Himalaya mountains.

While the average American could not distinguish a Tibetan Llama from a Hottentot, they felt very sorry for the fate of these people, not because they are actually fond of them, but because Americans feel sorry for anybody who picks a fight with the Reds and gets licked.

* * *

EVEN SOME Americans of color, who take on the attitudes of their masters, seemed very upset about the turn of events on the snowcapped plateaus although they expressed little concern over the actions of our British cousins who were busy kicking the daylights out of the natives of Nyasaland in darkest Africa, the excuse being that they had never really heard much about Nyasaland prior to the recent uprising which was probably true. If the Communists have done nothing else since they came to power they have at least contributed to the American knowledge of geography as their various excursions keep us constantly on the hop trying to save the world from coming under their influence either volitionally or by force of arms.

The fact that Tibet was as foreign to our thinking as Venus or Mars just a few weeks ago calls to mind that the same ignorance obtained over Korea until the Reds crossed the 38th paralell several years ago. So it appears that every time the Reds decided to move, Americans by necessity grow smarter, forced to the realization that there are some places in the world besides Boston, New York and Hollywood which is very hard for us to conceive.

THE THING about the Tibetan trouble which seems to have caused the most concern was the report that the Communists had rounded up 13,000 Monks and put them in jail.

Because the term Monk is usually associated with religion many envisioned gory spectacles like their local pastors fleeing down the street with their frocktail coats cutting the winds before the bayonet of the invading army. This sounded very bad indeed.

While I will admit that 13,000 are a whole lot of Monks one would have to spend some time in the Far East to get a true grasp of the situation.

In that section of the world the priesthood is not merely a calling to which few are called as in the West, but it is a way of life and a form of existence to which many turn not because of any burning urge to render means of sustenance without service to mankind, but as a work or only to save their own soul from eternal damnation. Preparing for death becomes a lifetime project.

* * *

WHEN the average A. read about 13,000 Mo. hinks of 13,000 dedicat who have devoted their live to the public good, but I visualize only 13,000 parasites who have managed to exist through the benefactions of others.

I first became interested in the Monk business in Tokyo when I noticed a large number of mendicants dressed in their brown or black habits with baskets over their heads prowling the streets of the business sector blowing their bamboo flutes and begging alms from the lowly pushcart merchants who themselves tried to eke out a bare existence along the Ginza.

These I learned were one of the hundreds of varieties of Buddhist monks, known as the Nihility Priests who live by begging their way through life preying upon the superstitions of others more industrious than themselves. Sometimes we cannot always tell whether the character whose features are hidden by the basket behind which only his eyes are seen is a genuine holy man or just your rich next door neighbor or the village drunk, but custom demands that you put something in the cup of a monk to ward off evil spirits or your business will not prosper.

NOW THE Nihility Monks, whose order spreads from Japan, throughout China, Mongolia, Tibet and India, numbering into the millions are just a bunch of bums who have figured out a way to live without working.

But remember they are just one sect of monks and there are probably a thousand other orders, each dedicated to the worship of one or more of the wide variety of gods which the fertile Oriental mind can brew up.

THERE ARE the Yamabushi or Mountain Monks who have retired to the hills issuing fourth only to hustle up food and coins when the spirit moves them.

There are the Takuhachiso or Mendicant Priests who stay away from the marts of trade but visit private homes like door to door salesmen.

Then there are the Nichiren Sect of Buddhism, often compared to our Salvation Army, who move about in small bands or gangs chanting songs for man's salvation. If you don't grease their palms they will stand in one place and chant the same words over all

day long until you are driven half crazy and pay them to leave.

In addition to the regular neighborhood monks there are those who are constantly on the prowl from one section of the country to the other en route to festivals, celebrations and pilgrimages which have no other purpose but saving their own souls.

Many others are shrine keepers. All one has to do to set up in the Monk business is to carve a statute or erect a shrine to some god and sit there and beg alms from passersby for the rest of his life.

UNDER THE Buddhist faith they have gods and goddesses to cover every human experience. For instance if a person happens to drown at a given spot along the river bank an enterprising Monk might erect a statue or shrine to Kappa, the River Boy and sit there begging protecting the population from drowning. He never strikes another lick of work during his natural life. Our equivalent to this is the people who establish store front churches calling them temples and tabernacles.

Therefore when our American journalists and statesmen write or shed crocodile tears over the fate of the poor Tibetan monks who are fighting Communism I know they are either ignorant or they are deliberately pulling our legs for propaganda purposes.

These people are not fighting for the rights to be good Democrats or Republicans nor trying to protect the b[illegible]ngs of free enterpr[illegible]se; they are simply fighting to continue a[illegible]in their alma mater. He way of life which has servedcharged this to the fact that them in good stead at the ex-the present generation looks [illegible] of their fellowmen. So ifaskance at anything which [illegible]ave been shedding any might smack of mundane sen-tea[illegible] over the poor oppressedtimentality.

mon[illegible] forget it. The Reds are simply rooting out a cancerous growth that has kept the people of Tibet enslaved for centuries jut like the worship of race superiority has enslaved the minds of the poor white people of the south here at home. Both must be destroyed so humanity can move forward to bigger things.

THINKING OUT LOUD

Morgan College alumni meeting brings forth ideas



By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

ATTENDING A meeting of the Morgan State College Alumni Association Sunday I gathered a number of impressions about education and integration, war and peace, alumni attitudes and the beatniks.

Some of the ideas came from President Martin Jenkins who impressed me greatly because, in addition to setting forth some profound thoughts, he also smoked cigarettes while he talked informally.

This gave me a lift because my friends have been warning me for the past 20-odd years to lay off of cigarettes or I will surely kick the bucket. I keep smoking.

Well, now in spite of the fact that Dr. Jenkins did not come to Morgan until long after I had been released from durance, I can point him out as my prexy, creating the impression that I picked up my bad habits from him.

* * *

DR. JENKINS pointed out that colleges generally were suffering from a lack of interest on the part of the alumni in their alma mater. He charged this to the fact that the present generation looks askance at anything which might smack of mundane sentimentality.

They brand the "old school tie" attitude as something self-depreciating and corny, believing that those who maintain such allegiances are mid-Victorian or at least reminiscent of the "Roaring '20's," and they refer to them as "Rah, Rah, Boys" with whom they do not wish to be identified.

What Dr. Jenkins probably overlooked is that this attitude is not confined only to colleges, but dominates the thinking of present day youth in all of their relationships.

They have no feelings of loyalty to their college nor anything else. To them ingratitude is a fetish and all the old virtues we once held dear are considered out of harmony with the times.

* * *

THIS IS easier to understand when we take a sane look at the business of education itself which has become ensnared in its own delusions of grandeur.

To most people a college is no longer a place to seek wisdom for wisdom's sake, but just a clearing plant where they can put the finishing touches on their children, sufficient to get them a better job and more dough in their envelope.

To these people all of the spiritual values of college life are completely lost.

To others a college is a place where people go not to acquire knowledge, but merely to lift themselves a notch or two higher on the social scale, substituting a college degree for lack of family background, believing that a fraternity or sorority pin is the same as a coat-of-arms.

* * *

WITH THEIR heads crammed with things for which they will have no earthly use, many strike out in life to make their marks like sheep turned out to pasture and never look back.

This is probably due to the fact that people fail to realize that formal education is just the mechanics by which the ordinary man attempts to gain equality with the extraordinary man.

The gifted, the talented and the artistically and economically endowed begin life with a head start by having the same things engraved on their birth certificates that the crumbums try to get on their sheepskins.

THE LATTER group is constantly irked because the others fail to pay it the deference which it feels its scholastic attainments deserve. But instead of being awed by a string of degrees, the self-made mass view them only with contempt taking these appendages as an indication of how far the academicans had to go to catch up. They believe that the more degrees a man obtained to win success, the dumber he must have been. Instead of appreciating his wisdom, they assume that he is only able to express his congenital ignorance in finer language.

The breach between the groups is widened by the fact that the unschooled are also called upon to supply the cash to maintain the institutions and the jobs for the educated. It becomes a vicious cycle.

The graduates, puffed with false pride, are afraid that if they go back to the campus, the parents who slaved to put them through might go along and split a verb leaving them in mortal shame.

To avoid this horrible fate they just get lost.

THIS BRINGS us back to the question of loyalty. Just what are the beatnik loyal to, if anything? To principles? No—principles are too easily compromised when they conflict with expediency.

To faith or creed? Of course not. These are but the shackles of the mind by which one is restrained from doing the crummy and contemptible things which greed and ambition demand. So they will have none of it.

To family or friends? Certainly not. These are but emotional impedimentia which should be used only as stepping stones and cast aside when their usefulness is ended.

To traditions and heritage? Don't be foolish. All of our struggles, tribulations, and strength nurtured by our previous condition of servitude are to be suppressed and forgotten in the erroneous belief that history can be blotted out simply by making it an unmentionable, and hush, hush.

And so they go drifting rudderless, without chart or compass, heading for no known port of call and with no harbor at their backs to which they can return in case of storm.

* * *

THESE reflections made it all the more easy for me to appreciate the observation which came not from President Jenkins, but from one of the auditors in an offside remark.

A young woman confided that her husband seemed restless and maladjusted since he came home from the wars. In the army he wore a snappy uniform, gave orders and was a big shot, she said, but in his peace time job he is just another Joe. There are thousands in America just like him. That is why the drift toward war will go unchecked as we are pulled by the frustrations of the beat generation toward chaos and destruction.

I recalled a bitter night in Korea when I discovered the magic lure of war. Our caravan rumbled slowly through the snow, the blackened sky lighted intermittingly by the flare of the enemy's guns, as we crept around the mountainside, closer toward the main line of resistance. It was bitter cold and we all cussed friends and foes alike for being there and then in a flash I asked myself reprovingly just what I was griping about.

Here we were just a bunch of nobodies with dogtags around our necks far removed from the dismal and depressing irritations of modern living. There were no clocks to punch, no bosses to satisfy, no baths to take, no clothes to keep pressed, no bills to pay, no landlords, no social status to maintain, no television or radio commercials to listen to —no nothing.

Just the black sky above, the shell-potted earth below and probably death waiting around any corner. Here was perfect freedom. Here was escape from monotony. Here was the glorious and blessed peace which only war can give. For that fleeting moment, I was a beatnik and I felt good all over.

As I See It



By WILLIAM J. MAHONEY JR.

"God made a new soun' barry and somebody b'oke it ag'in," exclaimed my 4-year-old grandson after a sonic boom.

One can picture a careless wanderer in the skies, bumping into the brittle fence between heaven and earth. It was naive. Everybody laughed.

And none thought of the fact that it isn't only children who got their soun' barrys b'oke. We go blundering around the universe, blithely helping destroy the whole civilized structure that first brought us pride in our own importance. We not only get them b'oke—we help break them.

We believe in a competitive, capitalistic system, and then we get lured by panic and personal greed into a pattern of socialistic schemes that has already destroyed capitalism in everything but name.

By Minority Rule

We believe in a democratic way of life — a "government of the people, by the people, for the people"—and find ourselves committed to a government of minorities, a curious interbreeding of Communism and Fascism, of Stalinism and Hitlerism.

We have become the simple-minded tools of the sinister and the shallow, of those on the one hand who would bludgeon us into oblivion and those on the other who would stick a stilleto into us for the fun of seeing us jump, thereby further inflating their own ego.

A case in point is the Citizens Council.

Any simpleton knows the reason it came into existence. Segregation, the backbone of bi-racial existence in any area where the alternatives are racial purity and mongrelization, was threatened by a powerful linking of outside influences. The vast majority of Southerners opposed "desegregation."

Our Only Hope

Any simpleton knows that it takes organization successfully to face organization. No mob ever defeated a trained army. The South must have organization or fail in its effort to preserve its way of life.

Any simpleton should know that the easiest way to destroy opposition is from within. The very first announcement of the Citizens Council movement brought noisy criticism from inside the South, even from some who still posed as "segregationists in principle," whatever that means.

They called it a "Ku Klux" group under another name. The implication, of course, was that it was the anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro organization of the '20s rather than the South-preserving order of post-Civil War days led by Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest. They called it "Ku Klux" despite the fact that it numbered Jews on its rolls and, I presume, Catholics—just as did Forrest's Klan. I knew there were Catholics in Forrest's Klan. My grandfather was both.

None Free Of 'Sin'

None of us is without error. And doubtless Hitler's "fifth columnists" used the fact with telling effect. There are always fifth-columnists around to point out the errors of that which they'd destroy.

An English proverb current half a millennium ago said: "God save me from my friends; I can take care of my enemies."

Last Monday I talked with a gentleman who was indignant about a telephone call he'd had. Feminine supporters of both candidates for mayor had called him to urge his support. But one was so ill-advised as to try to pledge his vote. She must have been irritatingly insistent. So she killed that vote for the candidate she was supporting.

In the same race, one Citizens Council group took sides, and their position was promptly challenged by a member of the Citizens Council.

So Where Are We?

Which proves what? That organization in the South is wrong—and we should return to a state of confusion and division? That integration is the law of the land—and we should abandon our fight for segregation? That the Citizens Council is another of our mistakes that should be liquidated?

Personally, I feel that it is an indictment of me—and of every other Southerner who honestly believes in segregation. If the Citizens Council has made mistakes and I have stayed outside, then they are as much my mistakes of omission as they are the CC members' mistakes of commission.

That is why there is a membership check in the mails this week-end, addressed to the Citizens Council—several years late.

As I See It



By WILLIAM J. MAHONEY JR.

It's 'Desegregation'

Collectively, no one gets mad any more. We down here were supposed to be over our tantrum over "integration" — if you look up "Segregation" in the World Almanac index you will be referred to "Desegregation" — before Pennsylvania got miffed over the Supreme Court's Red passion.

And even down here, there was no unity in our fury.

When the Cradle of the Confederacy was experiencing a "bus boycott," certain Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas columnists were looking us over coolly, like some curious creatures in a novel experiment. While certain mulatto leaders strutted the streets of our city, boasting and threatening, a white rabble rouser in Tennessee was being hustled off to prison for doing the same.

When an airborne division that had distinguished itself against a Nazi enemy invaded Little Rock, there was a smattering of shocked indignation. But some of our Southern "spokesmen" fed us tranquilizers. Nobody gets mad.

Perhaps we should rephrase the proverb: — "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make dull and complacent."

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

A Mild Demonstration

ON THE evening of July 13, Governor Vandiver of Georgia invited to his mansion 17 top Georgia segregation lawyers to work out a strategy for dealing with a Federal Court order requiring the Atlanta Board of Education to present a plan by Dec. 1 for desegregating the Atlanta public schools.



Dr. Mays

On Sunday night, the radio flashed the news that a member of an Atlanta citizens committee had telephoned the Georgia head of the Ku Klux Klan that at Monday noon, July 13, between 30,000 and 40,000 segregationists would gather at the capital to protest any move to desegregate the schools. Another radio broadcast announced that it was rumored that between 40,000 and 100,000 people would converge on the capital from all over Georgia. The Governor discouraged the idea and said there was no need of such demonstration. Whatever the reason, the demonstrators, according to the radio and the press, numbered from 100 to 150 who gathered at the mansion.

■

IT WAS A rather quiet, orderly, hymn-singing group. It was a pro-segregation crowd through and through. They carried placards reading thus: "Segregation was planned long before Supreme Court Justices were born"; "Don't push Our Children out the back door and let the Communists in the front door."

According to the Atlanta Constitution, a minister named B. S. Cole, of the United Pentecostal Church of Griffin, Ga., climbed up on a car and said that somebody had suggested the singing of a "good Christian song." So the minister announced the hymn "Amazing Grace." Ironically enough, the song says: "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound that saved a wretch like me." At the end of this hymn, someone yelled for "Dixie." The Rev. Mr. Cole is reputed to have said he didn't know the words to "Dixie" and started singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers." After this, a few voices sang "Dixie." They yelled for the Governor, but it was doubtful if Governor Vandiver and his lawyers heard them.

■

THE CONSTITUTION article states that reams of various types of religious literature were circulated. A Mrs. Martha Andrews, a graduate of Duke University, is reported to have passed out a list containing 30 Biblical quotations which are supposed to support racial segregation. She said she had no hatred toward anyone. If Mrs. Andrews were better informed, she would not use the Bible in support of segregation or discrimination based on race.

A demonstration that was rumored to bring to the capital from 30,000 to 100,000 people brought 150. This does not mean that the segregation forces in Georgia are weakening. This is hardly the case. But the small number and the attitude of the group are good signs. Only time will determine what the Georgia Legislature will do in January, 1960.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

THE VICE PRESIDENT, from all reports, did an excellent job in Russia and Poland. He was frank and honest in his talks to the Russian and Polish people. He was certainly positive with Khrushchev. I thought the Vice President was brilliant when he replied to Khrushchev's boast when he said our grandchildren in America will live under communism. Nixon retorted that he didn't object to Khrushchev saying that, but he would object if Khrushchev tried to bring it about. That was a fine comeback.



Dr. Mays

The Vice President's visit and the proposed exchange between Eisenhower and Khrushchev seem to indicate that our foreign policy has shifted since the death of Secretary Dulles. I doubt if the exchange of visits would have taken place if Dulles had lived. Secretary Dulles dominated our foreign policy more than Secretary Herter will. It will be shared more with the White House now. Under Dulles, there seemed to have been the impression that the people behind the Iron Curtain would rise up against their Communist bosses — a view which I never shared. Nixon seems to be laboring under no such false impression. Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution, who was in Russia at time of Nixon's visit, says frankly that the Russian people seem to be satisfied with their form of government.

THAT SOUNDS logical. It is naive if anybody thinks that Americans are going to revolt against our government. The Communists have known no other government, so there will hardly be a revolution.

We can only hope that the exchange of visits between Eisenhower and Khrushchev will ease world tension, increase understanding between the two countries and pave the way for a permanent peace with justice. If Khrushchev and the Communist leaders would give up their ambition to spread communism all over the earth, we would be on our way toward peace. If the exchange visits will contribute something at this point, the visits will be worthwhile. The chances seem to be slim that communism will be overcome by revolution in Russia. Certainly nobody expects a revolution among Western democracies.

If we remain strong in every way, do our bit to relieve hunger, disease and illiteracy in Asia, South America and Africa and implement democracy here in the United States, we will stop the spread of communism in the world, and the democratic flower will take deeper roots here and will be planted in Asia and Africa.

BUT WE MUST never forget the fact that hunger and disease go a long way toward making people Communists. A starving man is far more concerned about bread than he is about freedom. It is for this reason that we must help to make India strong, economically, educationally and from the standpoint of health. To make India strong and friendly toward the West and assist economically other non-Communist countries in Asia and Africa is definitely our task.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Golden Anniversary —A Challenge

IT WAS a great celebration. The founders would have been and were pleased at what has taken place since the NAACP was organized in 1909. The organization is stronger now than ever before, thanks to the Southern States that have tried and are trying to kill it. Efforts to kill good causes usually fail. Those who are attempting to destroy the organization or discredit it by charging it with subversion are either downright evil or woefully ignorant of the motives and activities of the association or both. Some day it will be an accepted fact that the NAACP has rendered a great service to America by almost forcing it to face the necessity of implementing the American dream.



Dr. Mays

BUT IF anyone thinks that the work of the NAACP is almost finished, he is indeed naive. Shortly after the court victories in Oklahoma and Texas, a leading Negro spokesman was quoted as saying that the segregation battle was won and that Negroes could now turn to more important matters. Some thought that after May 17, 1954, it was all over but the shouting. Although great progress has been made since 1954, new evils of evasion have arisen. For years to come, it will be necessary for the NAACP or some organization like it, to keep up the fight for equal justice without regard to race. The NAACP may aim to work itself out of existence, but the time is not yet.

There will be a job for it to do in the North as well as the South because the North is by no means righteousness on this question of equality. And here in the South, the officials, for some time after resistance ceases, will seek minimum and token compliance with the court's decision on desegregation.

Segregation in the South, almost, is what it was 50 years ago.

■

AS I SEE IT, this means two things. We must support, as never before, the NAACP and organizations like it. It will take millions of dollars before this battle is won. Every Negro should contribute to the work of the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference andsimilar organizations. If Negroes, themselves, cease to support programs designed for their own emancipation, it will only be a matter of time when we will lose the gains already made. There is hardly any historical precedent where the trong group has out of the goodness of its heart shared equality of opportunity with the suppressed. Opportunities must be fought for.

But this alone is not sufficient. Negroes must strive to become competent to take advantage of the opportunities won. At this point the Urban League comes in. As the NAACP wins the battles on the legal front, the Urban League must continue its work to get Negroes to be prepared to measure up in a highly competitive society.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

It Wasn't So

THE FUTURE is so unpredictable and so unknowable that most predictions about the future are likely to be wrong. We are probably right when we predict that as long as mankind exists men and women will like each other, babies will be born and people will die. And we might add that if we live in the United States, we will pay taxes. Birth, marriage, death and taxes are pretty sure predictions.



Dr. Mays

Many years ago when most everybody believed that segregation on the railroad was law and gospel and the prediction was that it would last forever, many Negroes justified segregation on the ground that Negroes were dirty, loud and uncouth. And by the way, lest we forget, the Supreme Court decision of 1896 establishing the doctrine of separate but equal in the case of Ferguson v. Plessy, was a transportation case. The United States Supreme Court has never said that separate but equal in education was unconstitutional.

■

LET US get gack to the theme that Negroes are dirty, loud, uncouth and therefore unfit to ride unsegregated with white people. I have heard supposedly intelligent Negroes argue this way. I have heard educated Negro women complain about dirty men coming from work sitting with them—oddly enough dirty white men rode the street cars too. A man doing the laboring work of the world doesn't go to work in a white collar—Negro nor white.

Year ago, I used to argue in behalf of this common laborer riding the street cars and in behalf of this "loud, uncouth" Negro riding copped up like sardines in a segregated coach on the train. I defended the proposition that if Negroes were loud and uncouth on the train, it was due in part to the fact that they were segregated and treated as inferiors. Segregate people, treat them as inferiors and they will behave like inferior people. Those who argued that they were too "loud and uncouth" were mistaken. They were simply echoing the argument that many white people used to justify segregating Negroes on the railroad.

IN INTERSTATE travel segregation is a thing of the past. I ride all over the South and I see Negroes and white people riding unsegregated in the same coaches and eating unsegregated in the same dining room. The Negroes behave just as intelligently as the white people and look just as clean. Many of these are the same Negroes of whom it was said a few years ago were not ready for integrated travel. They have not miraculously over night become intelligent. They are moving in a net setting and in a new environment. The Negro coach was often dirty because the Negro porter was kept busy keeping the white coaches clean. Nobody cared about the Negro coach. Now there is integrated travel and all coaches are kept clean and Negroes behave like everybody else. We prepare for integration by integrating.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Negroes in the National League

IT IS an encouraging sight to see the way Negroes have been given a chance to show their metal in the National League. Negro players do not stand out as well in the American League and one reason is, there are probably more Negro players in the National League than there are in the American League.



Dr. Mays

This is the way Negroes stand in batting in the National League. When the final count was taken after all teams had played their 154 games, Aaron of Milwaukee led the National League with a batting average of .355; Pinson of Cincinnati stands 4th in the National League with a batting average of .316; Mays of San Francisco stands 5th in the National League, with a batting average of .304. In other words, among the leading batters in the National League, five out of ten are Negroes. This is half of the outstanding batters in that league.

■

IN RUNS batted in, Banks of Chicago leads with 143; Robinson of Cincinnati is second, with 125, and Aaron of Milwaukee is third, with 123 runs batted in. Among the five leading batters in runs batted in, the first three are Negroes. When it comes to home runs, five National Leaguers are listed, and among the five, four are Negroes. Mathews of Milwaukee leads with 46 home runs. Following him are four Negro players in succession: Banks of Chicago, 45; Aaron of Milwaukee, 39; Robinson of Cincinnati, 36; Mays of San Francisco, 34. This is indeed spectacular, and it has racial significance.

I am quite sure that Negroes in tbig league baseball are making a much better contribution to race relations than we are able to realize. It is also to be noted that in the World Series played consistently throughout the Series—Gilliam, Neal, Roseboro and Wills. Most of the time, four out of the nine players on the Dodgers' team were Negroes. Manager Al Lopez of the Chicago White Sox sums it all up when he is quoted as saying that the relief pitcher, Sherry, and Charlie Neal made the difference. Sherry's pitching and Neal's 10 hits, more than any player in the Series, including two home rdns, made Neal outstanding in the World Series. It was Neal who won the second game of the Series.

■

I AM inclined to believe that if Negroes had the opportunity and applied themselves in other areas as a baseball player in the big league must apply himself, I believe we would do in other areas what we have done and do in baseball. I would like to see what will happen in education, science and medicine when the color bar against Negroes is completely broken. Negroes have done well in these areas despite the color bar, but even greater heights are expected to be obtained with its removal.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

What Does It Mean?

THE ATLANTA Journal, Oct. 14, carried the headline, "Almond Gets Governor Job, Faubus Snubbed in the Election, but Arkansas Wins on 1960 Site."

Gov. Lindsey Almond, recently, was elected chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference, in Asheville, N. C. The election was considered, by some, to be a snub to Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas. The article by Charles Poe in the Atlanta Journal states that the Arkansas governor should have been in line for the chairmanship because of seniority. If this is true, why wasn't he made the chairman? Faubus is the same man who was the hero at the Governors' Conference two years ago when it met at Jeykll Island, here in Georgia. When he came through Atlanta two years ago, en route to the Governors Conference, and stopped off at a football game, he was the man of the hour. He received prolonged applause and the press was on his heels all of the time. He was the most conspicuous figure at the conference. At the conference in North Carolina, he was seldom noticed.



Dr. Mays

GOV. LINDSEY ALMOND of Virginia put on a massive resistance program to circumvent the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in the state of Virginia. When he saw that he could not win the battle, he did a dignified retreat. Could it be that the people respect Almond for accepting defeat, gracefully, when he saw he could not get away with defying a Federal Court decree? Almond "crawled" down gracefully. On the other hand, Governor Faubus called out the National Guard to stop integration at Central High School in Little Rock, and made it necessary for the President of the United States to send in Federal troops to see to it that the Court's orders were obeyed in Little Rock. The South applauded Governor Faubus, certainly much of the South did. One of the Atlanta papers, apparently, stood by him to the end, and by many Southern states, he was held up as a great hero. Two years later, the governor's star has waned, considerably, and the Southern governors refused to elect him chairman of the Governors Conference.

IT COULD MEAN that the South was putting up a front all the time, and the governors knew that Mr. Faubus was wrong in percipitating the row between the state of Arkansas and the Federal Government. Probably, they knew that ultimately, he would lose. It can mean only one thing, for whatever reason, the Southern governors did not want Mr. Faubus to be chairman of the Southern Governors Conference. It must mean, also, that he is not held in as high esteem as he thought, and that Almond, who took a more respectable stand on the question of integration, stands much higher in the thinking of the governors than does Mr. Faubus who was in the limelight so much two years ago. Only time can determine the reality of a given situation.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Former Governor of Minnesota

QUITE a few years ago, when I was in Minneapolis, Harold Stassen was quite a figure on the national scene. It looked as if he was going places in the Republican party. As I spoke most favorably of Mr. Stassen, My Negro friends were not warm in their praise of him. They insisted that he was not right on the race question. They accused him of being an opportunist. I was shocked at this because young Stassen had made a great impression on me.



Dr. Mays

He has not done too well in politics since leaving Minnesota. He became President of the University of Pennsylvania and later served in the Eisenhower Administration. He was the man who did his best to block the nomination of Vice President Nixon at the last Republican Convention. Now Mr. Stassen has run for Mayor of Philadelphia. I do not know how much credence to take in a brief newspaper article which appeared in the Atlanta Journal, dated in Philadelphia, Oct. 29, which points out that Mr. Stassen says that if he is elected Mayor of Philadelphia he will stop any alleged migration of Negroes to the City of Philadelphia from the South.

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HE WAS taking issue with the Democratic Mayor Richard Dilworth, who is reported to have said, "the only relief for Southern poverty is Northern migration." The Associated Press article quotes Mr. Stassen as saying in a debate with Dilworth: "The politics springing from this concept (the concept expressed by Dilworth) during the past years have already caused serious damage to all the people of our great city and if continued for the next four years will lead to tragic results for all the people of both races in Philadelphia and adjacent counties."

Mr. Stassen is quoted to have pointed out that he would end the migration into Philadelphia and then lift living standards. Dilworth accused Stassen of planning to make politics out of the situation by setting one race against the other.

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I DO NOT know how Mr. Stassen would end the migration of Negroes to Philadelphia. If he attempts to end the migration of Negroes to Philadelphia and doesn't at the same time attempt to end the migration of whites to Philadelphia, he would show a bias based on race. Free movement is one of the privileges and one of the rights in a democratic society. I don't believe the former governor and the former aide to President Eisenhower would get very far.

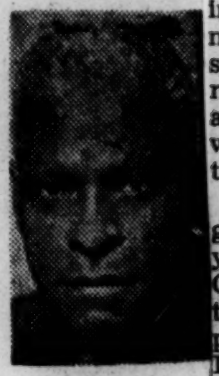
There may be no connection at all, but when I read this statement, I had to connect it with what my friends said about Stassen when I was in Minneapolis several years ago. I guess Mr. Stassen is capable of playing an unpredictable role and even an unpopular role as was the case in his campaign against the renomination of Vice President Nixon.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

If Colored, It Makes a Difference

I MADE a trip around the world in 1937. Dean Thompson of the Journal of Negro Education of Howard University, asked me to keep my eyes open and do an article on my return on the subject, "The Color Line Around the World." At the end of the journey I came to the conclusion that there was a color bar in some form everywhere I went in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. But, one of the most spectacular examples of the fact that, "if colored, it makes a difference," is to be found today in Germany.



Dr. Mays

One of the evils of war is the number of illegitimate babies that soldiers leave in the country where they are stationed. Illegitimacy is one of the tragedies that result from war. It is estimated that there are 100,000 children of white and Negro G. I.'s in Germany. Whether it is 100,000, 50,000, or 25,000, the fact is that these children are discriminated against because they are colored. Nobody knows how many illegitimate white babies there are in Germany. Since there were so many more white soldiers than Negro soldiers the number must be high. If there are 100,000 off-springs of Negro G. I.'s there may be many times that many of white G. I.s.

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BUT, THE offspring of white G. I.s without marriage hardly present a problem in Germany. They are lost in the crowd. There are no marked physical differences. And for this reason they will be adopted more easily or the mother will keep them, or the parents of the mother will keep them.

I have just received a letter from an acquaintance in Germany requesting me to make a contribution towards the support of colored children in Germany. On April 27, 1959, the New York Times carried an article about these colored children in Germany. The article pointed out how Alston Hoosman, a Negro from the United States, was taking leadership in Germany in an effort to do something for these colored and parentless children. It seems that this man is doing an outstanding work and is getting the respect and some cooperation from some of the officials in Germany. I get the impression that these kids are mostly in orphan homes and it stands to reason that they cannot stay there forever, for at a certain age they must go to work and make their living in the German society.

This shows how deeply engrained race prejudice is. And yet, if one should travel around Germany, he could easily get the impression that there is no prejudice there based on race. I have visited Germany on two occasions and I found the people hospitable and warm. And yet, the real test is how a country treats a citizen whose skin is dark. The German government should be concerned about these colored children, for Germany is their home.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Looks Like a New Day

WHEN Woodrow Wilson went to Europe at the end of World War I, practically everybody in the United States criticized him. The press was hostile. The President of the United States was not supposed to leave the American shores. It is the same old story—what is ridiculous in one age becomes commonplace and conservative in another. Roosevelt left the country, Truman left the country while in the White House, and Eisenhower has been out of the country. Nobody criticizes and nobody expects the President to remain in the White House if a trip to a foreign shore becomes necessary.



Dr. Mays

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I THINK this is good. The leaders of state are beginning to talk more and travel more. For a long time the big powers used to display their military might by sending naval contingents around the world showing their flag, intending to put fear in the hearts of small nations and saying to the big ones—I dare you. In addition to that, we are now emphasizing friendship and cooperation by sending our top officials to visit foreign lands. The goodwill tours that Mr. Eisenhower is planning to make and the exchange of visits between Eisenhower and Khrushchev may do more to ease the tensions of the world and bring about peace than all the armies and navies and nuclear weapons of war than we have built. The same tendency to visit other nations is prevalent in Britain and other leading powers.

THE PRESS has just announced that President Eisenhower will leave on Dec. 4 by jet plane on a visit to Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan India, Iran, Greece, France and Morocco. Then next spring he is to visit Russia. The President will travel 20,000 miles, and while away will have a visit with Pope John XXIII. Pakistan and India have been feuding. Since the President will visit both countries, his visit may help to ease the tension between these two countries. It will do more than anything I know to create goodwill for us in the minds of the Indian people; many of whom argued when I was in India in 1952 that America usually backs the wrong horse. They had in mind our support of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. It may be considered a return visit because Nehru visited us some years ago.

IT MIGHT be helpful to the world and to India in the strained relationship that has existed between India and China over Tibet. It is a good time to visit India, because India perhaps knows by now that China is not so peaceful and that Communist China is an aggressive nation.

All this may be speculation, but peace is far more likely to develope through friendly visits than it is through mad armanent races where each nation flaunts its power before the other. More power to the President as he attempts to further the cause of peace through friendly contact with foreign nations.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa

Kasper and Faubus

JOHN KASPER has lost his battle to stay out of jail for inciting to riot in connection with desegregation in the public schools. The high court ruled that he must serve his six months and pay his fine. Kasper should be thankful that he received such a light sentence. I do not believe six months and a $500 fine will deter Kasper. The man's mind may be in bad shape and maybe he should be in a mental hospital. At any rate, he is a lucky boy to get out so lightly . . . And yet, on the other hand, if you are the governor of a state, you can stay out of jail even when everybody knows that the person should be in jail. Everybody knows that Governor Faubus of Arkansas called out the National Guard not to assist the Negroes in their right to attend Central High School, but he put them there to interfere with a Federal order to integrate the school. If the Federal Government had dealt justly with Mr. Faubus, he would have landed in jail. The Federal Government would not have dealt thusly with a man in a lesser position.



Dr. Mays

9-13-59

AND YET, it is difficult to see that during the whole time the people in Little Rock were cutting up, nobody served time for what they did. I cannot help but feel that if Negroes were rioting because white students were entering a Negro school, the Negroes would have been dealt with in a drastic manner. It is also clear that the officials of Central High School condoned the attitude of the unruly students because, as I recall, no white student was permanently expelled. But a Negro girl was permanently expelled.

I think it must be said that although many people in high places know that Federal orders must be obeyed, they are in great sympathy with the people who are opposing integration and for that reason they go easy on the recalcitrant.

Desegregation would have gone much better and faster if a firmer hand had been taken against those who defied Federal orders or interfered with their execution.

■

IF MR. FAUBUS had been more firmly dealt with, and if the President of the United States had taken a more positive leadership in the program of desegregation, it would have been better for the country and for the world.

It takes a long time to perfect social change permanently because the people in high places have no great desire to see that these changes are made. There is no earthly reason why it should take decades upon decades for a Supreme Court decision to be implemented. And it would not take that long if Negroes were not at the bottom of the ladder economically, politically and educationally. Great social gains are not made out of the goodness of men's hearts, despite our eloquent preaching; there must be coercion somewhere to get people to do right in mass.

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Southern Temper

"THE SOUTHERN Temper" by William Peters, published by Doubleday and Co., Inc., is the most adequate expression of the Southern situation since the United States Supreme Court declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional on May 17, 1954. The book is objectively written, penetrating and disturbing. The author says what needs to be said and says it without bitterness or malice.



Dr. Mays

If the segregationist wants to see himself as he really is, with his aims and motives clearly revealed, he should read "The Southern Temper." The segregationist may not know why he fears desegregation but if he can read this book with his mind and not with his prejudice and emotions, he will know why he is insane on the race question.

■

PETERS DOES NOT commit the error of so many sociologists and economists by trying to explain the race question on the basis of economics. He makes it plain that the racial problem in the United States has a sexual origin. Adding to his own penetrating insights the support of writers like Lillian Smith, John Dollars and a Southern psychiatrist, he sees the guilt complex of the Southern white man at the bottom of much of his racial behavior.

Being both religious and puritanical, the Southern white man's extra-marital sex relations with Negro women in years past and even now is sufficient to give him the guilt complex. But when he knows that, in addition, he has for the most part been the aggressor and that in his own mind the Negro woman is inferior or less than human, he has a treble dose of guilt. The men who are the most guilty on this score are the most rabid segregationists.

THE SOUTHERN white man lives in constant fear of retaliation on the part of the Negro male and fears that the white woman may some day have her eyes open and resist being neglected by her male and become free. The author points out that this is less true today than it was a few decades ago, yet it is recent enough to aggravate the present situation.

The author blames, and rightly so, a lack of leadership on the part of the executive branch of the Government for much of the resistance to integration which we find in the South. He points out more extensively than any other author I have read, the gross discrimination in employment in virtually every branch of the Federal Government operating in the South. He makes it clear that as long as the Federal Government condones discrimination in its agencies, it can hardly enforce non-discrimination in Government contracts.

"The Southern Temper" deserves to be widely read, and no one can read it without being benefited, even the rankest segregationist. It is so well documented and so dispassionately written that few can condemn it or take issue with what the author says.

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Raising the I. Q.

BENJAMIN FINE wrote an article recently entitled "You Can Increase Your Child's I.Q.," known as the intelligence quotient. For quite a long time, the I.Q. was believed to be static and once it was announced that a child had a low I.Q., he was doomed. The intelligence quotient is the result of performance on a test geared to the average child. An I. Q. of 100 is considered about normal. Those who fall below 100 have difficulty doing acceptable college work.

9-12-54



Dr. Mays

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STATIC INTELLIGENCE is now being challenged by Dr. Arthur W. Combs of the University of Florida and other psychologists. His report is published by the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association. It has been discovered that the longer a child goes to school the higher his I.Q. becomes when compared with the I.Q. of youngsters his own age who dropped out of school. It is reported by Dr. Fine that Dr. Robert Felix, director of the National Institute for Mental Health, has seen dramatic changes in I.Q.s. He reports shifts as much as 50 points. He says, "It is not unusual to find increases from 10 to 20 points." This is good news and lends encouragement to all children, but particularly to Negro children.

The tragedy in the education of Negro children is the fact that the vast majority of Negro children come from homes where there is little to stimulate them educationally. The economic level is low. Most of the parents have had little training. Few worthwhile books and magazines are found in the average Negro home. High schools do not encourage independent reading of its students. Even in Negro homes where college graduates reside there is not much reading in the average home. Discussion of worthwhile topics in the presence of children is all too rare.

AND YET, these are some of the things that must be done if the I.Q. is to be raised. Psychologists interviewed by Mr. Fine suggest that the following things must be done if the I.Q. is to be raised: The best possible home environment, where love, affection and a sense of being wanted prevail; surround the child with good books, newspapers, magazines; take the child to the museums, parks, good movies and operas, and see to it that the child has a good teacher.

These are good suggestions, and since Negroes generally are far behind educationally due to poor schools and lower economic status, these suggestions should be heeded by Negro parents. The zeal for knowledge and the passion to learn must be instilled early in the child. If this is not done early, study and reading will be a burden to the individual throughout his lifetime. The need to develop a love for knowledge places a great responsibility upon Negro teachers. For decades to come, the conscientious Negro teacher must do double duty.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa

The Khrushchev Visit

EVERYBODY is wondering if Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States and Mr. Eisenhower's visit to Russia will ease the cold war and lead us toward permanent peace for the world. Nobody knows the answer to this question. The guess of the fifth grade man is as good as the guess of a doctor of philosophy. The guess of a high school auto mechanic would be about as good as the nuclear physicist. It is all in the realm of guessing and speculating.



Dr. Mays

Certainly the exchange of visits is good and the cultural and political exchange between the United States and Russia should do no harm. It is better to fraternize and communicate than not to fraternize and communicate. The sober and disturbing fact is that we do not wish to change our opinion about Khrushchev, his intentions and the intentions of the Communist world.

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IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR that Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues have no intention, will or desire to change their attitude toward communism and toward the capitalist world. Here, it seems to me, is the deadlock. Mr. Khrushchev continues to make his boasts that communism will swallow up capitalism and that we in this country will eventually live

under a Communist regime. This is a sigificant boast because I do not believe that any of our top officials have ever said that Russia will live under a capitalist regime.

This could be a crucial distinction. Do we have the same kind of faith in democracy as Khrushchev has in communism? I do not believe that the man is merely boasting. I think there is no doubt in his mind that communism will some day cover the earth as the water covers the mighty deep. If he believes that, that is a tremendous motivating force. If one believes something with all his heart, soul and mind, he has tremendous drive.

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THE MERE EXCHANGE of visits will not ease the cold war, nor will it lead to permanent peace. World peace or world war can hang on such tender threads. If anything of a serious nature should happen to Mr. Khrushchev here or to Mr. Eisenhower in Russia, that could touch off world war. It has happened in history more than once. Even a cold reception or what one might interpret to be an insult could add to the fury and could be an element in the equation for peace or war.

I am a little disturbed. It seems that Mr. Nixon was far more warmly received in Russia than Mr. Khrushchev has been received in this country. I hope the American people will behave so well that the Russian Premier will get the impression that he has been most cordially received. The reception we give leaders of nations may aid or hinder our efforts to create a warless world. If the conviction that a nuclear war is capable of destroying the human race does not bring us to our senses, nothing else will.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

The Government Should Lead the Way

THE GOVERNMENT has done a marvelous job in desegregating the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine and the Coast Guard. But the Government has not done a good job when it comes to the employment of Negroes in Federal agencies in the South. This fact is dramatized and documented in William Peters' book, "The Southern Temper."



Dr. Mays

In "The Southern Temper," Mr. Peters points out that in Atlanta, Ga., alone there are 33 Federal agencies where no Negroes are permanently employed above the janitorial and labor services level. The space allotted to me in this column will not permit me to name these 33 Federal establishments. We might point out a few of them: the Social Security Administration, the Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, the Department of Labor (the Sixth Division). These are only a few.

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IT IS ONLY in the Post Office Department that Negroes are employed in large numbers in Government agencies in the South above the janitorial and labor services level. He points out that in the post office in Atlanta there are Negro mail carriers, clerks, truck drivers, mail handlers; two Negro substation attendants in segregated substations and two Negro supervisors of segregated departments.

Whereas, there are 33 Federal establishments in Atlanta with no Negroes permanently employed above the janitorial and labor services level, there are only six Federal agencies with Negro employed above that level. Peters points out that there is one Negro clerical employe at Fort McPherson, two Negro technicians and two or three Negro biologic aides in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare at the Communicable Disease Center. There is a Negro race relations adviser and one Negro secretary in the Federal Public Housing Administration.

■

THIS SAYS a great deal. If the Federal Government cannot move ahead in these areas, what can we expect of private industry in the Southern area who refuse to employ Negroes above menial jobs. I am convinced that it would have a tremendous effect if the Federal Government would take a firm stand and set up a program whereby Negroes would become integrated in all Federal establishments across this country. It would strengthen the Government's hand when it tries to enforce no discrimination by private industry when it has a job to do for the Government under contract.

It is disheartening and disconcerting to go through a Federal establishment and see hundreds, yea, thousands of white persons of all nationalities working and not one Negro face working a job beyond the janitorial or labor services level.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Khrushchev Proposal

MOST people with whom I have talked seem to think that Mr. Khrushchev is not sincere in his proposal for total disarmament to the United Nations Assembly. They see him as playing to the grandstand by impressing upon the minds of Asia and Africa that he and the Soviet people are anxious for peace and are willing to go all the way to achieve it. Mr. Khrushchev goes further to say that if there cannot be total disarmament in four years, we should go on a program of limited disarmament. Nobody can know with mathematical precision whether Mr. Khrushchev is or is not sincere. But one fact is clear: We cannot afford to brush it aside without putting Mr. Khrushchev to the test as to his sincerity. He may or may not be sincere, but it is certainly clear that the armament race cannot go on forever. If it continues forever, it could wreck the economy. Even if it did not wreck the economy, an eternal armament race would eventually erupt into a war, and that would bring nothing but disaster to mankind.



Dr. Mays

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IT SEEMS TO this writer that the Khrushchev proposal should be examined critically, thoroughly and honestly by all nations. And if the Russians are bluffing, it will certainly come out under the microscope of universal scrutiny. If he isn't sincere, it will be revealed as an examination of his proposal develops. Even if he is not sincere now, it could be that a series of conferences on the proposal might develop into something that would be the salvation of mankind. It is hardly possible that there could be total disarmament in four years, but we could start a program of disarmament and move as rapidly as possible towards total disarmament.

■

IN THIS INSTANCE, Khrushchev has seized the initiative. Disarmament makes sense and on this no one can disagree. The only question is how it is to be achieved. I wish the dramatic propsal to the United Nations had been made by a professing Christian and not by a professing atheist. If this proposal leads to peace, it will certainly increase the stature of Khrushchev. And since the eyes of the world are upon us, the Khrushchev proposal must be examined and not set aside because we doubt the sincerity of the man. The Russians took the initiative to end the Korean war and now they are seizing the initiative on total disarmament.

I am glad that as Mr. Khrushchev went along he was more cordially received by the people. The reception was a little cold in Washington and New York and there was a little flare-up in Los Angeles. From San Francisco on, the atmosphere was warmer, and I think Mr. Khrushchev left in good spirits. And after all, whether we agree with a guest or not, he is to be treated cordially. Since he was invited by the President of the United States, he was the guest of all the people of the United States.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Should the NAACP Withdraw?

SINCE MAY 17, 1954, certain forces in the South have done everything they could do to discredit the NAACP. Certain Southern states have passed laws and legislative acts designed to kill the activities of the association in their respective states.



Dr. Mays

Some newspaper editors have contended that the NAACP is responsible for the present racial tension. One writer ventured to say two or three years ago that Southern Negroes were happy and if the NAACP would leave the people alone, there would be perfect harmony among the races in the South. The South has taken out on the NAACP what it would like to take out on the nine justices of the Supreme Court. The thing that disturbs me about all this is not what the deep South states are trying to do to destroy the association but the impression that their propaganda has made upon so many Negroes. Every once in a while you run across a Negro who says that the NAACP should ease up. More recently, Chet Huntley made that suggestion over a nation-wide television program. Should the NAACP retire?

■

IT ALL depends upon what you want. If we want segregation to continue to be an established fact in the deep South, and if we want no desegregation in the public schools of the deep South, and if we want Negroes to remain for the next 50 years or more as second-class citizens, then the association should withdraw. But no one wants that except the coward and incurably inferior. If the NAACP should withdraw and if no other organization rose to take its place, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana would not take the initiative to desegregate schools. Even where there is token integration in states like North Carolina and Tennessee it would slow up or eventually segregation would prevail again in the school where desegregation has begun.

■

WITHOUT THE leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and others, untouchability would still be the law of the land in India. Without the leadership of Nehru, Gandhi and others, Britain would still be in India. Without the NAACP or some organization like it, Negroes would remain second-class citizens for another century.

The people who think that if the NAACP withdraws tensions would diminish and the moderates would take the ball and continue to fight for desegregation, are indeed naive. They do not know history and they do not know nature. Certainly people who have sworn by the gods that segregation will always be in existence in their state and who are determined that Negroes will never be first-class citizens will never on their own do anything to make first-class citizenship possible for Negroes.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

SINCE MAY, 17, 1954, it has become popular to say that communication between the races has broken down and that good relationship between them has deteriorated. I want to write on the other side. It all depends on what we mean by communication. Mere contact does not mean that there has been communication. Parents and children can live together for years and never understand each other and never know what the other one is thinking.



Dr. Mays

Husbands and wives can live together for years and never communicate.

There can be no real communication without complete sincerity and complete honesty of expression. On this touchy question of race, I doubt if Negroes and white people in the South have ever really communicated. I think there is more candor in conferences now than in previous years, and yet I see no real communication even now. When race is involved, there is still the tendency to cover up, to hold back. I have been in many interracial meetings and what is said among Negroes when they leave that meeting is not always what they said in the meeting. I am sure the same is true of the white group.

HAS COMMUNICATION between the races broken down since 1954? Before May 17, 1954, when Negroes and white people talked of improving race relations in the community, they usually talked about it within the segregated pattern, separate but equal. All the time, Negroes knew and white people knew that the separate wasn't equal, and while they discussed it, Negroes were opposed to being segregated by law. But for the most part we shied away from any discussion that made an attack on segregation itself.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court struck down segregation. This decision changed the tenor of the conversation and in some places strained relationships. So Negroes and white people in the deep South felt it best not to discuss the Supreme Court decision because it stirred up emotions. There would have been local discussions had the politicians in high office not taken hold. In some areas of the South there is as much communication now as before 1954.

MUCH OF the communication before 1954 was on a paternalistic basis and where paternalism is in the ascendency, there is no communication. I believe that this is what people have usually spoken frankly to each other, I do not believe communication has broken down. If there is less communication in the area of a mutual admiration society where the members of the groups praise each other without meaning it and without facing the real issue that divides us, it may be good. Even if communication has broken down in some quarters, it will soon be resumed and when it is, it will emerge on a higher plane. The pattern of conversation will not necessarily be separate but equal, but how can we plan together to comply with the Supreme Court's decision. And this will be communication on a higher level.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

IT WOULD be a wonderful thing if after segregation goes our problems in human relations would be solved. The elimination of segregation by law is a necessary step to freedom and equal opportunity. There can never be equal opportunity as long as segregation is imposed by law. But if anyone thinks that the abolition of legal segregation is the complete solution to our human ills, he will soon discover that he was never so wrong in all the days of his life. It simply means that when segregation goes by law, Atlanta will be like Chicago, Birmingham like New York or Memphis like Boston. The Negroes in Atlanta, Memphis and Birmingham will have their problems just as the Negroes in New York, Boston and Chicago are having theirs. Negroes will get better jobs, they will get better schools and they will participate freely in politics. The battle for freedom is a continuous one and it must be striven for as long as man lives.



Dr. Mays

THE CIVIL WAR put an end to human slavery. The chains of physical slavery ended after two and one-half centuries of physical and mental bondage. Almost immediately after the Civil War, the Negro was enslaved again. Local communities and states began immediately to enslave the Negro by local laws and state laws. At the turn of the century, the Negro was almost completely enslaved again. The second emancipation came on May 17, 1954, when segregation became unconstitutional. The Negro is now beginning to emerge from his second bondage. But human slavery which existed up to May 17, 1954, left their scars on the heart, soul and mind of both Negroes and whites.

THESE TWO periods of bondage so enslaved the minds of Negroes that millions of them will never be free because in the final analysis freedom is in the mind and it must be achieved. The Negro boy will still need the most inspiring teachers to teach him; he will still need to know that now if he is truly good in his respective field, he is more than likely to find employment; he must still learn that there is no substitute for hard work and hard thinking, and that he now competes with all men everywhere.

Physical slavery and slavery under legal segregation tended to dim and destroy the Negro's desire to learn and achieve. The minds of Negro youth must now be freed; that is, confidence restored and the desire to achieve an unquenchable fire. This task of freeing the minds of Negro youth so that they will be inspired to develop their minds to the nth degree, rests in the final analysis with Negro teachers and Negro leaders. Competition is now becoming and will continue to become increasingly keen, and if these youths are to achieve they must have the guidance and sympathetic understanding of dedicated teachers and leaders. This third emancipation cannot be given by the United States Supreme Court. It must be achieved.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Too Few in College and University

WHEN we read that the institutions predominantly Negroes are packed and jammed we are likely to get the impression that an exceptionally large number of Negroes are enrolled in the colleges, universities and professional schools of the nation. We are likely to think that way again when we consider the fact that we have approximately 125,000 Negroes in college and university as over against a total of 10,000 Negro college graduates in 1925. It looks still better when we consider the fact that from 1820 to 1909 inclusive, a period of 89 years, only 3,856 Negroes had ever graduated from college. But when you make comparisons, you have to compare with other groups. A man does not run a race with himself, so, we cannot compare ourselves with ourselves to find out the real score.



Dr. Mays

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DURING the present academic year, there are 3,258,556 students enrolled in the colleges and universities of this country. The Negro collegiate enrollment is less than 4 per cent of the total enrollment. When we add the enrollment in the predominantly white colleges of the nation, we have about 125,000—this is about 3.5 per cent of the 3,258,556. We are 10 per cent of the population. If we were 10 per cent of the college enrollment, we would have 325,855 Negro students in the colleges and universities of the nation. So as we face the facts, we aren't making as much progress as we thought we were making.

On March 19, I gave the commencement address at the University of Minnesota. There were 650 in the graduating classes, ranging from A.B. to Ph.D.'s. I may have miscounted, but there were fewer than three Negroes among the 650.

EDUCATORS and parents must do something about this. Poverty accounts for the small collegiate enrollment, home background explains a part of it, and there is a lack of motivation in the Negro environment and in so many of the Negro homes. Now that segregation is being abolished, the Negro youth must be made to understand that new doors are opening everywhere and more doors will open in proportion as he becomes skilled in the arts and sciences and in proportion as he applies himself and his ability to compete in every area of American life. Before too long, the competent Negro will never be denied a place in industry and it is getting that way now. And we must see to it that every able Negro mind gets a chance to be trained and go to college and university.

We must look for the exceptional student. If the parents are unable to assist him to go to college and university, we must find a way. This must be the concern of every Negro educator and it must be the concern of every church. We can not afford to neglect any boy or girl with real ability.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Southern United States and South Africa

NEGROES have not turned to communism in the United States mainly because they see hope for their future in this country. We can see tremendous gains. The fact that the deep Southern states are dying hard, clinging to the old and rejecting the new, is proof that the Negro is making headway in the United States. The aches and pains that the South is experiencing now are nothing but the dying gasp of an old order and the birth pangs of a new. The South will lose the segregation battle as they lost the battle over slavery. This in part explains the reason that there are so few Negroes in America who are Communists. They see progress. Such progress cannot be seen in South Africa. The future is dark there. The following quotation from a gentleman in South Africa dramatizes the difference between our situation in the States and the situation for the oppressed in South Africa.





Dr. Mays

"Many of us here are praying hard, even under this terrible yoke, that the Pan African Conference should bring pressure to bear upon South Africa, as that might help to alleviate some of it. Your Government is also interested in Africa. Not because it feels that the policy of apartheid is inhuman and heartless, but because the Africans will turn to Khrushchev, instead. I am afraid most of our leaders have veered sharply to the left. Nowhere are the conditions upon which communism thrives more rife than in South Africa. If forced to live in extreme poverty, squalor and wretchedness, they are prone to clutch at any ideology that offers them 'something,' even if it is 'a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.'"

I was astounded recently to see how true this is with South Africa. Recently I presided at a meeting at which a staunch African Nationalist spoke on "Communist Technique.s" Like me, he urged the people not to be fooled and taken in by Reds, who pretend to be having our welfare at heart, when in fact they are only exchanging one tyranny for a more savage and brutal one. The Commies were ready to eat the speaker raw, the way they believe in the Kremlin.

■

THERE IS LITTLE HOPE in South Africa. The gentleman speaks further: "You cannot imagine how tough it is in this country, not to live, just to eke out an existence." He goes on: "I find myself wishing sometimes to be a dog, belonging to some whites because I would have a square meal regularly, I would be washed daily, taken for a stroll by a black mammy, driven around by car, and nights I'd sleep comfortably in a bed." Here is the chief difference between South Africa and the United States. We have the Federal Government and in many instances the state governments that believe in equality and justice for all.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Building Permanent Bridges of Understanding

THE 33 MEMBER colleges of the United Negro College Fund have just held their 10th convocation in Indianapolis, Ind. For 10 years we have held convocations across the nation from San Francisco to Boston. The Indianapolis Convocation was one of the finest we have had.

The convocations are held in a campaign city and the purpose is not only to increase the contributions to the fund, but to broaden the base of human understanding. The Indianapolis Convocation followed the pattern of previous ones. We had a luncheon with the leading industrialists of Indiana. We brought together leading educators from the high schools, colleges and universities of Indiana. The alumni and friends of the 33-member colleges residing in Indianapolis came together for dinner. A special luncheon was provided by Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lilly of the Eli Lilly and Company and we were royally entertained by Mr. Merle H. Miller, convocation chairman; Mr. Henry J. Richardson, co-chairman of the Indianapolis drive; Mr. and Mrs. Casey Jacobs, Mr. Silas Reagan, chairman of the Indianapolis campaign; Mr. Sam Moxley, former chairman, and the alumni of the 3-member colleges. The Indianapolis press, radio and television gave us excellent coverage.



Dr. Mays

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ON SUNDAY MORNING, April 12, 22 college presidents spoke in various churches in Indianapolis. In every city where we hold a convocation, something new happens. Alumni, industrialists, educators and friends come together over a three-day period to talk about the great contributio.. that these colleges have made to the nation during the past 90 years and how they may be strengthened to make even a great contribution in the next 90 years.

These colleges have been building bridges of interracial understanding and goodwill ever since Lincoln University was established in 1854. These 33 colleges from the beginning have had integrated faculties, and there has never been a time in their history where members of other races were barred by them. There has been more interracial contact on the campuses of these 33 colleges than on the campuses of all-white colleges in the South combined.

EVEN TODAY when educators and the South are unduly afraid, the campuses of these colleges are free and open. For example, on the campuses of the six institutions that make up the Atlanta University Center, the faculties are thoroughly integrated and we have more interracial and cultural contact than ever before in the history of these institutions. These colleges are experts on developing good human relations. This fact, and this fact alone, should bring to the support of the United Negro College Fund every person in this country who wants to see the cause of desegregation furthered and the basis of understanding widened.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Status and Community Responsibility

WHEN one succeeds in his work, whether in business or in his profession, he gains a respectable status in the community. The successful men in business, in education, in religion and in the various professions is looked upon with respect in the community and whether he seeks it or not he is considered a part of the leadership of that community. Particularly is this true of the Negro community.



Dr. Mays

If one attains a position of status and leadership in the community, there goes with it a responsibility from which he can hardly escape. He may not assume that responsibility, but he cannot escape it. There are certain community organizations that should be supported by every successful and responsible leader. Among these agencies I would list the following: the church, the YM and YWCA's, colleges, the Community Chest, the United Negro College Fund, the Urban League, the NAACP, the Home for the Aged, and orphanages. There are others, to be sure, but these are with us and will continue to be with us.

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OF COURSE there is a limit to one's support. There is a limited amount of time and a limited amount of money. One must choose the organizations for which he will work and the amount he can contribute to each. And, the more influential one becomes in the community and the more successful he becomes financially, the more is expected of him by the public. The man may never know it, but the public eye frowns upon the successful man who does not carry his load of community responsibility.

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NO MAN CAN achieve success apart from the people in the community. It is also true that he may be in a business which the people sorely need, but it is also true that he must have the people in order to be a success in his work. One may rise above his fellows in prestige, education and wealth, but in the final anlysis he cannot lift himself by his own bootstraps. The people make the man successful or wealth, and for that reason he owes a great deal to the community which helps to make him. No man can stand apart from his fellows.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier 6/43

The Passing of John Foster Dulles

PEOPLE are funny. Foe and friend alike heap praise upon you when death comes. And yet I know that he can be sincere in his praises, for often one has great respect for a person he severely criticizes. Hardly any man in public life has been criticized as much as Mr. Dulles. It hardly could have been otherwise. No Secretary in American history has served his country in more perilous times than Dulles. For the whole of his six years as Secretary of State he has been in a tough spot.



Dr. Mays

He will be known best in history as the one man in the Western world who insisted that we must be firm in our dealings with Russia, even if it carried us to the brink of war itself. Three or more times we were at the brink of war: over Korea during the 1953 armistice negotiations, the Indo-China crisis and Formosa. Berlin has brought its tense moments, too.

WHETHER DULLES' tough policy kept us out of war, or kept communism from spreading more, no one will ever know. Since no war came, he will now be praised for his "get-tough policy," even by those who criticized him for it. If we can avoid war with Russia and if Secretary Herter continues the Dulles policy, Mr. Dulles will be given still more praise for his "tough" policy.

The Democrats as well as Republicans are lauding the Secretary to the sky. Although the Democrats seem a bit more restrained in their praise, they all praise him highly. I think I see the party line at work even in their high praise. Ex-President Herbert Hoover acclaimed Mr. Dulles as the greatest Secretary of State this country has ever had. I am sure no Democrat would agree with Hoover. It will be left to the historians of the future to determine the greatness of John Foster Dulles. But historians are not without bias. Even they do not always write with complete objectivity. Regardless of what the historians say or do not say, there are some things upon which all must agree. John Foster Dulles had an excellent mind. He was extremely able. The man had courage, and only a courageous man can deal with foreign policies in these troublesome days. Nor can anyone doubt the man's loyalty and devotion to America. He gave every ounce of body and mind he had to the service of his country. After his operation for cancer, a less devoted man would have stepped down. Not Dulles. He loved his country too well.

FURTHERMORE, Dulles was a man of high integrity. Men often doubted the wisdom of some of the decisions he made, but no man can doubt the utter honesty and integrity of the man, undergirded by high morality. God also blessed him with boundless energy. Let the historians appraise him and differ, but on these points they must agree. A great American has passed. These qualities should serve as an inspiration to all of us.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier

Watch Florida Justice

AN ASSOCIATED Press Article stated, recently, that four white youths raped a Negro girl in Tallahassee, Fla. The jurors heard witnesses for nearly seven hours, and they presented a true bill to the judge. The article stated that only once before, in Florida's history has a rape case drawn so much attention, and that was in 1949 when four Negroes were accused of raping a 17-year-old married, white girl. I note from the press today, that the trial is set for May 27. The Associated Press article points out that they have confessed that they found the victim, her escort and another couple parked, early Saturday morning, May 2. It is stated that the four men confessed that they raped the girl. They are saying, now, they are not guilty.





Dr. Mays

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RAPE CAN BRING the death penalty in Florida; in fact, rape is the capital crime in Florida. But never in Florida's history has a white man gone to the electric chair for assaulting a Negro. On the other hand, the Associated Press article continues, several Negroes have died for raping white women. Let us look at the record of the four Negroes who were charged with raping a white girl in 1949. Although none of the four accused was executed, one was killed by a posse, a second was shot to death by a sheriff who claims that the Negro tried to escape en route to the jail, the third one was sentenced to serve life imprisonment and the fourth one was convicted, finally, to serve life. Two were killed, and two got life. Let us see what will be done in this case. I predict that not one of them will get the electric chair, and I predict, further, that not one of them will get life. Here, again, I hope I am wrong.

IF THE PATTERN is changed in this particular case, it will be because Florida is a little bit more enlightened than some Southern states, and it may be that the picture could be slightly changed because Governor Collins, according to my way of thinking, is one of the most enlightened governors in the South today.

Even at that, it is exceedingly difficult for a Negro in the deep South to get justice when white people are involved, and it goes against Southern tradition for white men to be given the ultimate penalty when they have made assault on Negro women. If the situation had been reversed, there would be, no doubt, about the outcome. In all probability, all four, if they had been Negroes, would have been electrocuted; certainly they would have been given life imprisonment.

We are making some progress in this area. Very few Negroes are being lynched, brutally, but I doubt if we have gone far enough for the law to apply equally to a Negro and white person when Negroes and white people are involved. We look forward to the day when justice will be done, equally, to both Negroes and whites. Until that time comes, we are not a democracy.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier

Reward for Excellence

I DO NOT wish to be misunderstood. Nor do I wish to give the impression that the Negro's chance for employment is as good as that of a white person. It would be falsification if I gave the reader that impression. But it would be equally false if I did not point out to Negro youth the fact that the reward for excellence in performance is greater now than at any previous time.



Dr. Mays

Back in the 1920's there wasn't much to motivate the Negro college student except he could preach, teach, do social work and a few could become doctors and lawyers. Segregation and prejudice were so powerful that thousands of Negroes never aspired to be anybody. This damaging effect of segregation will never be fully appreciated—not even by Negroes.

A student needs more than a good mind. He needs the assurance that if he develops that mind he will be rewarded by being given an opportunity to use it to the fullest. That the Negro, if competent will find a place is becoming increasingly more true. Let me illustrate.

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IN 1923, Edward Swain Hope, son of John Hope, distinguished president of Morehouse College, was graduated from Morehouse and went immediately to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was graduated from MIT as an engineer. It was just about impossible for Edward Hope to get a job as an engineer in the United States. I am quite convinced that this was the reason for Edward Hope's acceptance of a job in South America. Later he accepted work at Howard University and now is professor of engineering in the American University in Beirut, Lebanon. This is not true today. I am willing to wager that any Negro engineer graduating from MIT will find good employment.

■

TWENTY-FIVE or 30 years ago it was virtually impossible for a Negro to be placed in industry and government as a chemist, physicist, mathematician, psychologist. This is not true today. If the Negro is exceptionally good in these areas, he will find employment. Twenty-five years ago, it was difficult for a Negro to get employment in a college or university in the East and West. Now, there are hundreds of colleges and universities in the East and West that would be glad to hire a competent Negro on the faculty. This is true in other areas as well.

The Negro teacher from elementary school through the university, has a new weapon of motivation. He can give the Negro student a new incentive such as he has never had before. These new developments must be impressed upon the minds of Negro youth. I am convinced that a lack of incentive to strive for excellence on the part of so many Negro youths can be traced in part to a feeling that even if he strove for excellence it would end in futility. The future for the competent Negro is not wholly rosy, but it is much rosier than it has been.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat 6-13-59

They Break Down First in Race

IN SOUTH AFRICA and in Southern United States, Christianity and democracy face the cross of race and color. In fact, this is true everywhere around the world. When a so-called "superior people" are trying to maintain their "superior" status, they give lip service to democracy and Christianity. The Government of South Africa, in its attitude toward the Bantu, Indians and colored people, is not too far removed from Nazi Germany's attitude toward the Jews. This is a hard thing to say, but this I believe. I also believe that a similar attitude exists toward Negroes in the Deep South.



Dr. Mays

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THE CHRISTIAN Century, in a recent editorial, writes of the "Blackout in South Africa." The Nationalist Government in South Africa has decreed to bar non-whites from South Africa's seven universities. Even Cape Town and Witwatersrand, the two universities that have been admitting non-whites freely, must cease to do so. The Christian Council of South Africa, representing 31 church bodies, has expressed its opposition to the exclusion of non-whites from the universities of South Africa and protests have come from some 296 universities in 52 countries. The Prime Minister, Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, is reported to have responded to these protests in a Nationalist party rally in this way: "As a result of all this propaganda, we are now getting telegrams of protest from all over the world. All these cables go the

way of all pernicious things—straight into the waste basket."

Before this article is printed, the law making it a criminal offense for non-white students to enroll at any of the universities will have been enacted. Each non-white group—Indian, African and Colored — must have its own separate "colleges." And the Government of South Africa resorts to the usual trickery of lying. The Christian Century article says the Government justifies the new tribal colleges on the ground the Africans will be protected from racial discrimination they at present suffer in the universities and the African will be permitted to "develop along their own lines, rooted in their own culture." Why can't the Government at least tell the truth and say this is the one way we can further establish apartheid in order to keep the non-whites in a subordinate position and thus protect "white civilization" in South Africa? The Government of South Africa doesn't give a hoot about protecting non-whites from discrimination.

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IN ADDITION, the Africans will be split into four groups, each with its separate tribal language as a channel of instruction and with a white cabinet member in control. And to heap insult upon injury, the law proscribes that the Africans must pay for their "own" buildings, equipment and staff.

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays
Pittsburgh Pa.
We Don't Hear Much About This
Sat 5-30-59

THE OTHER day I ran across an article in the Christian Century. It was its May 6, 1959, issue. The article was about a former Air Force major whose name is Claude Eatherly. He is 40 years old. He flew the B29 bomber which guided the plane which dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. This man has developed a sense of guilt



and feels that he is responsible for the death of 100,000 Japanese. He is reputed now to be living a life of crime and delinquency. For two times he is reputed to have tried to commit suicide. He is quoted as saying: "I do feel I killed those people at Hiroshima. I wish I could die."



Dr. Mays

■

ONE NATURALLY raises the question, how can this man be helped and who can do it? Every man who kills another, in obedience to the command of his country, could say and feel that he is responsible for murder. Who is responsible for the thousands who were killed in Hiroshima? Who is responsible for the millions that have died upon the battle fields of the world? Really, all who were involved are responsible for the millions who died in the wars of history. The Japanese who attacked Pearl Harbor are responsible for those who died at Hiroshima. The men who declared war against Japan are responsible for all the people who died in the second World War. The German and Italian leaders who encouraged Japan and the President of the United States who is Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army are responsible.

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ALL THIS is well and good but who can help Eatherly who is living a life of crime and delinquency because he feels that he is responsible for the death of 100,000 Japanese. One fact is clear, living a live of crime and delinquency will not purge him of the sense of guilt. Eatherly needs religion more than he needs psychiatry. A thoroughly repentant man will be forgiven by God in which case the sense of guilt will be removed. Instead of living a life of crime and delinquency he might look forward to a life of great constructive achievement in some job that will be far more beneficial to mankind than flying a B29 bomber.

At any rate, here is a lesson we all should learn and that is, we are involved in mankind and that no man stands alone in his virtue and no man stands alone in his guilt. And yet, the individual must live and wrestle with his own conscience.

Even those of us who have never participated in a physical war are equally involved because the only way the billions can be spent over the years for war is for the government to take that money from taxes which every American pays. So, no man can escape the guilt. We all are involved, and we all need repentance.

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays
Pittsburgh Pa.
Are These Men Sane?
Sat 6-6-59

IN OLIVE SCHREINER'S little book entitled "Dreams," she related that in a dream God took her soul to Hell. She said that Hell was a beautiful place and the water of the lakes was blue. She and God had interesting conversations about Hell. She saw beautiful women softly touching the fruit of the trees with their lips and passing on. She asked God why they did that, and God replied that they were poisoning. And when she asked God why they did it, God told her in order that another may not eat. Then she asked God if these women were not afraid that they themselves might eat the fruit that they had poisoned. God told her that they were afraid and in Hell all men fear. She relates another conversation between herself and God. She saw men in Hell digging holes and after they dug the holes they covered them up. She asked God why they did that. God told her that they were digging pitfalls into which their brothers might sink. She asked God what these people gained by this, and He replied that they gained nothing. She asked God if these men were sane, and God replied, "There are no sane men in Hell."



Dr. Mays

If Hell is a place where men are eternally afraid and if it is a place where men are insane, then I must say that there is plenty Hell right here.

ARE THESE PEOPLE sane? Are the people in Tallhassee sane? Are the people in the Florida Legislature sane who are toying with the idea that boys and girls should be separated in the public schools? All this because they are afraid that if integration should come, Negro boys and white girls will be in the same classroom and there might be conversations between them and they might like each other rather than hate each other. The House of the Florida Legislature has appropriated one-half-million dollars in order that the South might propagandize the North on its view of the Negro and its view of segregation.

The board of Education of Prince Edward County, Virginia, has just passed a resolution to appropriate no money whatsoever for the operation of schools in that county. Between 3,000 and 4,000 students will be affected. Are these people sane? They are willing to damage the minds of their own children in order to perpetuate their prejudices.

Right here in Georgia, Attorney General Eugene Cook is reported in the Atlanta Constitution of June 3 as saying that the NAACP is more "un-American" than the Communist party. The Communists, in order to gain their objectives, if necessary, would destroy the United States Constitution and overthrough this government by violence. The NAACP, on the other hand, seeks justice through constituted government, law and the Supreme Court. On this point, is Mr. Cook sane? How ridiculous can evil men be?

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays
Pittsburgh Pa.
Maybe It Is Impossible
Sat 6-13-59

I SUPPOSE it too much to expect men in political life to pursue a course, however right it may be, when they fear their positions may not be acceptable to the voters or may not be socially acceptable to the people with whom they associate. A little while ago Judge Hoop ordered the Atlanta School Board to present a plan for desegregating the Atlanta public schools. Both Senator Talmadge and Senator Russell have said, in effect, that the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land. Mr. Talmadge has been working on a bill to get Congress to amend the Constitution and confine education control to the states.



Dr. Mays

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NOW THAT the decision strikes home here in Atlanta, one would expect the political leadership of Georgia to give real outstanding leadership. You would expect them to come in now with helpful suggestions. Instead, Senator Russell is quoted in the press as saying "that the Atlanta School Board should resist." Attorney General Cook urges that the United States cannot keep Georgia from closing its public schools. Mr. Talmadge is rather quiet and, as far as I know, has not repeated his statement that the May 17, 1954, decision is the law of the land. Although these politicians are not barking as loudly as they once did, they are certainly not giving any positive leadership.

James F. Byrnes of South Carolina continues to condemn the United States Supreme Court and is urging the people to get ready to establish private schools. And yet Byrnes, Talmadge, Russell and Cook are outstanding political leaders in the South. At a crucial moment in history they lack the courage to tell the people that the inevitable has come. However, gradual desegregation will be, a tightly segregated school system has passed away and I hope forever.

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MAYBE IT IS too much to expect great leadership from people who have been steeped in prejudice almost from the time of their birth—men who have breathed racial prejudice and racial discrimination with the ease that a baby draws milk from his mother's breast. I suppose, too, that even if a man has the mind to see things in a different light, it takes courage to admit that he has been wrong when he has been shouting defiance at the Federal Government since 1954.

I raise the question again: What has James F. Byrnes to lose if he tells the people the truth about a decision of the United States Supreme Court? He has been Senator, Governor, Secretary of State, a Justice of the Supreme Court and held a position during the war that was almost tantamount to the Vice Presidency. Now Mr. Byrnes is an old man and yet he cannot tell the people of South Carolina and Georgia the truth about an old order that is passing away.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

31a Negro

They Break Down First in Race

IN SOUTH AFRICA and in Southern United States, Christianity and democracy face the cross of race and color. In fact, this is true everywhere around the world. When a so-called "superior people" are trying to maintain their "superior" status, they give lip service to democracy and Christianity. The Government of South Africa, in its attitude toward the Bantu, Indians and colored people, is not too far removed from Nazi Germany's attitude toward the Jews. This is a hard thing to say, but this I believe. I also believe that a similar attitude exists toward Negroes in the Deep South.



Dr. Mays

Courier

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THE CHRISTIAN Century, in a recent editorial, writes of the "Blackout in South Africa." The Nationalist Government in South Africa has decreed to bar non-whites from South Africa's seven universities. Even Cape Town and Witwatersrand, the two universities that have been admitting non-whites freely, must cease to do so. The Christian Council of South Africa, representing 31 church bodies, has expressed its opposition to the exclusion of non-whites from the universities of South Africa and protests have come from some 296 universities in 52 countries. The Prime Minister, Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, is reported to have responded to these protests in a Nationalist party rally in this way: "As a result of all this propaganda, we are now getting telegrams of protest from all over the world. All these cables go the way of all pernicious things—straight into the waste basket."

Before this article is printed, the law making it a criminal offense for non-white students to enroll at any of the universities will have been enacted. Each non-white group—Indian, African and Colored — must have its own separate "colleges." And the Government of South Africa resorts to the usual trickery of lying. The Christian Century article says the Government justifies the new tribal colleges on the ground the Africans will be protected from racial discrimination they at present suffer in the universities and the African will be permitted to "develop along their own lines, rooted in their own culture." Why can't the Government at least tell the truth and say this is the one way we can further establish apartheid in order to keep the non-whites in a subordinate position and thus protect "white civilization" in South Africa? The Government of South Africa doesn't give a hoot about protecting non-whites from discrimination.

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IN ADDITION, the Africans will be split into four groups, each with its separate tribal language as a channel of instruction and with a white cabinet member in control. And to heap insult upon injury, the law proscribes that the Africans must pay for their "own" buildings, equipment and staff.

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

Hindsight Better Than No Sight

GOVERNOR ALMOND of Virginia is pursuing a new course, one that he should have pursued from the beginning. And yet, I admire Governor Almond in a way that I cannot admire Governor Faubus. Governor Almond concedes the fact that the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land, and that Virginia cannot flaunt the law.



The speech which he made at the commencement exercises for the private school established at Front Royal, Va., to avoid desegregation, is interesting and courageous. The Governor said to the 97 graduates of the Warren County Education High School, "We would do well to consider which is better and which we would prefer — Federal education as a function of the Government or public education administered as best we can with state and local support, control and regulation." The Governor spoke further, "I have taken m stand. We must save, sustain and support the cause of education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late."



Dr. Mays

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THE GOVERNOR warned the people "to be forewarned is is to be forearmed." The Governor told the audience "The time has come for Virginia to master the racial situation and not to mourn." And that Virginia could not "allow the welfare of its children and the future of the State of Virginia to be victimized by the bitterness of disappointment, the pangs of frustration, the demon of hate, the threat of political purge and the stirring of emotions productive of violence aid disorder."

■

WHEN WE COUPLE this statement with what has recently happened in Atlanta, we can believe that the thinking people of the South are beginning to see that they cannot secede fom the Union, and that Virginia and Georgia are still a part of the United States of America. Judge Hooper of Atlanta has recently ordered the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta to work out a plan of desegregating the public schools. He did not state a specific time, but he made it clear that to operate the public schools of Atlanta on a segregated basis was unconstitutional.

I am beginning to feel proud of Atlanta. Up to now I have felt that Atlanta was given credit for more liberality than we had reason to ascribe to it. But now with desegregated golf courses, desegregated buses, the recent court order that the Atlanta Board of Education should work out a plan to desegregate the schools, and that Georgia State College cannot require Negroes to get white sponsors—all these lead me to be proud of Atlanta.

My View
Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

I Was Mistaken

JUDGE WALKER did what I did not expect him to do. He gave the four white men who raped the Tallahassee co-ed life imprisonment. I did not believe he could do it or would do it because there is a long record reaching back from the early days of slavery that white men are not to be punished; certainly not severely, for raping Negro women. This is generally true in a culture where the women of the suppressed group and the men of the dominant group have freedom of association denied the men of the suppressed group and the women of the dominant group.



Dr. Mays

This stiff sentence on the part of a Florida judge does indicate that something new under the sun has happened in Florida. I must confine this to Florida because I am not convinced that the same judgment would have been rendered in some other states. I hope it indicates that there is a move towards equal justice all over the South.

■

AS HOPEFUL AS the Florida case is, I doubt if the jury would have recommended mercy if it had been four Negro boys who raped a white co-ed. Florida did maintain its record in that no white man has ever gone to the electric chair for raping a Negro woman. The public may not know, but at this writing there are four Negroes awaiting execution at Raiford Prison in Florida, convicted of raping a white woman. The jury in this case did not recommend mercy, and that left no choice but the electric chair. There were five Negroes involved in the raping of the white woman, and the sentencing of Jimmie Lee Clark, the fifth Negro involved in the case, has been delayed by court action. We are likely to be so pleased with the fact that Florida is approaching equal justice by sentencing the four white men to life that we are likely to forget that four Negroes, convicted of the same crime, are now awaiting the electric chair.

■

THEREFORE, it was timely when two officials of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America—Dr. Edwin Dahlberg, president of the council, and Dr. J. Oscar Lee, director of the council's department of racial and cultural relations—sent a message to Governor Collins urging him to commute the sentence of the four Negroes to life imprisonment. If the Governor did this, then we could really say that Florida intends to administer equal justice irrespective of race. Governor Collins is more enlightened than most governors in the South and I, for one, hope that he will save these four Negroes from the electric chair by commuting their sentence to life imprisonment. This would set a new precedent not only for Florida, but for the South, and it would make Florida perhaps the most significant state in the South in this area of equal justice. We can but wait and see what the Governor will do.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier p. 13
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Courier

Equal Justice? Not Quite

TWO MEN have been condemned to the electric chair in South Carolina; one a Negro and the other white. The white man was convicted of raping a Negro woman and the Negro was convicted of attempting to rape a white woman. Both have been sentenced to the electric chair. In all probability, an appeal will be made in both cases. What the outcome of the appeal will be, no one can predict at at this time.



Dr. Mays

Two things indicate that something significant is going on in the South; in fact, what has happened in South Carolina is far more significant than what happened in Florida when the four white men were given life imprisonment for rape.

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IN THE FIRST place, it is a long way from what would have happened in my native state when I lived there. No Negro accused of raping a white woman would ever live to tell the story to the court. A mob would have lynched him as soon as he could have been found. And nothing would have been done about it and everybody in the community, Negroes and white people, would have accepted it as one of those things. So, the "sun do move."

The other significant consideration is the fact that both radio and press quote the Justice Department as saying that it is probably the first time in American history, that a white man has been condemned to the electric chair for raping a Negro woman. This may or may not be true, but I would wager that it is the first time

in the South that a white man has been condemned to the electric chair for raping a Negro. These are two significant points and it sets a new precedent toward equal Justice in South Carolina and the nation. I say toward because it must be noted that in the Negro's case, it was attempted rape; in the white man's case, it was rape.

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ONE OF THE fundamental differences between the North and the South is that in the North the Negro can be assured of more nearly equal justice than he can be assured in the South. Up to now, it has been virtually impossible for a Negro to get justice in the courts, especially if the case involved a member of the white race. Being a native of South Carolina, I must admit that I am glad to see South Carolina making a significant move towards equal justice; not that I believe in capital punishment, but rather that I have wished all my life that I would live to see the day when justice in my native South would be color blind. Maybe we are at the beginning of this era now.

No one cause can be given for this change, but I must believe that the Negro's fight for civil rights, for the ballot and for equality of education and travel, is having its effect on the courts and that this is a by-product of the Negro's fight for equality. If we win on one front, we may gain on another.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Crusader Without Violence Sat. 9-23-57

THREE significant things happened in Montgomery recently. The successful Montgomery boycott which gave the Negro status and respect around the world. The second significant thing that came out of Montgomery was Martin Luther King's book, "Stride Towards Freedom." The third is "Crusader Without Violence," by L. D. Reddick.



I am glad that two of the most significant books on the race question since 1954 came from the pens of Negroes. Most of the articles and books since May 17, 1954, have been written by white authors.



Dr. Mays

Like "Stride Towards Freedom," "Crusader Without Violence" is a moving book. It pulls you on and once you begin reading it you will finish it. The author writes with great skill and power. If you want to know who Martin Luther King is and what the Montgomery boycott was, you must read "Crusader Without Violence."

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DR. REDDICK has the genius to state briefly the essence of the situation. Speaking of King, the man, Reddick says: "King listens well but makes his own decisions. He is not argumentative but he has will and direction. He does not quibble over details but constantly advances his main point. He is so persuasive that almost everybody is happy to let him have his way."

Speaking of the King family, Reddick writes: "Diverse influences had helped shape and integrate his personality. One of his grandfathers had been a sharecropper; the other a college-bred minister. One grandmother he never knew personally, the other he loved dearly. His own mother was gentle; his father was fearless and protective." After describing the golden days at Crozer and Boston University, the chapter ends on the beautiful note: "But the decisive development that occurred during Martin's stay in Boston was not brought about by any professor or seminary. It was a girl, a co-ed from Alabama, who, like Martin, was in Boston on a special mission."

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WHEN THE JUDGE in Montgomery found King guilty, the press wanted to know what he would do then. "His answer was unmistakable. With his hat pulled down firmly, his left hand in his pocket, his right fist clenched but not raised, and his wife standing next to him, he said: 'The judge's verdict will not increase or decrease in any way my interest in the protest. The protest goes on!' The author puts his hand on what I consider one of the finest things Martin Luther King ever did. He refused to pay the fine of $10, September, 1958. After being sentenced King said: " 'Your Honor . . . I could not in all good conscience pay a fine for an act that I did not commit—above all, for the brutal treatment that I did not deserve.' "

Mays Challenges A.U. Teachers On Desegregation

Courier Atlanta Ga. Desegregation 6-14-59

The system of segregation has been so successful that there are millions of Negroes alive today who will never be able to walk erect, President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College told the Atlanta University Summer School this week.

Speaking on "Desegregation: A Challenge to the Teacher," Dr. Mays challenged the teachers to set an example to their students who are not yet conditioned by segregation so that they will walk the earth and work with more dignity than the present generation.

"You can teach and inspire as no teacher could twenty - five years ago," he said "You can say to the good student that government and industry will use his talent"

Citing the examples of Negroes who still use the segregated railroad waiting room, and who sit as they have always been accustomed to on the bus, Dr. Mays charged that segregation had so conditioned Negroes that they wouldn't move even if the fence is removed. He called on the teachers to register and vote, to leave their cars at home and ride the trolleys and to patronize the down town library.

"Don't let it be true as they have said that they won't have any trouble with us at the library because we don't read anyway," he said.

Dr. Mays said that because of his connection with a private college, his job had never been in jeopardy because of his views on desegregation, but he still asked the teachers to support the organizations which were fighting the legal battles for the Negro. "Be sane, but don't let anybody make you afraid to support the NAACP," was his advice.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, will speak at next week's summer school forum on "The South in Transition."

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. 8-25-57

IN WHATEVER lot we find ourselves, as Negroes, we can find a reason for it. But when we find the reason, the facts remain.

The problem of homicide among Negroes is extremely high. Negroes kill each other in large numbers. And so often Negroes kill themselves about trivial matters. Police statistics on this point are embarrassing indeed. But there is another problem that is equally embarrassing—the problem of illegitimacy among Negroes. There is a decided increase in the number of unwed mothers since 1950.



Dr. Mays

THE INCREASE is among Negroes and whites. But the increase in the number of illegitimate babies among Negroes is much greater than it is among white unwed mothers. The increase among adolescents is disturbing. Increase in population cannot account for all the increase in the number of illegitimate babies. In 1938, there were 87,900 babies born out of wedlock. In 1957, there were 201,000 born, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates 205,000 in 1958. An Associated Press article of Aug. 8 points out that the number of births among unwed mothers has trebled in the last 20 years, with an alarming rise among teen-age girls. Of the 201,000 such births in 1957, the article does not break it down by race. But the State of Georgia has its figures broken down by race.

In 1950, Georgia had a total of 7,633 births to unwed mothers. In 1957, Georgia had 10,061, according to the State Health Department. The department's figures show that white unwed mothers (article William Osborne in the Atlanta Constitution, Aug. 8) had 799 children in 1950, and Negro unwed mothers had 6,854. "During 1957, the white figures rose 243 to 1,042. The Negro total jumped 2,165 to a total of 9,019. In Fulton County in 1950, there were 139 illegitimate births; in 1957, there were 158. The Negro increase was from 1,269 in 1950 to 1,983 in 1957."

THE ARTICLE SHOWS that in 1950 there were 37 illegitimate white babies born to white mothers 15 and under in Fulton County, and 46 in 1957; among Negro unwed mothers in 1950, there 606 babies born, and 675 in 1957.

This situation can be partly explained. Poverty is rife among Negroes. Negro mothers work and leave their girls exposed. For 244 years Negroes had no family life. Negroes were property. There was no legal marriage in slavery. And yet the system had to be perpetuated in part by reproduction. Negro women mothered children by enslaved Negro men and by their white masters. For decades after emancipation, and in some places now, Negro women had no protection from white men. The decent family life among us has been largely built up since 1865. It is remarkable that family life is as fine as it is among Negroes. Be this as it may, the rate of homicide and illegitimacy among us is too high. When we explain, the facts remain. Negro leadership should do something about it.

In Race Relations

Churches Not Doing Jobs, Mays Says

Courier Pittsburgh Penn. Sat 8-29-59

NEW YORK — Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., declared in a sermon at Riverside Church that no group of churches, whether predominantly white or Negro, "is doing all it can to solve the problems of race relations."

Dr. Mays let it be known that the Negro minister "is still the most significant leader of the Negro masses."

The noted educator dealt also with the complementary role of the lawyer in lessening racial bias. Here, he indicated that the courts were being useful in assuring civil rights.

Asked later to list the major problems confronting Southern Negroes, Dr. Mays cited desegregation, use of the ballot in small towns and rural areas, and equal consideration for employment.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Negroes and Medicine

PRESIDENT SAMUEL M. Nabrit of Texas Southern University reviews in Science magazine the book entitled "Negroes and Medicine" published by the Harvard University Press. I have purchased the book and I conclude that all Negroes in education should read it. The book is the result of a research project conducted under the auspices of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago through a grant given by the Rockefeller Foundation. Dietrich C. Reitzes was director of the project and edited the findings.



Dr. Mays

Like most of the studies where Negroes are compared with whites, we show up to a disadvantage. The Negroes who take the medical aptitude test do not compare well with the white medical applicants in medical aptitude test scores. It is even pointed out that the rejected applicants of predominantly white schools compare well with applicants accepted in medical schools whose enrollments are predominantly Negroes. It is interesting to note however, that despite the lower scores, the Negroes admitted to white medical schools and those admitted to Negro medical schools as a rule graduate and qualify for practice. This may mean that too much stress has been placed on the medical school aptitude scores.

Although a larger number of Negroes are being admitted year by year to the so-called white medical colleges than in the past, the percentage of Negroes in these schools is negligible and when we take into consideration the total number of Negroes enrolled in medical schools in the United States we are many, many miles behind. It certainly means that Negro students much work much harder to overcome the cultural difficulties between Negroes and whites which spring mainly from a segregated economy.

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In comparison, the graduates of Morehouse College show up very well. Morehouse led all other colleges in enrollment at Meharry Medical College in the academic year 1955-56. Thirty-eight graduates of Morehouse were enrolled at Meharry that year. In that same year Morehouse was third in number in the medical school of Howard University. Howard University was first and Lincoln University was second. Among the predominantly white medical schools of the North there were more graduates enrolled from Morehouse College than from any other Negro college. There were only seven from Morehouse enrolled in these colleges but this was more than from any other Negro school. The study also shows that Morehouse has more graduates in medical colleges of the nation than any other predominantly Negro college with the exception of Howard University which has an enrollment several times that of Morehouse.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Fall of Richmond

THE CIVIL WAR ended in Virginia. With the fall of Richmond, I hope massive resistance to desegregation will end in Virginia. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House in 1865. When Governor Almond did not sent the state troops to block integration in Norfolk and Arlington after the Federal courts had ordered Negro students to enter, Governor Almond surrendered to a higher power — the Federal Government. For this the Governor should be given a little credit, but I do not believe that he and the people of Norfolk and Arlington should be praised over much because there was no rioting and violence when Negro students entered. Decent citizens are expected to obey the law.



Dr. Mays

AND YET, when you compare Almond with Faubus, one must give Almond credit for having more wisdom than Faubus. They both played politics. Governor Faubus could have done what Governor Almond did. Almond can say to his constituency that I fought desegregation with every illegal means at my disposal, but when my maneuvers were struck down by the Federal courts, as a law-abiding citizen and as one sworn to uphold both the Federal and state constitutions, I had no choice but to bow to the highest law. This kind of reasoning and commen sense did not appeal to Faubus.

Governor Almond made one final grand stand play. He had enacted into law a bill which would provide $250 to each pupil who wanted to attend a private school. This will hardly work and I do not believe Mr. Almond will try to change the Virginia constitution to relieve the state of the responsibility of providing public education.

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WHAT EFFECT will this have upon states like South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida? In time desegregation will move along fairly orderly in Florida and Louisiana. Louisiana has had integration in the Louisiana State University for several years. The University of Florida has recently opened its doors to Negroes in the professional schools. Governor Collins is a far more enlightened man than Governor Faubus. The Governor of Louisiana also stands above the Governor of Arkansas.

When it comes to South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, I doubt if Virginia will mean very much to them. Although they know that in the end they, too, must bow to the inevitable, these four states will fight to the "bitter end." They may even try an Almond stunt and close the public schools. If the tenor of the present Georgia Legislature is a true index of the future, Georgia does not intend to profit by what has happened in Virginia.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

And They Say We Are Moving Too Fast

THE FEBRUARY 13 issue of U. S. News and World Report gives some astounding figures. As you know, U. S. News and World Report is not an enthusiast for integration. Nevertheless, the figures are significant.



Dr. Mays

It is pointed out there that in the 10 states of the Deep South Negroes in public schools number 2,300,000. It is also pointed out that only 165 Negroes are attending mixed schools in these 10 Southern states there is token integration in Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia; none in Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. According to U. S. News and World Report, there are 78 Negroes in mixed schools in Arkansas. Seventy-eight Negroes in mixed schools out of a total of state school enrollment of 203,530 Negroes. In North Carolina there are 13 Negroes in mixed schools, in Charlotte,, Greensboro and Winston-Salem out of a state total of 314,000 Negroes. In Tennessee The News reports that there are 44 Negroes in mixed schools out of a Negro school population of 137,460. In recently desegregated Virginia, there are 30 Negroes in mixed schools out of a total Negro population of 203,565. And yet, we are told on every front by the segregationists that we are moving too fast. With this dismal slow picture, the President of the United States talks about moderation and expressed the view at one time that we had gone too fast.

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THIS MAY IMPLY some thing serious. If the Deep South states plan to move only as each school district is sued, it will be a long, expensive process. If the Virginia pattern is to be followed then I can see many, many years of segregated schools in the South. There can be considerable intimidation in some of the Deep South states. And I am quite sure this is the plan and the strategy on the part of staunch segregationists. When the South gets calmer it may see the futility of eternal resistance to law; especially so when they discover that integration does work well in North Carolina and Virginia. It is conceivable that after we settle down a bit, desegregated schools will increase at a fairly rapid pace. It is important and significant to get segregation broken down at any point.

As slow as things are moving, there will be further gains made in Virginia and North Carolina. With the local option in North Carolina, there will be additional cities to desegregate. It seems that other cities in Virginia will come along in a relatively short time. Governor Collins of Florida has suggested that Florida should begin to desegregate before the courts make it impossible for them to do otherwise. South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama will hold on as long as they can and conceive new tricks to evade the May 17, 1954, decision.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Secretary Dulles

EVERY American regrets exceedingly the illness of Secretary Dulles. I am sure that the prayers of everyone are for his complete recovery. And yet we all know how difficult it is to be optimistic about a person who has cancer. Medical science has gone a long way but nobody has discovered anything that will guarantee a cure for cancer. I have said more than once that if I were a physician, that is the one thing I would hope that I had the genius to do — find a way to cure cancer. I would like to see a miracle performed in the case of Secretary Dulles.



Dr. Mays

As I write this, this does not mean that I am in accord with everything that the Secretary has done in handling our foreign affairs. I hesitate to say anything critical about the Secretary because he knows so much more about foreign affairs than I do. I do have opinions, however, which may not be valid. For example, I think it was a mistake when we canceled the loan to Egypt which we had promised that we would do, to help her build the Aswan Dam. As a result, Russia let Egypt have $100,000,000.

ALL THIS is beside the point. History will record that no Secretary of State has served his country with any more devotion than John Foster Dulles. He is no doubt the most widely traveled Secretary of State in the history of nations. At no point has he spared himself. He has given everything that he has since becoming Secretary of State and nobody can doubt his honesty of purpose and the sincerity with which he goes about his tasks. He must be an exceptionally able person because I am sure that President Eisenhower would not swear by him as he does if Mr. Dulles did not have something on the ball which those of us who view him from afar and read about him in the papers cannot see and understand.

A WEAKER MAN as Secretary of State would not have served us as well as Mr. Dulles who has been firm and tough in his dealings with Russia. I think it could not be otherwise. Russia would take advantage of any apparent weakness in her dealings with us as she moves forward to bring the entire world under the sway of communism. To do this, I am convinced that Russia will stop at nothing, not even war, if she thinks she can win the war. A nation whose leaders believe that history and time are on her side and who moves with the conviction that Adlai Stevenson says they do, cannot be dealt with with soft hands.

Whether Mr. Dulles is restored to health and continues as Secretary of State or whether he must give up his work, the positive approach to Russia must be maintained. We can only hope that the best possible person will be secured, for the American Secretary of State is perhaps the most important man in international relationships in the Western World.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Governor Meyner Of New Jersey

IT TOOK courage for Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey to say what he did to the Democrats in Louisiana on Feb. 25. As a rule, a Northern politician speaking in the Deep South tends to soft-pedal the civil rights issue. Governor Meyner did not do this. Speaking to the New Orleans Democrats, Mr. Meyner called for an extension of the right of the ballot under the 15th Amendment to the Constitution. He told them that the Federal government is growing bigger and stronger and that there isn't much the states can do about it.



Dr. Mays

On the segregation issue Governor Meyner told the Louisiana Democrats what everybody should know, that the United States Supreme Court did not ask for a summary compliance with its May 17, 1954, decision but only urged deliberate speed. He pointed out the significance of the fact that the massive resistance movement in Virginia was struck down by Virginia's own Supreme Court. It is for this reason that I speak of the collapse of Virginia's massive resistance as "the fall of Richmond." Governor Meyner made it clear again that the court's decision cannot be made to disappear either by open defiance or by ignoring it, or by any other extraneous means.

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TO QUOTE Mr. Meyner, he said to the Louisiana Democrats: "To deny this fact would be to transform our country from a law-abiding democracy into a lawless anarchy. No one —including, as I have said, the Supreme Court—contends that the change from segregation to non-segregation is easy. But where reason and common sense prevail, there is a solution." Mr. Meyner went on further to say: "I would be less than frank if I failed to say here that another constitutional crisis is ahead if all citizens are not accorded the right to vote, as guaranteed by the 15th Amendment." This was exceedingly strong medicine for the Louisiana Democrats and it took a great courage for the governor of New Jersey to say this in the Deep South.

GOVERNOR MEYNER also made it clear that the states cry out against creeping Federalism but that states and municipalities continue to bid for and receive vast Federal aid grants. Louisiana got $2,730,000 in Federal aid money in 1931 and the figure jumped to $82,000,000 in the current fiscal year.

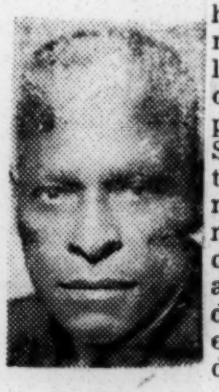
The Southern states who cry out against civil rights and say that the Federal government is taking away their freedom, never argue that way when they are trying to get millions of dollars from the Federal government. There is no way in the world for the states to be free if they are going to keep their hands out begging. If they must keep their hands out for Federal contributions then, I think, the states should stop hollering about creeping federalism.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Senator Russell

IN A RECENT address before the Georgia County Commissioners' Association, Senator Russell is quoted as saying, "The grim gamble of allowing our nation and our people to become so tragically divided, internally, in these perilous times should be readily apparent to every American, certainly it it should be apparent to our President who is our Commander-in-Chief." The Senator is reputed to have said that the Berlin crisis "called for the utmost unity and domestic harmony." The Senator, further, is quoted as saying, "The people of this country are being divided by the unceasing efforts of irresponsible reformers and conscienceless politicians." In that speech, the Senator urged the President to order the Justice Department to cease trying to implement the United States Supreme Court decision, and urged him to order Federal agents to stop "badgering and harrassing the Southern people."



Dr. Mays

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IS SENATOR Russell, really, in earnest about this, or is he playing politics, looking forward to re-election to another term in the Senate? A good many people would call Mr. Russell a conscienceless politician. Doesn't the Senator know that from 1896 to 1938 the Justice Department did nothing to implement the 1896 decision of the United States Supreme Court when the court ruled in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson that segregation was constitutional? The South did nothing to implement that decision, and it did not begin to try equalize educational opportunities for Negroes and whites until Negroes began to sue in the Federal courts in the late '30's. In many sections of the South, there is a determined effort on the part of city and county officials to keep Negroes from voting.

■

IT IS THE same old story, Senator. You want the South to be let alone so it can deal with Negroes as it pleases. I wish Mr. Russell had said in that address that if the Justice Department would leave the South alone, the South would, voluntarily, seek ways and means of implementing the Court's decision, and that he would take the leadership in his native Georgia to see that responsible white and Negro leaders got together to work out ways and means of complying with this decision. If Southern leaders said this to the Justice Department, and meant it, the Justice Department would, gracefully, bow out and Negro leaders would accept the challenge to sit down and work out a program of complying with the court's decision.

I am sure Senator Russell has nothing of this kind in mind. He wants the South to be let alone, period. I wish the South could forget the Civil War and get on with the job of trying to make the South the greatest section of this country, which with proper leadership, it could become.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

IT OUGHT to be clear to all people who have been sympathetic with the Deep South states why the officials and many citizens of these states argued for time to implement the May 17, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. Over and over again they said, "You cannot desegregate overnight"; "Give us time" was the great cry. We heard, too, the outworn phrase, "You cannot legislate morals. You must change the hearts and minds of people."



Dr. Mays

Even the President of the United States fell into this trap. He talked at length about moderation. He was quoted as saying on one occasion that he had hoped that desegregation would have moved along more slowly. Many people in the North became sympathetic with the South and said that we were pushing the South too hard and fast.

■

SOMEHOW, BEING a Southerner and having lived in the South practically all of my life, I knew that the vast majority of people who ask for time and who maintain that you must do this thing slowly and gradually, were not altogether honest and did not mean what they were saying. It is clear now that Governor Almond of Virginia does not believe in gradualism. The Governor does not believe in taking time to work out ways and means whereby the schools of Virginia might be desegregated. Governor Almond believes in a segregated society now, tomorrow and possibly forever. The Governor of Virginia believes in massive resistance. Governor Faubus does not believe in gradualism. Nine Negroes in an enrollment of approximately 2,000 is gradualism.

I have argued in these columns for four years that the people who talked about "gradualism" and "you cannot change people over night" were really saying we do not intend to obey the decision of the United States Supreme Court; we plan to resist implementing the decision to the very end. They really meant defiance from the beginning. The actions of Arkansas, Virginia and the attitudes of the top officials in Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama make it crystal-clear that these state officials are placing state's rights above the Federal Government.

■

THE DEFIANCE of the Civil Rights Commission on the part of officials in Alabama is further testimony that it is not gradualism. These people are determined to have their own way where the Negro is concerned. When I see what is going on in some of these Deep South states, I thank God for the Federal Government. Otherwise we could have a Nazi Germany in some of these states, or a racial situation as outrageous as that in South Africa.

The Deep South states will lose this battle. An increasing number of people are beginning to speak out against this massive resistance. They know that the Deep South states are on the wrong side of the moral issue, just as they were on the wrong side when they tried to defend slavery.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Democrats Are in Power

THE PRESENT Congress serves to dramatize how sweeping was the Democratic victory last fall. It was a great victory for the Democrats, but it carries with it great responsibility. Let us look at the complexion of the 86th Congress. There are 436 members in the House of Representatives.. Out of this number there are 283 Democrats and 153 Republicans. The Democrats outnumber the Republicans in the House by 130 Representatives and in the Senate by 30 Senators. Whatever is done or is not done in this 86th Congress must be laid at the door of the Democrats. The 34 Republican Senators in the Senate and the 153 Republican Representatives in the House cann t enact one piece of legislation without considerable support from the Democrats. What a responsibility rests upon this heavily weighted Democratic Congress!



Dr. Mays

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MANY MAJOR issues must be fought out in this Congress: spending, will the budget be balance? Will taxes be increased? Will there be a new approach to foreign policy with respect to foreign aid? Will there be more spending to compete with Russia launching bigger and faster satelites? Will prices continue to soar? If a recession comes, will Congress be able to stop it? Will the Taft-Hartley Act be modified? Will new civil rights legislation be enacted? These are some of the major issues that will confront the 86th Congress. Whatever happens in any of these areas will be charged to the Democrats.

The question was raised last fall as to the significance of the 1958 Democratic landslide for the presidential year 1960. This question cannot be answered now. Politically speaking, it is a long way from January 1959 to the fall of 1960. If the Democrats do an exceptionally fine job in the 86th and 87th Congress it will assist them mightily in the 1960 presidential race. Only time can tell what influence 1958 will have on 1960.

■

EVEN IN the area of civil rights, the Democrats can do pretty much what they choose to do. If the Senators of 11 Southern states should vote solidly against a civil rights measure, the North would have 42 non-Southern Democratic Senators—almost half the number of Senators in the Senate. They would need to pick up only eight Republicans to outvote the South. On the question of civil rights legislation, the South would need considerable support from Democrats in the North or Republicans in the North in order to block something.

The Democratic party is not only on the spot on this question, but the North is on the spot.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

WHEN men are frustrated they will say and do silly things. When they have press conferences and have nothing to say, they will also say silly things. Both of these evidently apply to Senator Russell of Georgia. He is going to assist in solving the race problem by introducing a bill in Congress to provide money for Negroes in the South to move to the East and West. Negroes have been migrating to the East and West in large numbers for 43 years, since World War I. Europeans could not come here and some of them left the United States to go back and fight for their countries, and this left vacancies in industry. Industry came South and carried Negroes North to fill the places which othewise Europeans would have filled. Since 1915 Negroes have been going North by the thousands. Some one told me recently that Negroes were going into a certain Western city at the rate of 1,000 a week or 52,000 a year. Spread this over the nation and you will have a tremendous figure. The Senator is late.



Dr. Mays

IN THE second place, the Senator's bill will not get by Congress. Congress does many things just as foolish, but I do not believe Congress will pass any such bill. The Congress will not take the Senator's bill seriously because it will doubt the Senator's motives. I do not

believe Senator Russell has any real interest in Negroes. He isn't trying to help the Negro and he is not particularly concerned with helping the South. I think he is striking back at the North. He seems to think that the North doesn't understand the problem and if they had more Negroes to deal with, the North would be more sympathetic toward the South. Then, too, a politician who wants to perpetulate himself in office, feels that he must keep himself before the public, so politicians, like most of us, talk a lot of nonsense and this is what the Senator is doing.

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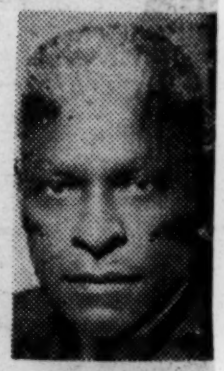
ALL THIS makes me wonder. These people are suppose to be "superior" people. Mr. Russell proposed a bill that does not make sense. The Governor-Elect Vandiver seems to be ready to entertain the idea of a bill to close Negro colleges if a white college desegregates. Almond prefers that white children suffer inferior education or no education, rather than have a few Negroes in school with whites. Faubus closed Central High and Horace Mann because nine Negroes went to Central. There has been considerable talk of political corruption in Georgia. Officials have been tried in court. These are the doings of "superior" minds. How superior are such people? Superiority ought to consist not only in logical thinking and obedience to law, but it should also consist of decent behavior. Sometime I wou'd like to see a scientific list of what really make a superior people.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Walls of Segregation Crumbling in Atlanta

SEVERAL months ago a group of Negro ministers in Atlanta, led by the Rev. William Holmes Borders, were arrested because they boarded Atlanta buses and disregarded the segregation law in seating. It was in violation of the segregation ordinance of both city and state. And yet, the case was never brought to trial. It is the opinion of many that the city never intended to bring the case to trial. If the city had tried them, it would hardly have tried them on violation of the law enforcing segregation. The city knew that segregation on buses is unconstitutional as the Montgomery victory proves. So, my guess is that these ministers would have never been brought to trial. If brought to trial, the charge would have been disorderly conduct or something like that.



Dr. Mays

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IN THE meanwhile, the Rev Samuel W. Williams, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta and teacher of philosophy at Morehouse College, and the Rev. John T. Porter, Morehouse graduate and pastor now in Detroit, Mich., initiated a Federal suit against local and state authorities seeking to prevent the enforcement of certain ordinances requiring segregated seating on public transportation. They further asked the court to declare segregation laws unconstitutional.

Judge Frank A. Hooper ruled in their favor on Jan. 9, 1959, declaring segregation on Georgia buses unconstitutional. Although Judge Hooper did not issue an injunction against officials of the city and state to halt them from the enforcement of any criminal statutes, he kept jurisdiction over the case and this means that if Negroes are denied their rights to ride Atlanta buses unsegregated, they can go directly to Judge Hooper's court for redress without having to enter a new suit.

■

WE SALUTE the Revs. Williams and Porter because it is not easy to get people to stick their necks out in this way. Most people are afraid of something or they do not wish to be bothered. But we can win no cases unless somebody is willing to be used in a test case. Negroes and the nation should be ever grateful for the Negroes who were not afraid to be used to get larger freedom for Negroes and the country.

We are also indebted to Mrs. Barbara Hunt, Mrs. Myra Elliott Dinsmore and Miss Iris Mae Welch who are responsible for a Federal decision by Judge Boyd Sloan ruling that the admission policies of the Georgia State College of Business Administration are unconstitutional. The college required Negro applicants to get the endorsement of two graduates of the school and the ordinary or clerk of the Superior Court. Since no Negro has ever graduated from a white college in Georgia, a Negro could never complete his application.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Senator Talmadge's Amendment

SENATOR TALMADGE of Georgia is proposing a new amendment to the Federal Constitution. The amendment is designed to give each state complete control of its public school system and thereby preserve segregation in the public schools of the South. There is one thing about the bill which is good. As far as I know, Senator Talmadge is the only deep South Senator who has admitted that the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land and that it will be the law of the land until the Court reverses itself or Congress passes legislation making the decision invalid.



Dr. Mays

Evidently, Mr. Talmadge does not believe that the Court will reverse itself any time soon; so he takes the hard way. I call it the hard way because in order for the Senator's amendment to become a part of the Constitution it must pass by a two-third vote in the House and a two-third vote in the Senate. In addition to that, ¾ of the states must adopt it and with Alaska making the 49th State, the amendment would have to be adopted by 37 states. Although it is a possibility that he could get this accomplished, I don't believe he can.

■

EVEN IF it were possible for the amendment to be adopted, it would take time. A good many state legislatures meet once every two years and all of this would have to be done in the states after a 2/3 vote in both Houses of Congress. Suppose it took two or three years for the amendment to be adopted, you would still have two more years of integrated schools and the schools that have been ordered to desegregate would be legally bound to do so.

I wonder if the Senator would be willing to give each city or county the right to desegregate or not to desegregate. If he is fighting Federal control of the states, would he be equally vigorous in fighting the state control of the cities and counties? I am quite sure that the Senator would not agree to this.

■

I DO NOT believe that the Talmadge amendment will pass. If it does, we will be stuck with segregation in the public schools in the Deep South for a century. Furthermore, if this bill is passed by Congress, it will give encouragement to further the effort to get Congress to give the states full control over segregation in transportation and voting matter. It would be the entering wedge for reducing the Negro to a segregated status in American life. If there is any likelihood that this amendment is going to succeed, Negroes who have voting strength in the North must use every ounce of it to get the amendment defeated.

31a 1959

NEGRO (JOHN H. McCRAY)

South's courts show new day of justice

By JOHN H. McCRAY

ARE OUR WOMEN NOW EMANCIPATED?

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Some strange things have happened in the South recently, strange in the sense that while there were ample opportunity and occasions, it just wasn't in accordance with southern customs.

It first attracted attention when four young white men were convicted of the mass rape of a 19-year old Florida A and M College coed.

The all-white jury recommended mercy, which prevented a death penalty. The men were given life sentences, the first recalled around the South for rape of a colored woman.

Two weeks later, an all-white Beaufort, S.C. general sessions court convicted a 24-year old white Marine of criminally assaulting a Burton, S.C. (Beaufort county) colored woman. The jury did not recommend mercy, which makes a death sentence mandatory under S.C. law.

IT IS too early yet to determine whether or not this is to be the pattern of juries and courts from now on. A factor in the Florida case certainly was the recent lynch-death of Mack Parker near Poplarville, Miss.

The Beaufort case is another after effect of the Mississippi case and also of the Florida conviction.

In other words, the Florida and South Carolina convictions point up to be "defensive" steps in which the South, belatedly, is trying to disprove it discriminates against colored people.

It does not attempt to explain, however, why in more than half a century it has failed to mete to white rapists of colored women the same application of its own laws as are dealt to colored men charged with the identical crime against white women.

* * *

IN SOUTH CAROLINA earlier this year, there were two cases fresh in mind in which white men were accused of raping colored women. A Richland County white man, accused by the 21-year old victim of luring her into an unoccupied apartment under pretense of employing her as a maid, drew only 30 days of a fine of $100.

He was an ex-convict. His light sentence was made possible by the state reducing his charge from rape to one of assault and battery, a device commonly used to dispose of cases made against white rapists of colored women.

During the same week, a 17 year old Clarendon County youth, accused of attempting criminal assault upon two aged white women, into whose home he had broken, was sentenced to 30 years in the state penitentiary.

* * *

FROM PERSONAL observations after news reporting and civic work the last quarter of a century, this reporter recalls our women have been molested and their defilers allowed to go free.

About the time the Florida case "broke," for example, a Clarendon County colored woman reported to officers she had been abducted by three white men, driven several miles at night, and assaulted by them.

Last official word heard was that the case had been dropped. Why? Rape is a capital offense in southern states. How do you drop a charge in a capital offense case?

A commonplace experience for many of our women in southern towns is to propositioned openly by white men. You can pick up accounts of these at a "dime a dozen" in almost any community.

This "forced intimacy" of southern white men, of course, goes back to the days of slavery when our women were the chattel property of white men.

Are we now witnessing the "arrival" of our women? Are they, at long last, gaining an emancipation they have needed?

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
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A Circus Of Excitement

When Charles Van Doren hit the sawdust trail of repentance and confessed at the altar of a congressional committee of enquiry to knowingly and willingly participating in major television quiz frauds, he spoke of himself as a symbol.



This is an accurate summation. He was the unstable intellectual, not yet possessed of intellect, who fittingly enough was seduced in the apartment bedroom of a TV producer into accepting agreed-upon sums for prostituting his intelligence.

He was even more a symbol of our national attitude. It was an almost cruel commentary on us as a people that his confession coincided with the announcement by the President of the December date of the Big Four meeting in Paris. It will be a prelude to the summit meeting in which the U.S.S.R. will participate. This latter assembly of the powers will be a conference which, without fail, will have great impact on the future of the republic, determing perhaps in a major degree its chances for war or peace, survival or disaster. There was meager discussion of it, and less interest in it.

Washington and the nation were pleased to be otherwise engaged. They did not have to deal with big, complex problems. They had what they like most—a circus of excitement with clowns, some tragic and sad as the face of Emmett Kelly, and others of slapstick laughter.

National Values

But Van Doren was a symbol of something else. There has been for sometime an admission that we have not done too well in establishing a set of national values. Our manners and disciplines are second rate. Our undisciplined juveniles, a crop larger than that of any other country on earth, testify eloquently to our failure. We deplore the godlessness of Russia and the regimentation of her peoples. Yet, we wince in the knowledge that in Russia women may walk alone at night in cities and parks and not be afraid of attack or robbery.

We are shamed by the fact that our educational system does not so well serve our objectives of freedom and the place of the individual in a free society, as the Soviet system serves the Marxist objectives of communism.

As a nation, we are suffering from generations of second-rate education. We have come to accept the lowest common denominator as the norm of our lives in teaching, learning and experience. Van Doren lamented the fact that by faking knowledge of history and literature he overnight became a national hero.

Right to Think

This simply could not have happened without years of national preparation. There may be a flaw in the argument, but it seems sound to say that on the average we have abdicated the right to think, know and participate.

What do we think?

Why, the polls answer for us. We sometimes laugh at what they tell us we think. But we rarely protest. It did not even disturb us when, during the second great war, it was learned by the poll method that a popular picture weekly was regarded by a huge majority of our armed forces as "highbrow" reading while comic books were the sole reading matter of an equally large number.

The members of the congressional committee, sitting like gods atop cloudy Olympus, might well have lined themselves up beside young Van Doren and made honest confessions. The nation's educational problem has been for years in a period of worsening crisis. The congressmen hearing the TV fraud have participated in evading this issue until education in many states is starved and replete with frauds on the children.

It is ironic, too, to see a great many editorials of condemnation of Van Doren's fraud from typewriters which consistently have eagerly urged defiance of processes of law and fraudulently deceived readers by telling them the Supreme Court school orders do not become law.

All these things reflect an abandonment of principle — a preference for the lowest common denominator. The field was ripe for the Van Doren harvest.

RALPH
The Atlanta
MC GILL
Constitution

What Does Ike See—and Think?

There was a line in a story which said President Eisenhower, in India and Pakistan, rode between solid lines of people whose massed numbers portrayed the poverty and misery of Asia.



What did Khrushchev see in this country?

Fabulous supermarkets, with food from all the great productionareas of the world on theirshelves; a magnificent networkof truck-and-automobile crowdedhighways, railroad systems andairlines; a healthy, overfed people, the poorest of them rich beyond comparison with Asia's millions; homes, apartments and farms. Not even teeming, tense Harlem was so badly overrun as some of his own densely populated urban areas.

He saw, too, some of our stored agricultural wealth . . . six billion dollars worth of cheese, wheat, corn, butter, powdered milk, cotton.

And what did Khrushchev think?

We know he cannot have failed to think that if he had had all that surplus of food and fiber he would have made political capital of it in Asia. He had already seen the multitudes of Asia and had looked upon, and smelled, their misery and poverty.

Two Witnesses

Let us summon two more witnesses—two more pairs of eyes who have seen what Khrushchev and Eisenhower have seen.

One of these is a congressman, Hale Boggs, of Louisiana, a conservative. He is just recently back from Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

What did Mr. Boggs see?

"I found," he said, "an almost savage desire among peoples of such lands for the comforts they know are available in the world . . . the Communist propaganda is telling them that the Marxist way is the quickest and surest road to obtaining them." (It is a good phrase—if a frightening one. . . . "an almost savage desire.")

Call the next witness—the historian Toynbee. Mr. Toynbee, what is the most explosive development of our age?

"This single fact—that millions of backward people in the remotest villages of Asia, Africa and Latin America have a new awareness of possibility—a new hope of escape from the old vicious memory of poverty, hunger and disease. These millions are rising to demand a better personal dignity, and expanding opportunities. Their awakening is the paramount fact of our time."

Notes Compared

It would almost seem that Congressman Boggs and historian Toynbee have traveled together and compared notes. But they have not. What they have seen is what every person has seen who has been to Asia where the great compulsive world changes are most apparent.

What does Ike think?

We can imagine. He certainly will come home with a sense of urgency. He will have amendments for old plans. He will be stirred and moved by the sight of so much humanity, flowing like rivers through the streets, much of it nearly naked, and nearly all of it thin and most of it hungry.

Can America be dripping with fat and remain safe while the vast revolution of which traveler Boggs and Toynbee have spoken and the President is seeing goes on about us? Can we destroy the image of America as a land of free peoples and equal opportunity? Can we argue about the rights of all citizens to vote and have housing and education on an equal basis? Can we enjoy the luxury of strikes and production stoppages at a time when our economy must expand to give us momentum and power?

Ike in Pakistan, Ike in India, Ike in Africa—poses a question, the real one.

The President has seen enough to call for a worldwide attack on hunger. But if he does not follow it up, it will remain so much rhetoric. What do the American people feel about it? What will the Congress do? We can reduce budgets only in the field of foreign aid and defense.

What do we think?

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Two Presidents Go to Church

President Eisenhower and President of India, Rajendra Prasad, are scheduled to go to church in New Delhi.



For devout Hindu Prasad it will be unusual but of no concern at all. One of the reasons the Hindus have such high regard for the Christ is that he preached the Sermon on the Mount and said, "In my Father's house are many mansions."

The Hindus interpret the sermon and the promise of heaven as coinciding exactly with their own beliefs. President Prasad will go to church not in any gesture of courtesy, but in sincere worship. Does not the Bhagavad-Gita say that all creatures are members of the one family of God?

Mahatma Gandhi wrote, as late at 1927: "I have not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the Bhagavad Gita. The Gita argues out the law of love. . . . The Sermon on the Mount gives the same law in wonderful language. The New Testament gave me comfort and boundless joy, as it came after the repulsion that parts of the Old Testament had given me. Today, supposing I was deprived of the Gita, and forgot its contents, but had a copy of the Sermon, I should derive the same joy from it as I do from the Gita."

Hindu Civilization

Nations, like people, are a part of what they have experienced. The Hindu civilization is a contemplative one. Prime Minister Nehru, while he is an agnostic, has absorbed, and reflects in all his actions, the philosophy of the Gita and of Gandhi's teaching. In an interview with Nehru some years after Gandhi's death, I asked him what had been the chief inheritance from Gandhi.

"Without question," he said, "the Mahatma gave to our politics a sense of morality." He paused, and then added, wryly, "and I sometimes wish he hadn't."

Both the Gita and the teachings of Buddha have given a meditative cast to Asian civilization. The Communists in China have halted all teaching of Buddhist ethics and morality. Latest writings from the Chinese mainland note that today none of the intellectuals or scholars quote Buddha—as all such persons did in the old China.

"The end and the beginnings of beings are unknown," says the Gita. "We see only the intervening formations. Then what cause is there for grief?"

"With all thy strength fly unto God, and surrender thyself, and by his grace shalt thou attain supreme peace and reach the eternal home."

Help Understanding

These selections from the Gita help us understand why President Prasad can go to a Christian church as easily as to one of his own temples.

Religion in the formal sense, with its worshipping, temple-going, and prayers, has no appeal for Premier Nehru.

While he does not say so publicly because of the political reverberations it would set off, Nehru almost certainly wishes that India were not so meditatively minded. In his autobiography he says that his view of religion most closely approximates the Chinese cult of Taoism. Taoists believe a man's way of life should concern itself with ethics, and more particularly, with the good of society, rather than with personal salvation after death. To Nehru, therefore, organized religion seems to concern itself with metaphysical concepts, such as sin, and ignores social needs.

It is perhaps significant that one of the great movements within the Christian church today is to have that religion concern itself more directly with social needs than abstract concepts.

It is perfectly clear that unless the Christian Church does concern itself directly with problems of race, hunger, housing and human misery, it will lose all vitality.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

1959 Report From M.I.T.

At hand is the annual report by the president of M.I.T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology).



There are several excellent technical institutes in the nation. The consensus is that M.I.T. ranks first. Therefore, the findings of her president, Dr. Julius A. Stratton, have major validity.

One of the plums to be extracted from this scholastic pie deals with the forces of change, as follows:

"Actually the problems of undergraduate education that now loom before M.I.T. — and indeed that confront every institution seriously concerned with the teaching of science and engineering—are of a new nature. Three major forces are working to make obsolete large segments of the traditional curricula and to outmode many of the methods of instruction.

"First, there is the stupendous accumulation of new knowledge and principles flowing from advances in every field of science and engineering.

"Second, the nature of these advances is such that it becomes increasingly important that students of science and engineering have a thorough command of modern physics, chemistry, and mathematics.

"Third, the traditional boundaries that have long compartmentalized one professional field from another are rapidly dissolving away, with the result that the foundations of a sound professional education are constantly broadening.

Major Proportion

"These influences are, as I have said, of major proportion. We shall be unable to cope with them by the simple expedients of small adjustments and gradual change."

Let the thoughtful parent digest this irrefutable conclusion and ask of himself a few questions.

Does the elementary school in my community give sound preparation for secondary school math? Does the high school offer adequate mathematics, chemistry and physics to enable my daughter or son to compete in one of the better technical institutes?

Parents and community leaders in rural areas which, out of wilful vanity, resist consolidation and insist on maintaining an inadequate high school, place pride and economic greed before their children. The majority of our secondary schools do not provide necessary instruction. A great preponderance of rural high schools doom to failure their students who might wish to take science courses.

How many communities have well lighted football fields, a band, a corps of uniformed majorettes—all provided by local business—and no physics or chemistry lab teachers?

A shocking number must plead guilty to this.

National Problem

The problem is a national one.

But for those Southern communities which are determined to close their public schools rather than adopt a placement law and use it fairly, the M.I.T. report should be required reading.

How many of the South's finest young men and women, captives of extremist politicians and of others cowed by the various councils and klans, will be deprived of an adequate education and a fair chance to compete with children of other regions?

Can a jerry-built system of private schools, which failed at Little Rock, give a thorough knowledge of mathematics and a foundation in physics and chemistry? The grim truth is that the areas in which closing of public schools is planned have, for all their recent attention to education, been unable to lift their schools from the lowest status of per pupil expenditure and teacher pay. They have always provided second-rate education. Many of their residents are products of it. Some regard poor education as normal.

There are new forces in education today.

And basic among them is the need for thorough instruction in the elementary grades, where learning begins, as well as in secondary schools. They are not merely a preparation for college. They are a part of the continuing process.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

John Brown: 100 Years Ago

This October is the 100th anniversary of John Brown's preposterous act of madness at Harpers Ferry.



Let us look at it for a while because it provides eloquent testimony for a persistent, yet often ignored fact. It is that men may be killed for their ideas. But the ideas do not die with them.

That John Brown was mad is not to be doubted. His mother died insane, after many years of mental illness. So did her mother before her. Three of his mother's brothers and a sister were also adjudged mad and were confined in asylums. Two sons of another brother were likewise afflicted. John Brown was an eccentric failure at all the things he tried. He brooded over his inability to care for his numerous children. He became a fanatic reader of the Bible. He had always been an abolitionist.

But it was not until he was past 50 and living at Osawatomie, Kan., that he became obsessed with plans, which he said were inspired by the scriptures, to free slaves and end slavery of men. He was, he proclaimed, merely an "instrument in the hands of God." In Kansas he led a raid in retaliation for a proslavery foray against the town of Lawrence. Five hapless victims were murdered. From that time on he was called "Old Osawatomie Brown" and fear ran ahead of him.

Maddest Plan

In the summer of 1859 Old Osawatomie made his maddest plan. In October he set it in motion at Harpers Ferry, Va. He planned to seize the rifle works and call on the slaves to rise. In his madness he ignored the fact there were but few slaves in the area.

Stephen Vincent Benet, in his magnificent epic of the Civil War, gives us the picture of Brown and his band:

"They reached the Maryland bridge of Harpers Ferry
That Sunday night. There were twenty-two in all,
Nineteen were under thirty, three not twenty-one,
Kagi, the self-taught scholar, Puritan-fathered,
A singing giant, gunpowder-tempered and rash.
Dauphin Thompson, the pippin-cheeked country boy,
More like a girl than a warrior; Oliver Brown,
Married last year when he was barely nineteen;
Dangerfield Newby, colored and born a slave,
Freedman now, but married to one not free
Who, with their seven children, waited him South,
The youngest baby just beginning to crawl;
Watson Brown, the steady lieutenant, who wrote
Back to his wife, 'Oh, Bell, I want to see you
And the little fellow very much, but must wait.
There was a slave near here whose wife was sold South.
They found him hanging in Kennedy's orchard next morning.
I cannot come home as long as such things are done here . . .'
These were some of the band . . ."

Ironic Jest

They tied up the watchman and took the rifle works and the engine house. It was one of the ironic jests of history that a free Negro, Shepherd Heyward, baggage master at the station, was the first to die from rifle fire from Brown's men.

Brown waited serenely for "the rescue armies of God." They did not come. All avenues of escape were cut off. At dusk Brown had but five whole men left.

At dawn next day the first sun caught the fixed bayonets of United States Marines, commanded by an obscure colonel named Robert E. Lee. Col. Lee sent Jeb Stuart to parley. Brown refused surrender. The Marines came on.

On December 2, John Brown calmly climbed the scaffold, bent his neck for the noose, and was hanged.

This fanatic man was the martyr-catalyst which abolition needed. From his time on extremists ruled everywhere. War came hurrying on.

The idea that enslavement of man was immoral and un-Christian had been given a cutting edge. It could not be hanged or buried.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Chester Bowles; Bold Prophet
4/1-20-57

It is a caustic commentary on the Democratic Party that at a time when it seems so discouraged by the prospects of its avowed seekers after presidential nomination, Chester Bowles, whose compass has always pointed in the right direction, is not being vigorously advanced as the possible nominee.



He currently is a member of the Congress from Connecticut. He was a successful governor of that state. As an ambassador to India he achieved a reputation for himself and his country not previously attained by any ambassador to postwar Asia.

Mr. Bowles is a man possessed of the political assets of a commanding appearance and a personality which is quiet, friendly and inspiring of confidence. He is a person of demonstrated intelligence and imagination.

It was my privilege to see him at work in India. I know from Nehru himself that Chester Bowles rendered immense service to his country—and, therefore, to India herself. Bowles was there when India was in her first years as a republic. He sought, with good success, to give to Indians, and through them to Asia, an image of the United States as a country born of revolution against great odds.

Articulate Man

Chester Bowles has always been an articulate man, lucid in both his criticisms and his proposals. Since 1953, when he returned from India, he has carried on as one of the leaders in the democratic dialogue.

Goldfine scandals of New England, the TV fixes and their melancholy revelations of the state of the national values, he was disturbed by what could be seen in America. He was a voice crying in the wilderness some years ago noting the aimless drift in our national policies.

In none of this was he a scold, though he was firm and unequivocal. He and Adlai Stevenson, separately, publicly stamped as dangerous our preoccupation with status and extravagance in the material things of life while we permitted our public schools and higher education, which make the American ideals viable, to decline.

Chester Bowles was saying five years ago what some of our economists and business leaders are declaring today — that there must be a decision to have full employment and increased production without inflation to maintain our position in the ruthless competition with the Soviets.

New Book

Those who would like a look at Bowles' thinking may do so in a new, short, to-the-point book—"The Coming Political Breakthrough."

In it he describes the development of what we call the "American dream." The United States, says Chester Bowles, has had three great eras of dynamic, affirmative government. One was, of course, in the years of Jackson and Jefferson when the Bill of Rights was adopted, the two-party system grew out of the clashing philosophies of Jefferson and Hamilton, and Jackson made democracy with the little "d" come alive in the minds of the people. The second was in Lincoln's day and the third in the Roosevelt-Truman period.

Congressman Bowles believes the nation is on the verge of a fourth such period of dynamic growth. The 1960 election will determine it.

His views of the Republican Party are well summed up as follows:

"If Gov. Rockefeller were elected president, America would be treated to a twice-told political story. It would be the story of a good man raised to the presidency by a spectacularly effective public relations effort, only to have the built-in conflicts of the Republican Party itself hamstring or nullify almost everything creative or original that he might try to do at home or abroad."

Meanwhile, his own party stumbles in doubt, hamstrung, quite needlessly, by its own conflicts.

McGill Speech Site Is Banned

Post-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

COLUMBUS, Ga., March 31 (AP) — The Muscogee County Commission today banned a meeting in a Superior Court room here at which Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, was invited to speak by the Columbus League of Women Voters.

The league's president, Mrs. Joseph Masuck, promptly announced another meeting place would be obtained for the Atlanta editor's speech.

The commission earlier had agreed to use of the courtroom by the league. McGill was asked by the women to talk on the current school crisis brought about by integration moves.

At a meeting today the commission indicated the ban on use of the courtroom was based on an opinion that the league meeting was not a function of government. Judges of city and county courts that courtrooms could be used only for judiciary and governmental functions.

Mrs. Masuck said the league doesn't have another meeting place in mind at the moment but "I am sure we can find one." The meeting at which McGill was asked to speak is scheduled for May 4.

The league, also denied use of school buildings for its meeting, contends it is not necessarily endorsing McGill's views but merely providing a forum for discussion of all sides in the school question.

McGill has advocated continuance of public schools even if they are ordered to integrate.

RALPH
McGILL
The Atlanta
Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Appointment To Nigeria

An able young newspaperman and teacher from Georgia, William Gordon, has been named Public Affairs officer for the U.S. Information Agency in eastern Nigeria.



Why is he not posted simply to Nigeria?

The answer is a part of the picture of the awakening Africa, complex yet persistent, primitive and modern, insistent on independence though the mechanisms to organize and direct it as orderly government are meager.

There are roughly 35 million Nigerians. It is a country larger than any in western Europe. They live in three great divisions. Polling this month will determine the federal parliament which will meet in January to prepare for independence Oct. 1, 1960.

In north Nigeria, which has 18,000,000 of the total population, this will be the first democratic balloting in history. This region has been isolated and is still dominated by Muslim feudalism. It was granted internal self-government last March, and the experiment of it has been heady and brief.

Self-Government

In eastern and western Nigeria self-government has been in effect for two years. They are much further along and the beginnings of a bureaucracy have developed. This is a British colony, and once again we see that the English, as is their custom, have put down the basis for local government in marked contrast to the Dutch in Indonesia and the French in Guinea, to name but two of the more dismal colonial failures.

That the United States should be moving to send into the new nation trained, able men to act as information and public affairs representatives is indicative of an increasingly alert State Department policy. Gordon, who recently spent a year in Africa on an Ogden Reid fellowship, practically was drafted for the job because of his success on his tour of some 14 African countries. A part of this was covering the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra, Ghana. He is the second Negro to be named to what is an important post in the great political ferment which is Africa.

Born of farm tenant parents in Arkansas 38 years ago, educated in Memphis and New York, Gordon chose to come back to Georgia. He worked on a small weekly in Memphis and then on the Atlanta Daily World in Atlanta. There his calm, deliberate evaluation of problems and his quiet, honest presentation of them earned him a Nieman fellowship at Harvard. Progressive, responsible, and never irresponsible, he soon had made a national reputation which, if modest, was nonetheless sound.

The problems of the new government, of those who serve it, and of the U.S. officials who will represent this country there, are easily demonstrated.

Tribal Groups

There are in Nigeria 250 different tribal groups, with as many languages. Necessity made English the official language. Its history is typical. Portuguese sailors first saw it about 1472, 20 years before Columbus sailed on his voyage of discovery. The British were there by 1851. The slave trade was a long, cruel chapter.

By 1893 the British had established a form of administrative government. Today there is a rail line with but some 2,000 route miles. It is being extended. There are free public schools, with more than 2,000,000 children in classes. Roads are being expanded. Civil aviation is relatively well advanced. Foreign investment is invited. There are vast mineral resources and some oil. Cocoa, coffee, bananas, timber and cattle are the major agricultural crops.

There are a few hospitals and nursing homes, a university teaching hospital, two small colleges, three technical schools. Tribal divisions and cultures enormously complicate progress.

Africa is the one large remaining political frontier. It is a great frontier for accomplishment or failure. To be young and to be posted there to represent one's country is, without question, a great thrill which the young Southerner Gordon, his wife and children fully comprehend.

The Enigma Of A Ralph McGill

RALPH McGILL, editor of *The Atlanta Constitution*, won the Pulitzer Prize. He is a devoted, sincere newspaperman and clearly an outstanding figure in journalism on the American scene.

Many of the McGill backbiters are simply jealous. But more are sincerely in disagreement with his brand of politico-sociological liberalism.

McGill is a warm human being according to all counts, and certainly by his writing. Yet in his earnest efforts he has gone astray in one thing—in not keeping closely attuned to the mood and beliefs of his people.

Without such a harmony, a writer, a newspaper editor, is bound to be a lost ball in the high weeds. We take it that McGill is pretty much that in his state of Georgia.

The column which was highlighted in the McGill award was one linking the bombing of an Atlanta synagogue and the bombing of a school in Clinton, Tenn. What McGill was saying was that these two horrible incidents were a direct consequence of the spirit of resistance in the South to the federal government's desire to force integration.

We cannot, of course, at all subscribe to that thesis. Granted that in a climate of resistance some few might move with ugly boldness. But this does not adequately take note of the sincerity of opposition to integration efforts to be found among rank and file Southerners—on the working class level, among lawyers and political figures, among bankers and shopkeepers.

These people do not and will not condone such mayhem. But they will not, either, accept a federally enforced integration edict. Candor calls for an admission that in some places in the South integration, minute, may come about. But no power possessed by the federal government can change the thinking of this generation of Southerners, and probably not that of the next.

McGill's point had a certain limited validity, as we have conceded. But what it did not take into account was this sincere, widespread feeling that further integration efforts will only disrupt, bring unhappiness and confusion, even wreck entire school systems.

But in the North, where everything is cast in simple terms, it seemed that McGill was carrying a banner, and therefore such an award was in order. The real complexity of the situation thereby is bypassed.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
31a
Atlanta Ga.

Who Is "For" Schools Anyhow

Southern School Notes: At a time when the challenge of the school bell is heard in the land,



children in the states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia are sitting down to learning amid predictions this may be the last year of a state public school system.

There are other items of news directly related to education in those states.

A 1959 National Education Association research report finds the above four states to be among the lowest in the nation in expenditure per pupil. More revealing is the fact that while at the state level these states have made progress in educational appropriations, they are among the very last in local financial support of schools.

The cities of these states have made substantial contributions from their own tax funds. But outside the larger centers, local support is almost nonexistent. In a majority of rural communities it literally is that.

There is another relevant item.

Each year, U.S. Senator Herman Talmadge from Georgia, at the request of the press of his state, releases some educational statistics. They are the examination results of young men from his state who had applied for appointment to the military academy. He gives no names, only the figures. This is the third of such releases. Thirty-five young men applied in 1958 and 80 per cent flunked outright.

Heated Statement

The shocked senator issued a heated statement to the effect that "progressive educators seemingly had substituted the right to march in a commencement procession for the right to an education."

Last February the results on 95 applicants were released. There was a slight improvement. But the senator was still shocked. Seventy per cent flunked. The latest statistics are once more at hand. Of 88 applicants, 80 per cent failed.

The senator understandably was the more exercised when he had the breakdown before him. Of the 18 who passed with scores of 70 or better, 11 came either from private schools in Georgia or are the sons of Georgia military personnel who went to school outside the state.

Of the 18 successful applicants, only one was educated in a rural county high school. The others were all from the public schools in the larger cities of the state.

What this reveals can be applied, generally, with few variations, to all the hard-core Deep South states. It reveals what many distressed parents have known for a long time. It is that if they live in the rural areas of these states their children are most unlikely to have an opportunity to take advanced mathematics, high school physics or chemistry. They cannot have a fair chance in educational competition. This, to be sure, is not limited entirely to these states. But the harmful effects of it are there most concentrated because the South has the most school population.

Related Parts

Putting all the related parts together reveals the melancholy fact that historically there exists an astonishing lack of local support of education.

The most tragic aspect of the blind, massive defiance in the hard-core states is not defiance itself. It is the inability of the South to reduce the school problem of its steadily declining Negro population to rational terms. Leadership, which from the beginning has deceived the people as to the alternatives, consistently has substituted myth for fact, emotion for reason.

Going to school has been made into the image of an intimate social gathering, rather than a place where children go separately to be taught. The myth of forced social mixing has become a fixed one, as if attending classes was similar to attending a dance. The myth of a school being overwhelmed by mass numbers of Negroes is fostered despite the fact controlling pupil placement laws have been declared constitutional.

The people properly resent any one who attempts to tell them what they must do. But what they have not been told is what the alternatives are.

RALPH
Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.

We Can't Afford to Wait

A wry jest is current in Southern areas where resistance to the court's school decision against discrimination is most massive.



"We will abolish our schools if necessary to save segregation."

"Yeah. You can. But within a few years you won't have many people who can spell the word."

There is little humor in it, but it serves as a preamble to the almost incredible national attitude toward education. Some few Southern states are willing to abandon education rather than end discrimination. The Congress of the United States concluded hearings last April on a bill which would provide hard-pressed communities with assistance to build needed schools. Since that time there has been no action, even though every member of the Congress knows such neglect currently is detrimental to the children and to the nation in the years ahead.

It is not merely that our educational system needs revising to make it more contributive to the needs of the American or free-institutions form of government. We do not have enought classrooms in which to teach what we now offer.

Secret Weapon

It was the opinion of Adm. Hyman Rickover and Dr. Milton Eisenhower, after their return from Russia with Vice President Nixon, that the only really secret weapon the Soviets possess is their educational complex. They confirmed the findings of other educators and scientists who have visited Russia in the past two or three years. The U.S.S.R. does not waste any talent or intelligence. A Russian secondary (high school) graduate is believed by them to be a good two years ahead of United States graduates insofar as sound, basic education is concerned.

The Soviets are ruthless about it. They give every boy or girl who will work and who has ability a chance at all the education they can take. When exceptional ability appears they see it and encourage it.

Our people, who know that in every city and every rural community there are talented boys and girls who, by reason of parental opposition, lack of money, or need to go to work to help support the family, never get to college. Many do not even finish high school.

This would not happen in Russia. There the loafer and the uninterested quickly are dropped out to remain laborers all their lives, without hope of another chance. There the talented does not have much freedom of career, once it is chosen. We would not want to imitate anything about education in the U.S.S.R. save to

give every boy or girl who earns it a chance at full opportunity of education.

The nation can ill spare to lose ability and skill in the sort of world we now have — and in the one toward which we are moving.

National Security

All this makes the more inexplicable the attitude of Congress and the public. It is no exaggeration to say that if we do not maintain and strengthen an adequate system of public education our national security is in jeopardy.

We do not have enough teachers. We do not have the necessary classrooms.

Schools will open in September.

The shortage of classrooms will be somewhere around 140,500. If we follow the present, somewhat accelerated pace of classroom building it will take us 13 years to eliminate the existing shortage. And the population is growing.

We cannot afford to wait that long.

Drastic action is needed. Those states which officially decide to reduce themselves to a nonpublic school status cannot be allowed to drag down the level of the whole nation. The Congress ought to act and allow those states which are willing to commit themselves to education to have all necessary aid. It is a choice. To do so is not to discriminate against those which by free choice refuse such assistance.

Time, in the immortal words of Snuffy Smith, is a-wastin'.

BALPH Constitution

MC GILL

Atlanta Ga
Little Rock
Nov. 8 1959

Gives Answers

In Little Rock, Arkansas, a story develops, chapter by chapter, toward a conclusion that was written before the opening sentence.



The mills of the law, like the mills of the gods, grind slowly. But they grind. People who live by law must accept the processes of law or overthrow their courts and their way of life, its protection, its guarantees, its assurances of human rights. That is why the end of the Little Rock story was written before it began. We are not yet ready to exchange law for anarchy.

It is a sad story in that it reveals how deeply many good persons were deceived and betrayed by fanatic extremist leadership. There is pathos in it because thousands of children lost a year of schooling. A city, which has not attained a single new industry since the chaos deliberately and artificially was created by ambitious men, has suffered greatly.

But to those who believe this must be a nation of law, whatever some of our personal feelings may be, there is reassurance in it. The law lives. And the people of the city, save for some 200 extremists, fed by outsiders, have come to accept that fact.

Forlorn Person

Perhaps the most forlorn single person in the scene is Gov. Orval Faubus. Today he pleases no one. Even the extremists who made him an idol now reportedly curse him for deserting them and "doing nothing." He, who listened to the sirenlike voice of political ambition, is perhaps the most lonely, embittered man in politics. He cannot help but look back and ask of himself where he would have been had he said, two years ago, what he now says . . . that there must be no violence, that the schools must be allowed to function, and that the people's recourse is at the polls.

As one looks at Gov. Faubus today there comes inevitably to mind the story of Macbeth, who in his ambition had heeded the advice of witches. In the last days, when Birnam Wood began to move against him, he cried out:

". . . my way of life has fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf,

And that which should accompany old age,

As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,

I must not look to have, but in their stead,

Curses, not loud, but deep, mouth-honor, breath

Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not . . ."

What Gained?

One cannot help but ask, looking at Orval Faubus today, what it is he has gained from the past two somber years? What did he attain that he did not have? What enrichment has come to him and his people because of his leadership? What would have been his lot had he followed through the words he said, after leaving President Eisenhower at Newport, that Arkansas was a lawful state and would obey law.

We hear a lot about leadership.

The Little Rock story, and that of Virginia, should make it clear that those who offered truth, even though harsh and unpalatable, revealed more love of state, region and nation than those who peddled the false nostrums of interposition, massive resistance, and the preposterous theory the court has acted illegally.

There is another fact revealed at Little Rock.

This is the massive hypocrisy of the extremists.

Three private schools were begun. The money, said the stories a year ago, "poured in."

And now?

There is no support. The private schools are closed.

Another facet should not be overlooked.

The school placement law is working in Little Rock.

The story is one of leadership. Those who followed Gov. Faubus and his advisers must, save for the recent mob of 200, be questioning the quality of it.

The people in other states can choose to follow falsehoods or truth. Neither path is easy.

BALPH Constitution

MC GILL

Atlanta Ga
May Flowers---
June 1959

The Democrats

In a recent talk to his home state, Sen. Frank J. Lausche suggested he not be counted out of



the Democratic presidential primary next May. Now, without question, this was merely a pleasant way of making a reservation. It can be canceled or claimed. And those with an ear to the rich Ohio earth know that the peculiar charm of the senator and the attraction this Democrat has for Republican voters would be enough to win him an overwhelming majority of the Buckeye delegates.

By next May the presidential picture is pretty sure to be much clearer. By January, Gov. Rockefeller must move to cut down Vice President Nixon, or content himself with bowing out or taking second place on what is coming to be called the GOP dream and drool ticket.

Also, by the time the sap has risen and April showers have brought May flowers, the Democratic picture will be more nearly in focus. It will not be completely so. It will still be blurred and fuzzy. But we will know more about it. And, remote though the prospect may be today, we might find Sen. Lausche the best compromise candidate for the Democrats.

Present Picture

As everyone knows, the present picture is somewhat forlorn to the party failure. There is not a dominant figure among those presently in the foreground as potential candidates.

Adlai Stevenson is the exception if it is argued he is in the front row. Actually, he isn't. He scrupulously has kept himself out of it. He is, of course, easily the most able of those who have been prominently mentioned as possible nominees. Much of the nation has a guilty conscience about him. It is almost preposterous the nation should be denied his ability, intelligence and experience. Therefore, despite two defeats, he is the most appealing figure in the forefront of Democratic candidates. But, the big city machines are not all for him. The Deep South, now in the mood of the angry hound furiously trying to bite his own tail, would almost certainly desert him.

The great drive for Sen. Stuart Symington, of Missouri, carefully is being confined to the status of a still river seeking to run deeply. So far, it has been mostly still and isn't very deep. The senator is a handsome man, of commanding appearance. He is perhaps the best-dressed senator and he glitters when he walks. But, somehow, he does not cause any cold chills to go up and down the spines of voters. His oratory does not inspire one to reach for the old shooting iron and ask where the enemy may be found. If he is nominated by the Democrats, there will be thousands of normally faithful voters who will grit their teeth and go over to Nixon or Rockefeller.

Ohio Delegates

Sen. Kennedy has a following in Ohio and would win some delegates if he comes into the primary. He is working the state carefully. But the feeling persists his campaign has slowed. And anyhow, Sen. Estes Kefauver proved that winning state primaries is by no means the magic words for opening doors to presidential nominations.

All of which brings this quiet little political essay around to a re-statement of an earlier thesis. It is that Sen. Frank Lausche could turn out to be the best man the Democrats could nominate if Stevenson can't win it or won't take it.

The man can speak. There is something of the mystic about him when he is in action. He inspires confidence, assurance, hope and loyalty. He makes a good appearance. He has a lot of sense. He hasn't got on well with many of the Democratic leaders in his state, having been a fellow who has chosen to hoe his own row. But, he is a more forceful and convincing speaker than anyone on the Democratic or Republican lists. He would be a natural for TV.

This admittedly is remote possibility. But many impossible things happen in the spring.

31a 1959

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH

McGILL

Eliminate 12,000 H.S.?

James Bryant Conant, president emeritus of Harvard, has indicated in a speech or so that his upcoming report on a two-year study of the nation's high schools will recommend the number be reduced, by consolidation, from 21,000 to 9,000.



Dr. Conant and his staff visited 55 high schools in 18 states. Only eight were rated as doing a satisfactory job of education.

The study was financed by a foundation grant and was carried out with adequate and meticulous staff work. It almost surely set the pedagogues to furious debate and will doubtless cause some members of school boards and PTAs to hold fist-shaking sessions.

Dr. Conant, a distinguished scientist, teacher and administrator, and a man of intensely practical nature, has been a staunch, consistent defender of public education. It was he who first publicly rebuked those who would try to create competition between private, parochial and public schools.

Those who wish to send their children to private or parochial schools do so for a variety of reasons. Parents who choose the former do so to obtain smaller classes, individual attention and a tighter curriculum. Those who send their children to church-operated institutions do so because they wish them to have religious instruction. They pay extra for these features and they expect to do so. There must be no competitive, hostile attitude toward the public schools which are a necessary system for a democratic government which places a free education high in the list of services which it must provide. Education is not merely the necessary ingredient of a people free to choose their own representatives. It is a requirement of our way of life.

Public Schools

It cannot be done privately nor by correspondence. The great and growing populations, with their many backgrounds, can be fitted for participation in free government only by a system of public schools.

Dr. Conant, who was responsible for eliminating much that was outmoded in university approaches to teaching, would eliminate some 12,000 high schools by consolidation.

This is a fighting word in some areas, particularly the more rural ones. But Dr. Conant is almost certainly right. He sees no radical alteration in the basic pattern of American education. But he found that several thousand of America's high schools are simply unable to do the job of educating their pupils because they are too small. They do not have the pupils or the teachers to offer what is basic in a comprehensive education for a job or for attending college.

There will be furious protest. But none can argue away his facts.

Possessive Feeling

There exists in all areas, more particularly the rural, an intense, possessive feeling about "our little school." In a sense this is good. Such an attitude denotes affection for the school. But it also reveals a weakness in the concept of a school. This factor, incidentally, is one of the major reasons for the extreme, massive resistance to the court decree in the South. In many areas the school is the social center of the community. Ladies' clubs, community meetings, teas, "socials", children's parties, even dances, are held "at the school." With this goes the prestige of having a school in "our town."

Dr. Conant's findings will occasion little surprise among those who are at all familiar with the problem of education. There will need to be many consolidations to provide "comprehensive schools for all the youth living in a town, city or district."

The Conant report will include some 21 recommendations. More intensive study of English and English composition, at least one math and science course for all pupils, and a tuition-free summer school for all bright and ambitious pupils as well as repeaters are among them.

It is a report which will be of great value, stimulating as it will intense discussion and, we may be sure, a considerable amount of action by the more realistic school boards.

RALPH

McGILL

Sen. Talmadge Does a Job

Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, in a speech delivered Tuesday on the floor of the Senate, seeking a constitutional amendment to return control of schools to local authority, did a necessary service for his state and region.



He became the first Deep South senator or congressman publicly to state the Supreme Court decision on the schools "is an accomplished fact which will remain so until it either is reversed by the court itself or is nullified or modified by the Congress or the people."

For saying just that, ministers, editors and all others who took such a position have been abused and smeared by forces loosed by those extremists who preached only defiance.

It is almost incredible that such a simple statement of fact and reality should not before have been made by a Deep South senator or congressman. But such was the miasma of fear and distortion of truth that it had not heretofore been uttered.

That it should have come from Sen. Herman Talmadge will surprise many, chiefly those outside his native state. But it will not so affect those who know him well. He is a politician of consummate skill. But he also has courage and character. He has an affection for his state. And this caused him to speak.

Out of Scope

It must be made clear that he does not believe the court decision to have been within the scope of the justices. He as strongly protests and disagrees as do others who share his opinion.

Despite the fact that the Southern states of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, Florida and even Arkansas have taken successful steps to comply with the court order, Sen. Talmadge makes clear his opinion that the Deep South states will not. It is on this basis that he introduced a constitutional amendment which would, if adopted, reverse the present constitutional legality.

To those outside this surrounded and constricted center of bitter defiance and resistance, the plain, unvarnished statement by the senator that the court decision is an accomplished fact may be greeted with mild derision. But on this spinning globe, things remain relative. And for his region Sen. Talmadge's statement is news.

It cuts through the hypocrisy that has been one of the features of politics in the Deep South. A good 99 per cent of the South's political leadership has all along admitted that the court's action was constitutionally valid. They have said, privately, "We know it is inevitable that the schools close unless some positive action is taken." But publicly they have encouraged the mob, the haters, the minds which think in terms of bombing churches and schools, by the most outrageous vilification and denials of court authority and law. Even some of the most adamant and determined opponents of the court decision have been shocked and dismayed by the recklessness and demagogic depth of statements by some Southern senators whose stature did not make politically necessary such words.

The Background

It is against this background that Sen. Talmadge's court statement must be measured. He is an implacable opponent of the court decision. But he has the necessary integrity to tell his people the truth:

"The court action is an accomplished fact"—whether we like it or not.

The speech also included an eloquent plea for public education. It is a problem for local control and this those states themselves should be the first to admit and grant—while they ask it of the federal government. One of the curses of Southern politics has been that it acts negatively—almost never positively.

Until someone says something better about education, Sen Talmadge's summation will do:

"With the exception of seeking the salvation of his immortal soul," he said, "man has no greater responsibility than seeing that his young are educated to the fullest extent of their abilities and are equipped spiritually and intellectually to achieve mankind's highest destiny."

RALPH

McGILL

Gov. Almond's Words Echo---

It is fitting that of the few states which have attempted massive resistance programs to the 1954 school decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, the state of Robert E. Lee and Thomas Jefferson should be the one to accept the due processes of law.



It was Jefferson who assisted in writing into the Constitution of the United States a bill of human rights. It was Gen. Robert E. Lee who, after honorable defeat, publicly urged respect for and obedience to constituted government and its authority.

In two Virginia cities the due processes of law exhausted all legal moves by the die-hard forces of resistance.

When that was done Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, who has been a fiery, determined opponent of the court order, announced what every American whose first loyalty is to his country finally must say; namely, that he would not violate his oath or defy the legally constituted government of the United States.

Southerners—young ones especially—will not fail to compare this statement with, for example, that of the governor of Arkansas.

Overlooked

Gov. Almond revealed that a great many persons had sought to encourage him to defy constituted federal authority. His reply may have been overlooked in the sound and fury of the more decisive events.

His contempt for these was not concealed in his reply. He said:

"It is not enough for gentlemen to cry unto you and me, 'Don't give up the ship,' 'Stop them,' 'It must not happen.' . . . No fair-minded person would be so unreasonable as to seek to hold me responsible for failure to exercise powers which the state is powerless to bestow."

It is astonishing that so many persons persist in the myth that a state may act contrary to the Constitution of the United States. A state legislature, as Gov. Almond so plainly says, is powerless to provide powers to a governor which run counter to the U.S. Supreme Court.

It is precisely here that much of the political and public leadership in the South has failed the people. They have not made it plain that they lacked the power to override the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

This is why Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia did his region a great favor when, in introducing his constitutional amendment to give the states sole control of their schools, he said:

Accomplished Fact

"The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court is an accomplished fact, whether we like it or not."

Many persons do not like it. But this does not change the accomplished fact of it.

That legislatures should go on adopting legislation which already has been ruled unconstitutional adds to the unreality of the situation.

The states now committed to abolition of their school systems when confronted with an order have left a number of possible moves. Whether any will stand against the court's ruling against any "evasive schemes" is for the future. But events seem to suggest that the real work ought to be directed toward what can be done once the schools are closed.

The realities of local politics make it necessary for a Southern politician to exhaust every resource in the present controversy. Not only must he exhaust them, he must be seen to do so.

It may well be that Gov. Almond's decision and Sen. Talmadge's several legislative bills aimed at curbing the Supreme Court mark a turning point. If the South has really learned that state legislatures are not sovereign and able to override the nation's Supreme Court, then progress has been made. Sen. Talmadge, in making that point plain, is the first Deep South senator to attempt something positive. His bills may not have much chance of passage. But they are positive.

Others in the Deep South cannot take too much pride in the fact that all they have attempted is negative . . . utterly lacking in a positive approach.

RALPH

McGILL

Good News For Education

A study has been made of American education which does not use comparisons with that of the Russians.



James Bryant Conant has done it. The published result of his two-year study is called "The American High School Today"—a first report to interested citizens. It is published by McGraw-Hill and costs a mere $1.00. Every school board in America should make it a must reading. So should all those who believe in public education.

It is a message of challenge and action. But it is good news for American education. Russia's system admittedly is geared to serve the Soviet or Communist society and its planned objectives. American education must serve the objective of this society. That is to say, it is not designed to facilitate the operations of a totalitarian state. It is a system which has for its purpose that of enabling the individual to live a personal life and to make that life rich enough to serve and sustain a free society and a parliamentary or elective system.

What Russia did with her dismaying, yet thrilling and inspiring satellite successes was not to demonstrate that her educational system was better. She did make painfully clear that it was one with greater disciplines and that it had hewed to the line of education and let the chips of nonessentials fall where they would.

More than that, it let us see that Soviet education had its eye on definite, known goals as ours does not.

Simple Things

Dr. Conant's good news for American education is that if they will do just a few simple things, the average high schools can become good ones and the good ones excellent.

The steps are not complicated. They can be taken by any school system with the vision and the will to do so.

First, Dr. Conant, who was president of Harvard at 40, and who retired in 1957 after a brilliant tenure as ambassador to Germany, has spent all his adult life as teacher, scientist, administrator.

He sees the great need in the critical field of secondary education as requiring the setting up of what he calls "the comprehensive high school." There are, in our country, several different types of such schools. He defines the comprehensive high school as one whose programs correspond to the educational needs of ALL the youth of the community.

The report, of course, goes into detail. For our understanding here the comprehensive school would offer four years of adequate instruction in English and social studies, in mathematics, science (physics and chemistry), and a foreign language. These would be the essentials. There also would be art and music.

Waste of Time

It should have been obvious to all of us, for example, that the two-year requirement of a foreign language for admission to college is a waste of the teacher's and student's time. At the end of two years the young man or woman who has completed that much work is not fluent in either reading, writing or making use of the language. These points are made in detail in the report.

Top priority is elimination of the small school. They cannot be made satisfactorily adequate for the students attending them save at exorbitant cost.

As Dr. Conant says, it will be a rare school district where more than 25 per cent of a high school class can study with profit twelfth-grade mathematics, physics, and/or foreign language for four years—assuming that standards are maintained. To provide adequate teachers for specialized subjects is extremely expensive. The capital outlay for equipment and salaries is even more costly.

The number one problem is elimination of the small high school by district reorganization.

This book — "The American High School Today," must become a best seller!

RALPH

McGILL

Questions for Christians!

Methodist leaders in four Eastern cities, Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Chicago, publicly have called to the attention of their own people, and to all others interested, that the Christian churches may be in danger of declining if they do not move to serve the low-income groups and the poor.



The report is focused on the Methodist church in the above cities. But the implications are clear. All the cities of America are growing. The flight to suburbia leaves the city itself the problem of an increasing number of low-income residents.

The Rev. Dr. Robert A. McKibben, director of the Board of Missions Department of City Work, commenting on the four city study said:

"No other denomination has as many churches in the cities as the Methodists," he said. "Yet, the Methodist church is not strong in the cities because these churches are not ministering to their areas."

While the nation has become urban, Dr. McKibben said, the denomination has stayed rural. Nearly 60 per cent of the nation's population lives in metropolitan areas; only 40 per cent of all Methodists live there. This contrasts with 73 per cent for Episcopalians and 62 per cent for Presbyterians.

Not Comforting

This statistical conclusion, while accurate, cannot be too comforting to either the Episcopalians or Presbyterians. They, too, are feeling the pressures of change as urban areas proliferate. The Roman Catholic church, which has made a successful effort to establish missions and churches in rural communities, also is feeling the pinch in a lack of priests and nuns to service new hospitals, schools and houses of worship. In one crowded area of Boston, for example, the study revealed a population of 46,000 persons. There were 18,000 Catholics, 10,000 Protestants, and no church had reached the remainder.

City churches, in general, have failed to see the real need. It is, the report demonstrates, not to move away and build a fine new church "to the glory of God," but somehow to serve the people.

It is becoming noticeable that when an old downtown church closes up and moves away, it is not quitting a depopulated area. Indeed, almost always it departs from a community crowded with poor people, perhaps slum people.

What happens is that the upper and middle-class income members of the church did not wish to continue attending, or, more important, financially, supporting a house of worship which would work with these people.

Another Aspect

There is another aspect of the problem. Every city today has its increasing number of helpless and pitiful poor. They usually are classified as "unemployables." They have no skills. Many are old, or at the age when no employer likes to hire an untrained person as a learner or beginner. Some are handicapped mentally and physically. Yet, many of these are opportunities, both economically and for Christianity.

The problem which this Methodist leadership in four large Northern cities puts starkly before us is whether the Christian church is going to move away from the poor and low-income groups and erect new and noble edifices to serve only the upper and middle-income congregations.

It is an uncomfortable question. It is the more so because there has been a flight from the cities without enough being left behind to minister to the people remaining.

The Methodist leadership has done a real service by posing the question.

31a 1959

Pastors Back McGill Talk In Columbus

COLUMBUS (AP)—The Columbus Ministerial Alliance Monday approved a resolution urging the Muscogee County Commission to reconsider its decision not to allow the League of Women Voters use of the Superior Courtroom for a May 4 address by Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

McGill was scheduled to speak here on the school crisis in Georgia. He canceled the engagment after being informd that the commission had denied the League use of the courtroom.

In a resolution worded and presented by Rabbi Seymour Panitz of Shearith Israel Synagogue, ministers said they were "shocked" at the commission's reversal of an earlier decision granting the league use of the courtroom.

The resolution did not obtain unanimous approval. Several votes of no were heard from the floor, but all persons voting against the resolution were not identified.

However, Dr. O. B. Newsom, pastor of Oates Avenue Baptist Church, said he wanted to go on record as being opposed to the resolution. He said he felt action by the commission "is out of the jurisdiction" of the alliance and added that he felt the commissioners were "within their rights."

The resolution called upon citizens of Muscogee County "to exercise their rights of freedom of expression on all occasions" and "to urge duly elected officials to respect the right and to keep their minds ever open to all sides of every issue that concerns them their fellow citizens and children."

RALPH
31a White

McGILL

New Voices In the South

In two successive editorials the magazine Arkansas Baptist has called for reopening Little Rock's closed public high schools and a strengthening of the public school system throughout the state.



The editor, Dr. Erwin L. McDonald, has put the issue plainly. It is to accept the court-approved plan of limited integration, controlled by a pupil-placement law, or give up a public school system.

In his second editorial Dr. McDonald said: "Of all Southern states, Arkansas can least afford to be involved in the race squabble." The state's population, he said, was steadily declining and statistical experts expect this to continue for sometime.

"In such a situation," he concluded, "anything that opens new wounds is deadly."

"There are more houses for sale or rent in Little Rock now than at any time in recent years. . . . Arkansas should follow the wise course of the great Southern state of Virginia and face the reality of the only course open to us—reopening our public schools in Little Rock and undergirding the public school system of the entire state."

This proposal by the editor of the Arkansas Baptist is significant. It is especially so when the editor's mail shows a majority approving his stand. The Baptist church membership makes it the largest denomination in the state.

Old Saying

Baptists are noted for their independence. There is an old saying that not only may no one man speak for the Baptists but that no one man can speak for two Baptists. But the mail count indicates that there are those who agree with the editor's conclusion.

The fact is that the people in the massive resistance states are just now being told the truth. For four years their political leaders deceived them by saying the court had acted illegally and by assuring them that they would not lose their school systems.

Dr. McDonald is not anti-Southern. Nor is he an integrationist. But he is a man who knows what a disaster it is to lose the public schools.

It is quite possible that the reaction in Arkansas derives in part from the conscience of the people who now understand that Congressman Brooks Hays, who was defeated by a Gov. Faubus-supported write-in vote, had been giving them honest leadership. The moral factor involved for the Christian is now more clearly seen.

And, also, after a year of chaos and bitterness and a near-police-state city, business in Little Rock is declining. The people have learned what losing a school system means.

Church Leadership

That the church leadership now is attempting to fill the vacuum of frustration and despair created by the loss of school is significant. In Virginia the businessmen and some of the Christian church leadership joined to break the hopeless situation caused by the closing of school systems.

Equally significant is the action of former Gov. John Battle of Virginia. He is certainly strongly in favor of segregated schools. He has opposed integration in any form.

But representing the school board of Charlottesville, Va., he has accepted the decision of the courts and presented a plan to admit 12 Negro children to the schools in September "or before." White teachers are tutoring the 12 selected by the placement method to see that they are ready for the classes assigned.

What must be understood by the people in the states where political leadership refuses local authority is that it simply is not truthful to charge that those who wish to save the schools are integrationists. There has been enough of falsehood and deliberate attempts to confuse by the bitter-enders.

The great and demanding job of Southern leadership which puts love of country and state first is to let the people know the truth. The Arkansas Baptist and Gov. John Battle are the latest illustrations of that sort of leadership.

RALPH
31a White

McGILL

Virginia Does A Service!

Washington Notes: Virginia's Perrow Commission report is being carefully studied in the only four states of the 50 which offer total resistance and an end to public schools as their only solution to the problem posed by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on schools.



The Virginia committee's recommendations, which the legislature is expected reluctantly to write into state law, calls for pupil assignment regulations and state grants to the school districts which wish to abolish their public schools. It also provides local autonomy.

The Perrow commission did the massive resistance states the further favor of concluding with these words:

"The truth is that neither the General Assembly nor the governor has the power to overrule or nullify the final decrees of the federal courts in the school cases."

It generally is recognized that the Virginians are not integrationists. One of the factors preventing public understanding of the problem has been the denunciation of all those who stood for law and for facing the facts as "integrationists" and "race mixers." This was both untrue and unworthy. Many of those most strongly supporting segregated schools were nonetheless too honest to deceive either themselves or the people who listened to them. There has been a shocking lack of honest communication between the political and lay leadership.

No Discussion

Almost no Deep South state has had a discussion or briefing on the school placement laws which have been declared constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. It is doubtful if many of them even know of it. Even fewer know that the same court said that in areas with heavy population no school would be required to accept heavy Negro registration.

The school placement law is astonishingly specific. It permits examination into moral character, family background and scholastic qualifications. A community might be interested in at least discussing these, and other factors. Yet in the four massive resistance states there has been such a climate of fear as to prevent public discussion. To hold simple, neither pro-nor-con, seminars is frowned upon by the power patterns in the communities. One of the saddest features has been suppression of discussion.

There has been, and is, a great breakdown in communications. In the whole South, other than the border states, only three or four senators and but one governor have told the people that in time their schools will be closed and have urged them to be sure they understand the choice.

Little Rock Ad

As far as a quick survey could determine, only two Deep South papers gave any space to the half page ad which the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce published in the Arkansas Gazette on March 25. The core of the chamber's statement was that it urged the reopening of the closed Little Rock high schools by using a pupil assignment system "acceptable to the school board and the federal courts." These businessmen had learned just one of the costly prices of closed schools and defiance of law.

Nor in a further failure of communication was there any discoverable instance of any other Southern Chamber of Commerce which circulated copies of the Little Rock Chamber's ad. It spelled out, for example, that North Carolina's assignment system has worked in controlling integregation. The old bugaboo of white schools suddenly overrun by Negro children is one eternally raised by the extremists. That this is impossible under a law which has been ruled constitutional has not been told to the people save in a few isolated cities and communities. When the history of this period is written this will be perhaps the most severe indictment drawn—the failure, indeed the refusal, to let the people know the facts and the truth.

The Virginia commission's report is, therefore, helpful simply as a matter of communication.

RALPH McGILL

Virginia's Service to the South

States Now Seen Forced to Discuss School Placement Plan as Solution

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It generally is recognized that the Virginians are not integrationists. One of the factors preventing public understanding of the problem has been the denunciation of all those who stood for law and for facing the facts as "integrationists" and "race mixers." This was both untrue and unworthy. Many of those most strongly supporting segregated schools were nonetheless too honest to deceive either themselves or the people who listened to them. There has been a shocking lack of honest communication between the political and lay leadership. Few communities in the deep South have been permitted any discussion. They have not been told the alternatives.

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The school placement law [illegible] It permits examination into moral character, family background and scholastic qualifications. A community might be interested in at least discussing these, and other factors. Yet in the four massive resistance States there has been such a climate of fear as to prevent public discussion. To hold simple, neither pro nor con, seminars is frowned upon by the power patterns in the communities. One of the saddest features has been this absolute suppression of free discussion.

There has been, and is, a great breakdown in communications. In the whole South, other than the border States, only three or four Senators and but one Governor have told the people that in time their schools will be closed and have urged them to be sure they understand the choice. This is incredible, but true.

As far as a quick survey could determine, only two deep South papers gave any space to the half-page ad which the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce published in the Arkansas Gazette on March 25. The core of the chamber's statement was that it urged the reopening of the closed Little Rock high schools by using a pupil assignment system "acceptable to the school board and the Federal courts." These businessmen had learned just one of the costly prices of closed schools and defiance of law.

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[illegible] lied at her home Tuesda night. She was nearly 100 year old.

The poems of her husbanc Abilio Guerra Junqueiro, ar redited with having had a de isive influence on the 191 evolution which ousted th 00-year-old Portuguese mon rchy. Mr. Junqueiro died i 923. Most of his works wer

McGILL AND ALABAMA DEMOCRATS

Insults State Committee

(Mobile Press)

Ralph McGill, editor and columnist of the Atlanta Constitution, has insulted Alabama's people and its State Democratic Executive Committee.

Apparently striving to further build his prestige among liberals of the North, McGill takes the state party committee to task for its recent action in repealing a law which required presidential electors to pledge in advance of party conventions to support the nominees and platforms of the National Democratic Party.

The state committee simply carried out a mandate from the voters of Alabama in repealing the loyalty oath.

Yet, McGill has some ugly things to say, including the following:

"Nothing so cruelly reveals the negative bankruptcy of the old die-hard Dixiecrat movement in the Deep South as its latest evidence of obsession with frustration.

"Alabama, and now, Arkansas, which seemingly are unwilling even to have the simple civil rights of the ballot for all qualified citizens, have joined other states and raised the banner of the electoral college . . . (Here he used, a term to describe unpledged electors which is so repugnant that we refuse to reprint it). Such a system will not permit the people to vote for the candidates nominated by either the Republican or Democratic conventions. The electors would be 'unpledged,' no matter what the voters said. That this is high-handed political immorality is obvious.

"The plan avoids a third party. But the effect would be the same. The Dixiecrat leaders would hope for a close election in which their captive electors would be able to provide a balance of power. The plan won't work any more than did the third party bolt in 1948. It is a sick, unhealthy movement and one which cannot earn the respect of but a few of those who might sympathize with it."

Just why McGill singled Alabama and Arkansas out for this attack is unexplained. Apparently six southern states with a total of 57 electoral votes are prepared to take a plunge away from the party's nominee if he is not acceptable to them. States which the Atlanta writer didn't mention are his own state of Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

What's bothering McGill is that the northern liberals are not faring as well in their anti-South drive as they have in recent past years. He perhaps realizes that this expression of independence—this failure of southern states to hog-tie their presidential electors and make them vote for just any left-winger nominated by the northern radicals — constitutes a serious threat to the causes he has championed.

Whereas Hubert Humphrey or Soapy Williams might be ideal nominees for people who think as does Ralph McGill, they would not be in the least satisfactory to the people of Alabama who themselves voted for committeemen determined to kill the party loyalty oath.

McGill subjects himself to criticism as a traitor to his southland when he berates this plan of southerners to make their influence felt in the national arena.

McGill Marks 30 Years With The Constitution

By CELESTINE SIBLEY

The young Nashville, Tenn., sports writer must have been talented.

He had been working five years and suddenly he had three jobs offered him—one in the neighboring town of Knoxville, one working for the great Arthur Brisbane on the New York Mirror and one as assistant to Sports Editor Ed Danforth of The Atlanta Constitution.

That was 30 years ago and the fact that Ralph McGill chose The Constitution job was the occasion for a 30th anniversary observance by congratulatory staff members and long-memoried readers Thursday.

FORGOT ABOUT PAY

McGill, now editor of the newspaper but still a sports writer on occasion, came to The Constitution April 2, 1929—carefully timing his arrival so it would not be on All Fools' Day. He had forgotten to ask what the pay was when he was hired and he was too shy to ask it when he arrived. But, as he observed philosophically Thursday, it didn't matter much anyhow.

"That was a few months before the Great Depression and we were soon being paid off in grocery orders instead of money," he recalled.

SPORTS EDITOR

McGill, who had become friendly with Danforth when they covered sports events together, moved up to the post of sports editor when Danforth left The Constitution and went to the old Atlanta Georgian.

Farm-bred and seasoned in politics from a turn as a political writer for the Nashville Banner, the new sports editor became interested in the plight of Georgia farmers caught up in an outmoded cotton economy.

On his own time when he was not writing sports he was touring the state writing about farmers—a series which later won for him a Rosenwald fellowship and demonstrated to Publisher Clark Howell that he was editorial timber.

McGill became executive editor in the summer of 1938, after covering Hitler's march into Poland, and was promoted to editor in 1941. He has written a column seven days a week since his early days on The Banner, a chore which in itself means that he has written more than 14 million words—not to mention the hundreds of news stories, sports stories and editorials he has written.

He said Thursday he had never regretted taking the Atlanta job and he only occasionally regrets having moved out of the sports department, where he first tasted freedom of style in writing.

"I don't think we give young reporters enough freedom any more," he said. "We ought to let them write as they please without counting the words and sentences in their leads. They may write awkwardly at first but we would get better writing that way."

RALPH 31a White
Constitution
McGILL
31
Atlanta Ga
Little Rock

Wants Schools

Thurs. 5-28-59

Little Rock's latest chapter in the somber story of what happens to a city where schools are closed reminds one and all that we are a nation of laws and not of men.



Gov. Faubus was defeated in the Little Rock school board recall election. The three candidates for whom he made two dramatically powerful television speeches in which he shockingly evoked, by indirection, anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic prejudices, were ousted by ballots freely cast. It was perhaps the perfect illustration of the fact that one cannot embrace one prejudice and not, in time, prove vulnerable to all.

This new story, of how a people who have learned what happens to a city, its morale, its economic health and its children when its public high schools are closed, should be a subject of serious and prayerful study by all Southerners of whatever opinion. Little Rock's present actions are not based on theory, but on experience. Its people have tried the private school stop-gaps and know them to be inadequate.

All Southerners, of whatever persuasion, would do well to study the make-up of the voting majority which provided the votes to overturn the powerful state machine of Gov. Faubus.

Business

1. The Chamber of Commerce, which months ago saw what closed schools did to business and, even more, how such an intolerable situation doomed the future, moved into the open to support the effort to recall the governor's board members.

2. A smaller group, including such persons as the president of the Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co., formed a smaller, more workable group of businessmen. They called their organization STOP.

3. With them were a majority of the so-called white-collar people who had learned what lack of education meant to their children and who could not finance the more expensive private education.

4. Labor leaders joined in. They did not succeed in bringing with them all their members, but they did, merely by their example, win a substantial, helpful number.

5. Negro voters, who stayed out of all the meetings and public activity, apparently went to the polls in this election as they had not in previous ones.

It was, without question, a cross-section of the population which made up the votes to give Gov. Faubus his first defeat.

These people were inspired to act by the firing of 44 innocent teachers who had long years of teaching service. They had not been in politics. The plan apparently was to dismiss them so the schools involved in the court case, if ordered open, would have no teaching staff.

Inhuman Act

This was an inhuman, ruthless act. It was so brutal and callous that by nightfall on the day of the firing PTA protest meetings were called in all districts.

The Classroom Teachers' Assn., seeing that no teacher was safe, called on its members not to sign any renewal contracts.

The character of the Faubus-inspired opposition was soon evident. It invited Wesley A. Swift, former associate and reported one-time bodyguard of Gerald L. K. Smith, to speak at its opening rally.

Members of STOP found his record, as presented by the American Legion's Americanism committee, and made it public. The Legion's committee had described him as a "former Klansman, well-known rabblerouser, and the West Coast's most vicious hatemonger."

The Faubus group quickly withdrew the invitation.

More typical was the anonymous circulation of a bogus letter in the Negro district, inviting Negroes to meetings of STOP. The name of the chairman was forged. This was exposed.

All the old lies, smears and slanders, including the usual cry of Communist influences, were used against STOP. They are a part of the pattern in other states.

But STOP produced the votes. They could do so because the people had learned what loss of schools meant.

It is proper that the next step is one of due process of law. The state school laws are under study by a federal court.

RALPH 31a White
McGILL
Constitution

Byrd Machine Knocked Out

Atlanta, Ga.

Virginia's Byrd machine, which was the crude name for the aristocratic oligarchy which for so long has ruled Virginia, is broken.



It has by no means done a Humpty-Dumpty. It may be put together again, in a form somewhat resembling the old one, by Gov. J. Lindsay Almond. But the Byrd machine has been knocked out.

Thurs. 7-16-59

The people of Virginia did it by voting for public schools. There should be a lesson in this for all politicians in all states where the issue remains. No political organization was more soundly based than that of Sen. Harry Byrd.

The machine suffered its first defeat in history this past spring in a special legislative session. Gov. Almond called it to put before it his plan to allow the various communities in the state to decide whether they wanted to retain public schools or abandon them. The Byrd machine, which had instituted the shameful "massive resistance" program, fought him bitterly and with all the weapons of influence and demagoguery. Gov. Almond won by the margin of a single vote.

But on Tuesday past the people voted.

Massive Resistance

The Byrd forces of massive resistance centered their greatest effort on the Senate where the Almond margin was one. They lost all four seats. Nor was the margin of their loss a small one. Byrd's greatest hope was in Arlington. He was defeated by more than two to one.

This was the voice of the people.

They voted for public education—or at least for the right to have it if they wish it. At any rate, they voiced their determination to have local option and not to be told what to do by men who wanted to abandon education.

This is an historical victory. The Byrd machine was weighed in the balance. It didn't weigh as much as it thought. Certainly it could not outweigh public education.

Here the nation has a very clear view of the complex Southern problem. It is one of leadership. When the Supreme Court decision came down in 1954 the original reaction was one of stunned surprise and dissent, but also one of acceptance of constitutional decisions by the court.

There was a lull. It was one almost of silence. The more rabid extremists knew their voices were not strong or respected enough to lead. It was precisely at this moment that Sen. Byrd threw the great weight of Virginia's magnificent tradition behind massive, total resistance.

Here began the great tragic deception of the Southern people.

Lacked Confidence

They might have lacked full confidence in their own leadership. But Virginia was the state of origin of the Constitution, of the Bill of Rights, of religious liberty, of Jefferson and many of the great of our revolutionary history.

If Virginia says so, said many in the South, it must be so. And so there spread rapidly and fatanically the dangerous and false theory of interposition and defiance which already have brought so much grief to so many Southern people. The worst of the demagogues, the ugliest of passions and prejudices were given dignity and status by the stand of the Byrd machine.

Late last year, Gov. Almond of Virginia, realizing that the state could not prosper and endure without public education, decided to risk his political future by telling the truth. He informed the people they had been deceived. He told them the federal law and courts were superior in authority to those of the states. He told them desegregation could be controlled. As it can.

It was a daring, honorable act of great statesmanship.

When his Legislature met this past spring he knew he might be defeated. He won because there were enough men in the Legislature to put their state and its future ahead of their political careers.

Now the people of Virginia, given the chance, have given notice that they, too, know the truth.

The story is one of leadership.

RALPH

McGILL

And After Lyndon---?

As autumn comes on and the goldenrod and iron weed begin to bloom along Deep South rural roads, there is no hyperemotionalism in the region's politics, but rather the seasonal mood.



A bittersweet wistful melancholy sits on the land. And as the leaves fall from trees, so do they drop from the calendars of days. No leader has a formula for unity in the Democratic Party. By now it should be centering on the most likely presidential candidate. It isn't.

Save for South Carolina, where the governor is making a third party threat, and Mississippi, which will be almost incredibly extremist in its attitudes when its new administration takes over next January, there is now the feeling that "we might as well go along with Lyndon Johnson for a ballot or so."

It is a decision almost of resignation, as there is no feeling the Texan can be nominated.

And after Lyndon?

"Adlai, maybe." But there is no lift in the voices which say it.

Next Congress

There will be some emotionalism in the next Congress, but it will be defensive and the more bitter because there will be little hope in it. There is no cohesive attitude which the South can advance.

Historians accurately have noted a similarity with the months before the campaign of 1860.

It is a time when the Russians have hit the moon and photographed the back of it and when Americans accept the fact that within a few years a man will be put into space, and returned to earth. Yet, it is also a time when some men insist the Supreme Court may not declare that all citizens have equal rights in all public institutions providing service or protection to the citizen. This is the great political schizophrenia of the Democratic Party. In 1959, as in 1859, the Deep South wing of it could not, or would not, understand the complexities of the national and world attitudes of their time.

Chaos Exploited

Then, as now, operators of local and state political machinery exploited the chaos without regard for the national welfare.

So the Democratic Party, as in 1859-60, seems determined to destroy the instrument of its great power which in two national elections has been strong enough to control Congress, insofar as the Presidency is concerned.

In wistful resignation, the leadership from Virginia to Texas, excluding South Carolina and almost surely the political Mississippi of 1960, is deciding it will "go along with Lyndon for a spell."

Most of the Southern leaders presently think it will be Adlai Stevenson. But if he should be nominated they would show no enthusiasm in his behalf. It is a curious and somewhat melancholy fact that political leadership of Democratic organizations in key Eastern states share this same lack of enthusiasm. They would almost certainly show this same lack of loyalty and endeavor in 1960, even though the Republicans are now pushing the Stevenson platform of 1956 which they so cruelly ridiculed at that time. Today, none work harder for the Stevenson program of nuclear control and discussions with the Russians. There is talk, of course, of a Stevenson-Kennedy ticket. The Massachusetts senator has said that Adlai Stevenson is the only nominee with whom he would agree to accept the second place on the ticket. But even this prospect arouses no Southern enthusiasm. There is only resignation and frustration.

RALPH

McGILL

A Nervous Maturity

Southern Political Notes: Governors of the Southern states have concluded the annual conference of their association with evidence of reluctant, nervous maturity.



They did not make the welkins of Asheville, N.C., the convention city, ring with segregation hallelujahs. Indeed, they barred the subject from discussion. They did this somewhat nervously, fearing the extremists at home might denounce this as a sign of weakness. But they did it.

Only Gov. Happy Chandler of Kentucky protested. Gov. Chandler has become an eloquent advocate of desegregation because the process of it has been intelligently and forthrightly projected in his state. It is politically sound to praise and publicize the fact that Kentucky has desegregated most of her schools without any mongrelizing of the race or any other of the dire results predicted by extremists. Happy does so with a zest, laying about him a verbal cat-o-nine tails on the backs of all those who oppose.

Happy, whose smile makes models for dentifrice ads feel incompetent, staged a walkout at the governors' conference in order to defy the ban against the subject of segregation. He inferred that his fellow governors who defended segregation were hypocritical and hopelessly out on a limb.

Close to Abyss

What these governors think of Happy is not suited for family newspapers. The fact that he largely is right, and incurs no political liability by so being, causes some of the governors privately to come perilously close to the abyss of apoplexy when the Kentuckian's name comes up. Let us draw the veil by saying that if, and when, his name comes before the Democratic convention at Los Angeles, it will attract no delegates from the Deep South states. Happy knows this. In fact, this is one reason he delights in making his fellow governors unhappy.

Gov. Almond of Virginia wanted to talk about how Virginia had quit the ranks of massive resistance for those of obeying the court orders. But the Deep South representatives did not wish to listen, lest merely lending an ear be interpreted by fanatics at home as weakness or indecision. So, save for Happy on the front porch, the ban was observed.

There were those who said that the conference sounded more mature because some of the more Neanderthal governors whose demagogic whoops enlivened, and degraded, past annual sessions were no longer in office. This is true. But it was not the real explanation.

Facts of Life

The facts of life are now nearer at hand. And chief among them are those of economics. The businessmen of Little Rock and of the Virginia cities which tried abolishing public education learned the dollar-and-cents price of chaos, disorder and loss of schools. Industry is coming into the South. Those states which are losing population and those which have large areas experiencing loss are keenly aware of the meaning of payrolls. They know that a manufacturer with a plant to locate is not likely to put it where the schools are closed and where tension and fear of violence exist.

All this has sobered the governors who have played the role of Frankenstein and are now confronted by their monster.

Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas was a somewhat forlorn figure. He was the senior member but was snubbed in the election of Gov. Almond as chairman. Even those who cheered him in bygone months now see what he and his state lost by his defiance of constitutional authority. His present position of neglect was the more emphasized by the fact that he seems on the way to putting through a progressive tax reform which his fellow governors fear to touch.

31a 1959

Georgia Commissioners Take Stand

Bar Editor From Courtroom Speech

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON

COLUMBUS, Ga. — Exemplifying in every way their prototypes in the Georgia Legislature, the five members of the Muscogee County Board of Commissioners acted last week just as "white Southern politicians" should act in denying use of their courtroom for a speech by Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution.

Apparently suffering from the "white Southern politician's" chief phobia—don't let the poor whites know the truth—the commissioners reversed a previous decision to permit use and told the Columbus League of Women Voters that Mr. McGill could not speak in the courtroom. It would encourage strife, they claimed.

■

AS A matter of fact, the politicians who compose the commission said their rules prohibted use of the courtroom except for judicial or government purposes.

Records show at least two uses of the courtroom by a labor union group and a Boy Scout group for meetings which had absolutely no relation to "judicial or government" business. The commissioners had no comment to offer on the exposure of their hypocrisy.

While some Southern segregationists attack Mr. McGill as a "liberal," this reporter has long since characterized the distinguished and brilliant editor as an "open-minded editor."

■

MR. McGILL has always put both sides of the question to his readers, but narrow-minded whites, inspired by professional politicians, such as the Muscogee County commissioners, have hated him, chiefly because he is open-minded and sees both sides, instead of just what they want him to see.

Mr. McGill decided not to speak in Columbus after the action of the commissioners, but Mrs. Joan Masuck, Minnesota-born head of the League of Women Voters, told The Courier her group would ask him to reconsider his withdrawal of his acceptance of their invitation. His speech was set for May 4.

The local school superintendent, W. H. Shaw, had previously refused use of school facilities for the meeting. The entire affair has drawn editorial blasts from local newspapers, and even the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, which called the affair "this idiocy of the Columbus politicians."

RALPH

McGILL

Africa? It Looks to U.S.

Some months ago the wire services of America and Reuters of Great Britain sent two stories out of Johannesburg, South Africa. They concerned the first visit to that distant country by a Negro newspaper man from the Southern part of the United States. They reported he had scored a diplomatic triumph in a long press conference and had reflected credit on his country.



This young newspaper man, William Gordon, has now returned home after a journey of about seven months.

Behind him are studies and interviews in 14 countries of Africa. Not many persons in this period have had so unique an opportunity. Some of them are names which are familiar to the eyes. Others bring up old and disturbing images. For years they have been symbols of political unrest.

Tanganyika, French Togoland, Dahomey, Ghana, Uganda, Liberia, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Tunis, Kenya, Belgian Congo, Rhodesia, Nyasaland — these are the countries. Gordon took his family and based them in Accra, Ghana. His oldest boy, 13, went to public school. Being young and without any fixed opinions, Gordon had no chip on his shoulder. He had nothing to unlearn.

Major Conclusions

His major conclusions are these:

1. As of now Africa looks toward the United States. Communism has by no means won. It is at work, but the average African and many of the intellectuals believe their best future lies with the West, and with the United States in particular.

2. Africans, in general, do not view the white man as a symbol of hate, despite Soviet propaganda to that effect. There is still a reservoir of good will. The story of Little Rock and Governor Faubus, along with other inflammatory stories out of the South, were continually thrown at Gordon by his questioners. He replied always that these were not the whole American story. He related the progress made and the assurance of law.

3. African nationalism, the thirst for independence, will not be halted, nor should it be. Our best policy would be to assist it to stand on its own feet and not require assistance from the Russians. There isn't too much time.

4. All kinds of help are needed. Israel, for example, has established trade. She is training the police force in Ghana. She has a shipping service with Ghana. Africa, as of now, looks toward the Western nations for this help.

Greatest Thrill

Gordon's greatest thrill was seeing some of this technical aid provided by the United States' I.C.A. — the International Cooperation Act. He traveled 100 miles from Accra, Ghana, to visit a young couple, a Mr. and Mrs. William Wright, farm teacher and home demonstration worker respectively, from North Carolina's Negro Agricultural and Training College. These two persons were 15 miles from the nearest village, 100 miles from a town. They had built their own house and its furniture. There was of course, no conveniences of any kind. They taught farming, sanitation, care of poultry and livestock, and improved diets. They had become greatly beloved by the Africans and everyone knew that far away America had sent them. In Ethiopia, Gordon met another couple doing an equally fine job in the same manner.

Africa is a country of many peoples, languages, cultures and religions. In Cairo, Gordon saw some of the 400 or more African Moslems, mostly young intellectuals who had broken with the African Congress party. Premier Nasser was training them to go back as political agitators. This was a part of the Colonel's Arab Republic plans. There are Christian missionaries in most of the African countries, Protestant and Roman Catholic. No Moslem leader has yet raised the banner of a so-called holy war. In Nyasaland the basic dissent is with the forced federation with Rhodesia.

The basic conclusions are important. Africa still looks westward. Communism has by no means won a position of influence. The free countries would do well to assist that nationalism to maturity. There is no time to waste in the great struggle for the uncommitted peoples of the earth.

McGill Predicts New Leadership In Southern States

NEW YORK (AP) — Out of the South's great travail there will rise a new leadership "that will not consider the greatest issue to be where a colored man shall sit in a streetcar," a Southern editor predicted Wednesday.

"How long it will take, none may say for sure," said Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution. But he told 300 people gathered for the presentation of the Sidney Hillman Foundation awards for journalistic excellence that new leadership is inevitable.

"It will open new and better schools, not close them," he said.

The South of today is a new South which is "exploding with industrial growth, (which) is engaged in a sociological revolution and is in swift transition from rural to urban," McGill said.

A great drama is unfolding before young Southerners, he said. "Their leaders are before them and are on trial. They are watching their political representatives in the spotlight of the great drama of human rights and public education.

"Somebody is wrong. That at least is obvious. The Deep South direction is exactly contrary to that of the rest of the country."

"Out of the South's great travail and agony of soul, in time will come a new political leadership," he said. "The schools may be closed in the Deep South. I cannot believe that people will permit them to remain shut."

McGill received a $500 Hillman award—one of five presented by the foundation president, Jacob S. Potofsky—for columns he wrote last year about public education. Created 12 years ago, the Hillman Foundation seeks to further the ideas of the late labor leader on labor-management and race relations, civil rights and world peace.

RALPH

McGILL

The Arrogant GOP Old Guard

In a very real sense the 1960 Republican convention duel between Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Vice President Nixon has begun.



It is a situation unasked for by the vice president and one which is quite unfair to him. He presently is helpless to escape it.

Some Southern state GOP committeemen have been mocked to receive telegrams and telephone calls of a most violent nature demanding that they not vote to seat Sen. Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky as national chairman of the party to replace Meade Alcorn, resigned.

One such telegram, from a Republican influential largely because of financial contributions, went directly to the heart of the matter. Sen. Morton's election, it said, would be helpful to Rockefeller and this must not be allowed to happen as the governor of New York would betray his class and out-Roosevelt Roosevelt as a New Dealer. Still another referred to Rockefeller as a labor union captive.

These notices may be more frank than others being received elsewhere. But—they explain the real fight. The so-called Old Guard daily is becoming more bitter toward the President himself. It regards his nomination in 1952 as a mistake. It sees the Eastern wing which maneuvered Gen. Eisenhower into nomination as already determined on Gov. Rockefeller. This is not yet true. But the Old Guard, an often-burned child which now dreads the fire, is fighting with typical arrogance and lack of intelligence. It cannot win. It already has failed to deter the President from supporting Senator Morton. It was unable to coerce the senator into withdrawing.

Morton Is Neutral

Sen. Morton is not a Rockefeller man. He is a person of too much integrity and good sense to be anything but neutral. If anything, he is friendly to Mr. Nixon. But the Old Guard acts politically always in the most stupid manner. It insults Sen. Morton. It brings its fight for a conservative chairman into the open. It is, in effect, demanding a national chairman committed against the too-liberal policies it believes entertained by Gov. Rockefeller.

This is monstrously unfair to Mr. Nixon. He does not want the Old Guard label. He is in the position of being unable to denounce them. He cannot publicly defy them. Yet, here we have the illustration of how an unwanted group can affix itself to a candidate and do him harm, sometimes great harm. Mr. Nixon certainly is not of the Old Guard mentality. On the contrary he is fully aware that no reactionary can win either

the nomination or the election.

Typical Die-hards

But the typical die-hards of the GOP long have been convinced that if the people of the United States had a chance to vote for a real conservative of the Herbert Hoover or Cal Cooledge type they would do so with great enthusiasm. They have set out on a campaign to force the vice president into a trap which will mold him more nearly to their hearts' desire. The Old Guard looks upon him as having possibilities. They do not quite approve of him, but they will go all out for him in the convention. What they presently want, therefore, is an anti-Rockefeller chairman.

A surrender by the President would have meant a tremendous impetus for the Rockefeller campaign. One of the angry Old Guard die-hards is a lady whose appearance at conventions recalls one of the late Henry Mencken's best lines. Viewing these badge-wearing beribboned buxom ladies, Mencken wrote: "They remind one of the British tramp steamer decorated for the Queen's birthday." This lady has let it be known that the sight of Mrs. Rockefeller sewing a button on a dress in a publicity picture of Dave Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers' Union "made her ill." It was, she wrote, worse than anything Mrs. Roosevelt had done. This was, for her at least, like the scaling of another and greater Everest.

At any rate, the Old Guard, even if it defeats Sen. Morton, can do so only at the cost of attracting greater support to Gov. Rockefeller.

Negro College Group Hears Atlanta Editor

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) — Women's suffrage stirred up the same sort of protests 40 years ago that racial integration does today, a Southern editor said Saturday.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, told the United Negro College Fund convocation he expects Negroes' place in their communities will ultimately be accepted, just as women's voting was.

"We often hear it said that one cannot legislate prejudice out of existence," he told a luncheon group. "That certainly is true, but we can effectively legislate against any form of discrimination in our citizenship. Once discrimination ends, prejudice declines."

McGill said Southern progress toward peaceful integration has been obscured "by the noise of Little Rock — an episode were the governor made a belated, tragic change of mind."

RALPH

McGILL

Kennedy to Go for Broke



Sen. Jack Kennedy of Massachusetts, according to a sound authority, will, under no conditions, accept the vice presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket if the top place is won by any of the senators and governors now regarded, with him, as candidates.

There is but one man with whom he would agree to run as second man on the ticket. That person is Adlai Stevenson. He is not a candidate. He scrupulously has avoided any combination with any prospective candidate. Some of those closest to him believe he would be available if a convention deadlock occurred. Stevenson himself repeatedly has declared he is not, and will under no circumstances become, a candidate.

Kennedy is revealed by polls among Democratic voters as having pulled even with Stevenson in the so-called popularity category. This reflects his earnest, well-organized efforts to create an image of himself as the person most likely to be nominated at Los Angeles in 1960.

The South will have a prominent role in the Kennedy plans. Just what this will be remains for the future. It may turn out to be negative. Those Southerners most friendly to Sen. Kennedy (and heading the list is Mississippi's Gov. James P. Coleman), are not without concern. They know that Sen. Kennedy cannot compete in the Wisconsin primary without a clear-cut affirmation on civil rights. If the Kennedy banner is raised in California, as it may be, this will require an equally unequivocal statement.

Bond of Respect

Sen. Hubert Humphrey is expected to go for the Wisconsin delegates. There is between him and the Bay State charmer a bond of respect and appreciation which are elements of a warm friendship. But good friend Humphrey will certainly force a firm declaration of civil rights principles from his opponent. Such a clear-cut statement by Sen. Kennedy may well cause the fanatics in the White Citizens Councils of the Deep South to use any such declaration as an excuse to release their depraved smear tactics on Sen. Kennedy.

The slow processes of change in America have reached the point where the political advantages of being a candidate of the Roman Catholic communion pretty well cancel out the liabilities. Indeed, the advantages are in states of the "key" category. If the religious issue is raised it will come out of the more extreme council groups whose concept of public, political and Christian morality is symbolized by burned and bombed schools and churches. Such tactics would not be effective in more than three or four Deep South states and Sen. Kennedy is too intelligent to give them any appeasement.

Unpledged Electors

These states will likely go off the reservation with a system of unpledged electors, already being referred to as "eunuch electors." The only loss Kennedy would suffer might be in losing some of the state leaders who would like to help him.

It is perfectly true, of course, that the Southern vote for Sen. Kennedy in the 1956 convention was almost entirely a stop-Kefauver movement. But there was an opportunity to see and observe the young senator in action and he gained much Southern support.

It is obvious to political observers that the ghosts of the long convention deadlock of 1924 are in the minds of all the Democratic candidates. Sen. Kennedy's strategy seems to be shaping up to where one might say he plans to go for broke in Wisconsin and California. He needs to win the nomination within the first three or four ballots. If he can win Wisconsin, he may. If he captures the Californians, he almost surely will do so.

Ralph McGill Wins Pulitzer Journalism Award

Ralph McGill, Pulitzer prize-winning editor of The Atlanta Constitution, has received nationwide commendation for winning Journalism's highest award for editorial writing.

In the nation's press as well as coast-to-coast radio-television networks commentators have lauded the veteran writer for his column written immediately following the dynamiting of the Jewish Temple here last October.

McGill called the Temple dynamiting and the Clinton High School blast as the work of "rabid, mad dog minds." He said in the column that "this is a harvest. It is a crop of things sown . . . It is not possible to preach lawlessness and restrict it. . . ."

The standard set up by the Pulitzer Committee for the editorial section of the prizes read: "For distinguished editorial writing, the test of excellence being clearness of style, moral purpose, sound reasoning and the power to influence public opinion in what the writer conceives to be the right direction, with account being taken of the writer's whole volume of work during the year.

McGILL'S NEW WORLD

(Charleston News & Courier)

Addressing the graduation class of Duke University last Monday, editor Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution made a prediction about the South.

Mr. McGill predicted that a new political leadership will emerge in the South. The new leadership, he said, "in time of intercontinental missiles, of machines which think and of great concentrations of population, will not consider the greatest issue to be where a colored child will go to school."

We do not say Mr. McGill has made a wrong prediction. Human

Ralph McGill to Join The Star's Columnists

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution and one of the most provocative and well known figures in American journalism, will be added to The Star's list of opposite-the-editorial-page columnists beginning tomorrow.



MR. McGILL

Mr. McGill is a fixture in Atlanta and the South—but never stays fixed in any one place. He goes where the story is breaking, and writes it as he sees it—with the vigor and the disregard of whose feet he may step on that have brought him brickbats along with the bouquets, both of which are blithely ignored.

Mr. McGill is an astute observer and entertaining chronicler. Read his column on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays in

The Evening Star

questions are likely to receive less and less consideration is an age of technology and organization.

Far wiser men than Mr. McGill warned years ago that man may become a cog in the machine of society. The superstate of the Communist world is living proof that societies can be completely modernized in a technical sense while reverting to primitivism in contempt for human wishes.

The world, including the United States, may well undergo rebarbarization in the next few decades. The new political leadership may treat citizens merely as economic units fit for nothing more than direction by the centralized government. Realities of race and individual wishes may be scorned.

We hope that among the graduates at Duke are men who realized the danger to human values in the world which Mr. McGill looks to and apparently favors. A university should be a place where real human differences are appreciated.

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WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH McGILL

'—Always Two Voices'

A friend of mine from New York whose trade is to work in that nebulous but exacting field called public relations, and whose further chore it is to entertain various clients whose bents run often to night clubs and the like, came to see me.



He looked haggard and there was no bounce in his step, and the bounce, as one and all know, is a necessary attribute of a man whose task it is to bring sweetness and light and mutual admiration where none, or little, before existed.

"I never saw such a frantic season," he said. "Night clubs in New York are doing well and in New Orleans the Bourbon Street strip and jazz joints are jumping with persons energetically seeking recreation. It fretted me because they were working so desperately hard at it."

He paused and sighed.

More Frivolous

"I wrote something down for you," he said, and took from his pocket a sheet of folded paper. He read from it:

"With the enemy's approach to Moscow, the Moscovites' view of their situation did not grow more serious, but on the contrary became even more frivolous, as always happens with people who see a great danger approaching. At the approach of danger there are always two voices that speak with equal power in the human soul. One very reasonably tells a man to consider the nature of the danger and the means of escaping it; the other, still more reasonably, says that it is too depressing and painful to think of the danger, since it is not in man's power to foresee everything and avert the general course of events, and it's better therefore to disregard what is painful till it comes, and to think about what is pleasant. In solitude a man generally listens to the first voice, but in society to the second. So it was now with the inhabitants of Moscow. It was long since people had been as gay in Moscow as that year."

"I won't ask you to be a quiz kid," he said. "That's from Tolstoy's 'War and Peace,' and the antics of myself and my fellowmen over the weekend impressed it upon me."

I reached over to a shelf and got Byron's poem, "Waterloo." It begins:

"There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her beauty and her chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
But, hush, hark! A deep sound strikes like a rising knell!"

Beginning of Waterloo

It was the beginning of Waterloo and the destruction of the Napoleonic power.

This human, but nonetheless curious effort to escape from the reality of a situation was never better illustrated than in the Confederate capital city of Richmond in the last anguished months before it fell. Mrs. Mary Boykin Chestnut's "Diary From Dixie" reports its frivolous, almost frantic, attempt to disregard what is painful.

But no one has said it so well as Tolstoy.

Today many Americans are heeding what Tolstoy called "the second voice." They squirm away from the reality of the sacrifice in taxes and goods which must be made. They try to find an escape in criticism and doubting. Southerners do the same with their own peculiar problem.

But there are enough who will face the issues to solve them. There is within the republic the will and intelligence to find ways and means to meet the threat which is of war, yet not war alone, but war plus a fanatic ideology appealing to millions long without food, direction, education, information or any concept of order. Those who insist on listening to that "second voice" are just the extra weight we must carry into the fight.

RALPH McGILL

What Are the Alternatives?

There is a story about an old man who was asked if he did not dislike the idea of growing old.



"I do," he said, "until I consider the alternative."

This will serve as a sort of text for this quiet little essay on the subject of alternatives.

Five years ago this month the United States Supreme Court handed down its historic school decision. It is a continuing rebuke to the media of information and to those who comment on the news, either by the spoken or printed word, that a better job was not done in interpreting it.

The court did not hand down a unanimous decision ordering integration. It was a negative, not a positive decision. It said that discrimination could not be exercised in the admission policies of the public schools. Because of this failure in communication an emotional wall of misunderstanding quickly was built in the minds of millions. Fear was the mortar which held its stones. Fear was the buttresses of it and fear was the watch towers of it.

The court ordered an end to discrimination. It left to the states and to the district courts the implementation of the ruling. The court went out of its way to state that it knew time would be required, and patience.

School Placement

Three years later the Court rendered a decision in the Alabama school placement law which gave to the states more control of the school than they had ever before known. The court ruled that a school board could go into the scholastic background of school applicants and into the moral background as well.

In this same decision the Court declared that in those areas where there was a large proportion of Negro population it was not the intent of the decision to have schools take in large numbers of these.

The effect of the decisions was to give to the school boards powers unknown in previous years. It provided an effective control of the desegregation process.

One of the troubles was that whoever tried to communicate the truth and an understanding of the facts was assailed as "an integrationist" or, even, a Communist. This was slung at one and all, ministers, laymen, editors, columnists, commentators. Merely to defend the processes of law was to invite smears and vilification. They were accused, unreasonably and falsely, of trying to "ram the court down the throat" of those opposed.

But what was necessary five years ago is even more necessary today. That is to make clear the alternatives.

Closed Schools

It is precisely this which the Deep South states are up against today. Little Rock, for example, after having been up against the alternatives for almost two years, is moving away from the alternative of the closed schools.

But the alternative may be accepted. Some states may prefer to close down public education and keep it so. If they do so choose they may. It is almost impossible to believe that is what the people prefer, but in four or five states, only time will tell.

No honest person can fail to emphasize the fact of the alternative. Those who are engaged in presenting the alternative have no direct personal interest in whether parents who prefer the alternative of closed schools educate their children or not. They most emphatically are completely uninterested in trying to ram anything down any throat. This is a free country. A person may swallow what he likes, lies or truth, public schools or no public schools.

That the burden is a grievous one, and to many harsh and unreasonable, is true.

But to point out the alternative is not at all to argue for integration or to have such a policy.

The people have a right to understand and to comprehend what is at stake. As Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia recently told his constituents, the Supreme Court decision is an accomplished fact. It will not be reversed. The processes of law may be slow. But, in time, they must be faced and a choice made between law or the alternative. That is the fact of five years after 1954.

RALPH McGILL

Miss Lucy, Of the CIO

A very kind, sweet lady, characterized, too, by all the graces of the old Virginia plantations and the gentry, is dead at 77. And she would understand if the news of it brought reflective smiles along with affectionate memories.



She was Miss Lucy Randolph Mason. And she was all the name implies. She was of THE Randolphs of Virginia. She was of THE Masons of Virginia. Her family tree was festooned with great names and deeds familiar with historical America. The blood in her veins was bluer than indigo. Compared with Miss Lucy, the average DAR notable was a parvenu insofar as Revolutionary War forebears were concerned.

That she was, for 17 years, a public relations officer for John L. Lewis' mine workers and for the CIO, at a time when both were considered as affiliates of the devil, was always a wonder and, at times, a warming, hilarious fact. John L. Lewis was regarded as an ogre, or worse. Mostly worse. The CIO was looked upon as monstrously dangerous and wicked. Men and women, too, of conservative bent, were brought close to apoplexy at the mention of either. Some of the worst of these were newspaper publishers and editors. They would never have let a male CIO emissary darken their door. But, somehow, they could never resist when they received a request from a Miss Lucy Randolph Mason. They just had to see what a female coal miner's representative looked like and what she would have to say. They expected, of course, some hard-bitten, blowsy sort of Carrie Nation character armed with a coal pick.

She Was Small

And, at the appointed hour would come Miss Lucy. She was small. Her hair was prematurely gray. Her face had a pink glow to it and she blushed easily. She wore gold-rimmed glasses. She spoke with a broad-A Virginia accent. She was well-educated and well-read. She was better versed in economics than most of those with whom she met. She was ready with statistics. And she was, as they say, a born lady. She never had to act like one. She was one. And everyone knew it. She flabbergasted and deflated them. And because she was always so sweetly unconscious of this fact, they couldn't really become too angry.

The publishers, editors and industrialists who hauled off and let the CIO have the back of their hand, usually made some reckless charges and assertions. It was dis

comfiting, to say the least, to have this sweet-faced, gray-haired lady sitting there calling them to account for their sins. It was the more so because she patiently would dissect the published charges and reveal them as empty or false.

Miss Lucy must have made several hundred men, often somewhat pompous ones, feel like fools. In time she became a legend. She was not afraid to go anywhere. Indeed, it did not occur to her to be fearful. She was a born missionary. And wherever error was, she went. She figured that if an editor or an industrialist had sinned and erred he would be glad to know that repentance was indicated.

The Sinners

The sinners, of course, would have enjoyed bellowing back at some male CIO representative, swapping epithets and accusations. But when Miss Lucy came calling with her sweet smile, her Virginia accent and her complete innocence of anything save the presence of error and wrong, it was different. Some of them used to swell up and grow red. But Miss Lucy usually soothed them down by assuring them they surely would see the error of their ways. It was either calm, or burst. So they calmed. It was like a teacher handling a bad little boy.

She died looking upon John L. Lewis as one of the great men of our time. But he broke her heart when he broke with Franklin D. Roosevelt and went chasing off after strange political gods on the GOP Olympus. She simply left the Mine Workers division and stayed with CIO.

She was a genuine person, without guile or any deceit. And she was a great lady in the full meaning of the word. I'll always remember with affection Miss Lucy of the Mine Workers and the CIO.

McGill Hits Southern Press

PRINCETON, N. J. — (UPI) — Pulitzer Prize Winning Editor Ralph E. McGill Monday night accused some Southern newspapers of unpardonable action in dealing with the problem of school integration.

"Certain Mississippi papers have encouraged violence and

several South Carolina newspapers have done the same thing," McGill, editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, said.

McGill, a moderate on the school integration question, made his remarks in answer to questions by newsmen after he made a speech at Princeton university.

McGill told the newsmen that "some (southern) newspapers have acted unpardonably."

Asked whether he felt the southern press in general was fulfilling the role it should in regard to integration, he said "they've failed pretty badly."

However, he noted that some papers had no choice in advocating stiff segregationist policies. If they didn't, he said, "they'd soon be out of business."

McGill said that in his own state the segregation situation was becoming such that "the schools in Atlanta and the rest of the state will be closed next September, unless there is some kind of miracle."

In his speech, McGill spoke about his recent visit to Russia with Vice President Richard M. Nixon and his coverage of the visit to the United States of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

RALPH

McGILL

Gov. Almond Talks Straight

Gov. Lindsay Almond's advice to Dixie's Democrats came shortly after his election as chairman of the Southern Governors Conference—a choice which was a snub to Arkansas's Orval Faubus who was the senior chief executive.



Said Virginia's governor:

"I have never bolted the Democratic Party at the national, state or local level. My feeling is that the best hope of the South and the nation lies in the framework and principles espoused by the Democratic Party . . . Virginia will not go to the convention with a chip on its shoulder or rattling a sword."

This comes from a man who is all too rarely encountered in politics—one with enough intellectual honesty and courage to change his mind when it is politically dangerous to do so.

Gov. Almond led the forces of massive resistance to the Supreme Court's school decision. Virginia's decision to do so in 1954 in effect threw the robe of her great prestige about the shoulders of the then discredited leaders in several other Southern states. It gave them respectability which they did not possess. The reaction was that if Virginia, with all her great history, was to resist, then it was acceptable for the hate groups to do the same. The charlatan nostrum of interposition was urged by men who almost surely knew it was false and a betrayal of people who, opposing the court decision, were looking for honest leadership and some legitimate way of resisting. They were given not bread, but the stones of hate and falsehood.

Almond Fought

Gov. Almond fought the court orders with all the legitimate resources of his own laws and state courts until there was no appeal left.

He then obtained from the Legislature the legislation necessary to save the public schools. He would, he said, not defy law. The cities under court order to integrate, within the provisions of the placement law, did so. One community which already is feeling the beginnings of harmful effects this year is without public education.

Gov. Almond, after his election, told the states, still committed to abolishing education of their children so as to save their own political faces, that they must make a choice.

"You must make up your mind," he said, "whether to close your schools or live within the framework of law."

People Committed

The people of at least four Deep South states are committed by their poltical leaders to massive resistance and the closing of their schools and the tragic downgrading of their children's chances in life. These people have been deceived by most of their political leaders who have told them that they won't have to close schools or that if they do, it won't matter.

Persons who have sought the truth have been smeared as radicals and Communists. Now they have the frank, honest declaration by Virginia's Gov. Almond. He opposed as long as he had legal legs on which to stand. But he thought too much of his people and the future of the children of his state to act a blind Samson and pull down all the pillars of education.

What will the enflamed extremists say now of Gov. Almond? They cannot very well call him Communist, radical or mongrelizer.

What the Deep South politicians desperately need now is some mechanism for saving face. The people might supply it. They do not really want their children to go without education. A great majority of them will accept a placement law which controls desegregation rather than have their children be unable to enter college or prepared to have a fair chance in life. A majority of the Deep South political leadership, though harassed by extremists, know it is hopelessly out on a limb. The business, industrial and financial leadership of their states could lend them a hand.

Gov. Almond has told the South the facts. All talk of party bolts and withholding of electors is hopeless and sterile. The South cannot forever live with a chip on its shoulder.

We face a moment of truth. We will, when confronted with a court order, either close our schools or live within the framework of law.

RALPH

McGILL

An Easing Of Iniquity?

No state in the Union presently is more interesting than Georgia, youngest of the 13 colonies, but old in controversy.



All its long, fruitful and turbulent life it has been a slow-to-move state, "standing with reluctant feet where brook and river meet." It is, for example, a conservative state. Yet, it has within it the potential for radical revolt such as it revealed in the explosive years of the Populist Party. It could, and did, take Populist Leader Tom Watson to its heart and love him so much as to be loath to quit him when he ceased to be a people's man and became instead a reckless, irresponsible demagogue.

It is a state which has moods of gentleness and violence. It is a state which has a history of putting its worst foot forward. It is a state which led the nation in promoting Franklin D. Roosevelt from Warm Springs to the presidency and yet, in 1938, turned him down angrily when he sought to purge Sen. Walter George as a deterrent to the New Deal. It is a state which one can love sincerely and yet wish mightily to rebuke.

Now, in the spring of 1959, when the flowers blossom and the dogwood blooms are bursting from their buds, it offers a national story which surprises even itself.

County Unit System

One of the features of Georgia's yeasty political life which has made her a national story is her iniquitous county unit system. It was a device deliberately created in the early years of the century to maintain the rural counties in power by nullifying the large vote in the more urban counties. There was never any pretense about it. From the beginning it was projected as a mechanism to prevent the expression of the popular will.

In Georgia it was, and is, possible to get the most votes and lose a state congressional district election. This incredible denial of democratic process has made the state's political system a national curiosity. Writers come, not to write of magnolias and plantations, but of the unbelievable system which enables a candidate to get the necessary majority of votes and yet be defeated.

Nor is it merely theoretical fact. The best known example of it was in 1946. In that year the late Eugene Talmadge was elected governor even though his opponent, James V. Carmichael, polled 16,144 more votes. The majority of 16,144 was utterly meaningless. Only the unit votes counted.

Georgia has 159 counties, more than any state save Texas. The architects of the county unit system arbitrarily gave eight counties six unit votes. To 30 others they awarded four units each. One hundred and eleven counties received two votes each. Population growth brought no more units. A vote in Fulton County, of which Atlanta is the county seat, is worth about 1/70th of a vote in the average small county. Of the 159 counties about 120 have for years been losing population. Yet, the unit system has been as unchanging as the legendary laws of the Medes and the Persians.

Two Senators

As last week drew to a close the sacred unit system, and the state itself, was startled. Both senior Senator Richard B. Russell and junior Senator Herman Talmadge recommended that the system be overhauled and established on a population basis. This caused the most reactionary and corrupting forces in the state to squeal in protest. But most politicians recognized, as did the two senators, that the U.S. Supreme Court was almost certain to strike it down, since no Republican Party has risen to challenge the state Democratic nominees. Nomination was, therefore, election. This is clearly disfranchisement. They saw, too, the increasing city votes. The move was to save what is possible of the old iniquitous system, the only one of its kind in the nation. Even modification of it will make corruption and inefficient government less possible.

It was also a story of national notice because it demonstrated that even in the deep cotton South urbanization increasingly is a factor.

RALPH

McGILL

Cameroons, Did You Say?

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Wearing multi-colored tribal robes of exquisite and ritualistic designs,



Daniel Kamajou, president of the legislative assembly in the French Cameroons, and Dr. J. N. Foncha, prime minister of the Southern British Cameroons, have been attending the trusteeship committee debates on their countries.

But it cannot be said our nation is stirred. No page one headlines proclaim the controversy. The stories are tucked away on the far inside pages. But all the big powers, save the United States, are deeply concerned, geographically or politically. Happily we can watch this one from the sidelines.

The Cameroons are a vast region of West Africa. The region covers about 190,000 square miles of plateaus, mountains, many rich river valleys, volcanoes, jungles and alluvial plains. The temperature is tropical and is not regarded as suitable for Europeans—but they are there.

The early Portuguese explorers gave the area its name in the 15th century. The major indentation on the coast is a large estuary, or bay, which its discoverer, Fernando Po, gave the name "Rio das Camaroes," meaning river of prawns, or shrimp. The English came to call it Cameroons. The name was applied, naturally, to the mainland.

A Protectorate

From 1884 to 1919 it was a protectorate of the German Kaisers. By the Versailles Treaty a mandate to govern the territory was given to Britain and France.

The present debate concerns the British proposal to merge the northern British Cameroons with Nigeria and a plebiscite for the South. Nigeria will become an independent nation in October of 1960. There are cultural links between the two areas. The plebiscite is expected to result in a single government for the southern British and French Cameroons. The Russians and some African nations, which do not trust the French to hold the elections, are demanding U.N. supervision. This growling by the Russians, however, is, of course, not altruistic. As might be suspected, there is a Communist Party in the French area. It presently is outlawed, but political amnesty has been pledged.

It is fair to say the British set the pace, the French had to follow. Indeed, as one looks at Britain's policy since the second great war, admiration for their good sense increases. In Asia and Africa they saw that colonialism was in its closing days. In Africa, Ghana attained sovereignty by plan in just eight years. Nigeria is next. Then comes Sierra Leone—if the Cameroons do not beat them to that status.

Tremendous Pace

At any rate, what Americans cannot afford to overlook is that transfer of power to African hands proceeds at a really tremendous pace. It would be impossible to predict how many new nations there will be at the end of 1960—or what boundaries they will have.

Thoughtful men, looking at the great stirring and passion for national identity, see it sometimes as a leap into the dark. But one needs but to be even briefly here at the U.N. to know that for Africans it is a leap into light.

Business—Soviet, European and American—is moving in with trade and modern technique.

There are new office buildings next door to mud-thatched huts. There are young doctors, from the medical schools of Britain, America and France, actually competing with witch-doctor medicine men.

The new technological society of push-buttons and electronics finds the average African able only to push the buttons. He does not know why, or how, the action follows. But he holds defiantly in his heart the knowledge that he is a man and that there are Africans today who are prime ministers.

At any rate, 135 million black peoples of diverse tongues and races are, in their words, "leaping into the light."

Those who cannot compete with change die with the past.

Negro College Group Hears Atlanta Editor

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) — Women's suffrage stirred up the same sort of protests 40 years ago that racial integration does today, a Southern editor said Saturday.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, told the United Negro College Fund convocation he expects Negroes' place in their communities will ultimately be accepted, just as women's voting was.

"We often hear it said that one cannot legislate prejudice out of existence," he told a luncheon group. "That certainly is true, but we can effectively legislate against any form of discrimination in our citizenship. Once discrimination ends, prejudice declines."

McGill said Southern progress toward peaceful integration has been obscured "by the noise of Little Rock — an episode where the governor made a belated tragic change of mind."

Segregation 'War' Doomed, Editor Says

INDIANAPOLIS UPI — Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution said Saturday the war against integration being waged by southern extremists is doomed to defeat.

McGill, who delivered the major address at the United Negro College Fund's 15th annual convocation, said these southern radicals are fighting integration "completely out of spite and vindictiveness" and they will not succeed.

The presidents of the 33 UNCF member colleges and presidents of 20 Indiana colleges were guests at the convocation luncheon Saturday.

The UNCF is a federation of private colleges and universities seeking financial support in an annual campaign. Except for a school in Pennsylvania, all colleges are located in the South.

McGill commented on the situation in Tuskegee, Ala., where officials recently rearranged the city limits to exclude the Negro citizens.

He called the action an example of the "worst side of extremist conduct.

"No policy founded on meanness and spite can last," said McGill.

He said Tuskegee "now is a ruined city financially" because "the Negro population feels that if it is not wanted there it won't spend money there."

The town is a "semi - ghost town" with "two-thirds of the merchants closed," he said. McGill said few people understand that the Supreme Court "did not order integration" but "an end to discrimination."

"We often hear it said that one cannot legislate prejudice out of existence," he said. "That certainly is true, but we can effectively legislate against any form

"Finest Of Men"—Ralph McGill

"My First Boss" Was Colored Man, Reveals A Deep-South Editor

A white southern newspaper editor tells in the April Reader's Digest of his 40-year-old friendship for the elderly colored man who was his first boss. In his article Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) "Constitution" describes the latter as "one of the finest men I've ever known."

How this friendship blossomed despite racial barriers is told by McGill in the article, "My First Boss." He recalls that in the summer of 1919 he was looking for a job before returning to Vanderbilt College for the fall term. His father, sales manager for a roofing company, offered him work—as helper on a roofing crew whose members and foreman were Negroes.

HE AND CHARLIE, the foreman, soon became fond of each other, writes McGill. They talked endlessly; at noontime they ate lunch together. Often Charlie would take his young helper to his house for iced tea.

"We'd sit on Charlie's little front porch and drink the tea," McGill writes, "grateful for the end of the day. Charlie never failed to brag about me, declaring I was the best helper a man could have."

When the summer ended and McGill was to return to college, Charlie drove him to the station. The old Negro pressed an envelope into the white boy's palm—not to be opened until the train left. Inside was a five-dollar bill; Charlie feared his helper hadn't saved anything from his summer's wages.

McGILL AND CHARLIE corresponded until the latter's death. Now 40 years later, the editor writes that he can still recall Charlie with his arms around him at the station, saying: "Don't forget me."

Updating the story he writes: "In these last several years of tensions I have tried to recollect any rationalization I may have gone through about working as the only white member of a Negro roofing crew. I have been unable to recall any."

The article is condensed from the Atlantic Monthly.

Columbus Grand Jury Okays Snub To McGill

COLUMBUS, Ga. (AP) — The Muscogee County Commission has won endorsement from the county grand jury of its decision not to allow Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution to discuss Georgia school problems in a Columbus courtroom.

The jurors voted unanimously to back the commissioners in their action. Foreman I. W. Gregory told the regular commission meeting Tuesday.

This was disputed, however, by juror John Bannister, who said he did not remember a vote being taken. "I would have voted against it," Bannister added.

McGill canceled plans to speak here after the commissioners denied him the use of the courtroom. He had been invited by the League of Women Voters and the commissioners first approved the use of the courtroom.

TWO REASONS GIVEN

Commissioner Dixon Wadsworth read a prepared statement Tuesday to newsmen which he said clarified the commission's views. The statement listed two reasons for denying the courtroom to McGill:

"1. This commission acted to protect from possible defacement of public property for which we are responsible.

"2. We did not wish to lend to approval which would have been construed from our granting the use of public facilities to the provisional League of Women Voters of Muscogee County, a revived league whose officers we do not know."

The Columbus Ministerial Alliance urged the commissioners Monday to reconsider their action. Wadsworth replied that "we're not trying to fill the pulpits of the churches in this county and ministers shouldn't be trying to run the county government."

Ralph I. King, commission chairman, said facts surrounding the incident have been grossly misrepresented. King has been editorially criticized by the Columbus Ledger-Enquirer newspapers.

Commissioner Roy Waller said he had information that four top officers of the League of Women Voters were not registered to vote in Muscogee County.

Court Ruling In Bus Case Reminder To Both Races To Quit Shoving

In the same issue of The News and Courier quoting Atlanta Editor Ralph McGill's opinion that too much attention has been paid to "where a colored man shall sit on a street car" appeared a news report of a court decision about violence on a bus.

The place where a man and his wife, who happened to be Negroes, sat on a bus while traveling through Florida was the cause of the violence. The couple sued the bus company for $505,000 damages after a white man assaulted them for sitting in the forward section.

The Federal District Court of Florida denied damages. That verdict has been reversed on appeal. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans ruled that the bus company should protect its passengers in segregated areas.

For years, in the South, bus drivers were authorized to protect their passengers by assignment of seats. The courts have been taking away that power. In South Carolina, a damage suit has caused operators of city buses in Charleston and Columbia to instruct drivers not to enforce state law requiring separation of races on the bus.

How a bus company can comply with the New Orleans order to protect passengers without granting the driver power to assign their places now poses a difficult question. Someone may suggest stationing a U.S. paratrooper on every bus to maintain order.

We would like to believe that decency, good manners and respect for fellow travelers would enable white and colored people on public transportation to police themselves. When Editor McGill said that too much attention was being given to where a colored man sits on a street car, we assume he was criticizing white people for desiring separation. The same criticism should apply to colored people for demanding mixed seating.

From the brief press summary of the New Orleans court ruling, we cannot say precisely what was in the judges' minds. They said the bus company should have warned the Negro plaintiffs of the danger they were risking by sitting where they sat. Thus the court has given judicial recognition to what Editor McGill has deplored.

If both races would stop shoving each other and would return to customs that long maintained peace and mutual respect, the need for courtroom and newspaper dictums would vanish with the wind.

31a 1959

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

Georgia

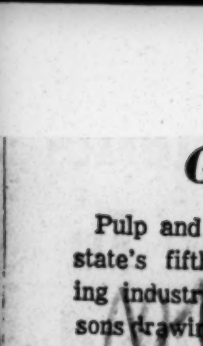
Pulp and paper production, the state's fifth largest manufacturing industry, employs 16,000 persons drawing $111,000,000 annually.

VOL. XCI, No. 230 TEL.

RALPH McGILL

Hawaii and 14 Democrats

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Fifteen senators voted against the Hawaiian statehood bill. All were from the South. Fourteen were Democrats. In the House 65 Democrats voted nay. All but two were from the South.



Here in the proverbial nutshell is a sad and meaningful story. It is sad because the reasons the South had for voting against the admission of the people of Hawaii were the wrong reasons. It was a purely political vote based on the fact that Hawaii will bring in senators and representatives who will provide added strength to the civil rights forces.

It is meaningful because it very starkly reveals the great decline in the influence of the Southern bloc in the Congress. Until five years ago, it was able to turn on the stop-and-go signs for legislation about as it pleased.

There is a further note of pathos in it because so many of these Southern senators are knowledgeable men. Many of them now have become embittered men with chips always on their shoulder. These are caught in a political trap which is cruel and not very rewarding. They must vote against much legislation for wrong reasons because to do otherwise would jeopardize their home positions.

Great Struggle

They are here in one of the great capitals of the world. It is locked in a great struggle to save the free world from Communist power and terror. These Southerners are not unintelligent men. They know the score. But they are the prisoners of the many county politicians in their state who do not know the score and who fiercely cling to concepts no longer valid.

They must watch their traditional Senate power erode away day by day. The Western states, well before the Hawaiian vote, had already moved up to a position of equal, if not superior, strength. Only the hold of the Southern members on committee chairmanships enables them to retain some of their old influence.

About five years ago the Southern bloc was a hard core, one of 22 votes. This number, in a Senate of 96 votes, was a veto power. It could, by coalition with Republican conservatives, wield a strength quite out of proportion to its actual numbers. But about five years ago, some of the South began to break away. It could not go along denying legislation in the general field of civil rights.

The first such break came in the signing of the so-called Southern manifesto in 1956. It was a document which attacked the Supreme Court for its school decision. It was an idea conceived by Senate members who were then hopeful that the late Sen. Walter F. George of Georgia might be returned to the Senate without opposition. It was felt that he might be attacked in a primary campaign as not having made an effectual fight against the court decree.

No Effect

It was, from that viewpoint, at least, utterly valueless. It had no real effect. Not all the Southerners signed it. Sens. Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore of Tennessee refused, as did Sen. Lyndon Johnson, majority leader, from Texas. It was of no help whatever to Sen. George. It weakened the Southern position in the Senate and in the eyes of the nation.

In 1957 four Southern senators voted for the mild civil rights bill. In early 1959 eight senators from states of the Confederacy voted to curb the filibuster.

The hard core of Southern resistance to the majority is now reduced from 22 to 14. The filibuster now is useless. A caucus was held ahead of the Hawaiian vote. It was a melancholy meeting in that those attending agreed there was nothing they could do. They did not make a floor fight.

The Senate, with Hawaii, will have 100 members. It will not quite be 86 against 14, but on a great many measures it will be just about that. There are a few bitter-enders who don't care. But, most of these 14 do care. If some of them, knowing the score, and the political climate at home, grow more bitter and withdrawn, the explanation is no secret.

Alabama Lost

School-Closing Vow Sent An Industrial Plant To Carolina

By Ralph McGill

In The Atlanta Constitution

THEY don't yet refer to him as "Happy" Hodges or "Laughing Luther," but any day now I expect some North Carolina journalist, inspired to originality, so to refer to His Excellency, the Tarheel governor, Luther Hartwell Hodges.

Luther, in the argot of our time, has got it made. The other day the governor received a delegation becoming more and more typical. This illustration is a literal one. The visitors had a plant to locate. They had narrowed it down to North Caroline and to Alabama. They finally had decided the latter. They called on the governor.

According to their story, they asked about schools. The governor of Alabama said, with considerable emphasis, he would close every blank one of them before he would accept a federal court order.

They thanked him and departed for North Carolina. Representatives of that state met them at the airport. Hotel rooms were awaiting them. So was the governor.

The schools of North Carolina, he assured them, would remain open. Not only that, they would continue to function for all the children of the state.

Nor was that all. The governor continued.

A LITTLE RESEARCH HELP

He reminded his visitors that North Carolina's three universities, Duke, North Carolina State and the University, were all coordinated in a great research program which would be housed in a multi-million-dollar plant.

Might the new plant have a research problem? It might.

Well, then, all it had to do was submit it, or some phase of it, to the research institute and the resources of it would be placed at their disposal.

North Carolina got the plant.

A misconception prevails about the location of plants. From the time a decision is made to build one, to the actual selection of the site, there is a period of about two, and sometimes three, years. It is devoted to research. A look is had at every possible location. The water supply, transportation, labor, raw materials, schools and other factors all are given careful scrutiny before a decision is reached.

These projects get into what might be called a pipeline. Once in, they usually go as projected. Hence, it is that Arkansas just now is beginning to be hurt by the closing of her schools, the breakdown of respect for law and order, ad the general political climate.

A few days ago the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce revealed the true economic story of Little Rock. Twice in bygone months the chamber has been requested to poll its members on the question of reopening the high schools. The chamber refused on the grounds that the question was a controversial one and the chamber did not enter into controversies.

BUSINESSMEN WANT SCHOOLS

It now has done so. The vote showed more than 800 members favored reopening the schools on the basis of the placement law permitting token integration. A few more than 200 voted to keep them closed. The percentage was 76% to reopen them.

The Association of University Women of the Little Rock chapter recently made a poll of all the retail merchants. The result, with six exceptions, we've been hurt," Of the six unharmed, two are moving companies moving people out. The head of the Industrial Development Board says the state has been hurt.

These are facts which seemed to have been confused by a national magazine, which all along has had an almost school-girl crush on Gov. Faubus and, which found statistics saying business was just dandy. Apparently it did not contact the merchants or the Chamber of Commerce.

At any rate, the ballot by the Little Rock business men and the great boom in North Carolina which is telling all prospects "Your children will have public schools and universities," remind us that any day now we can expect to see the Tarheel governor described as "Laughing Luther" or "Happy Hodges."

DEEP-SOUTH EDITOR TELLS OF FRIENDSHIP WITH NEGRO BOSS

A white Southern newspaper editor tells in the April Reader's Digest of his 40 year-old friendship for the elderly Negro who was his first boss. In his article Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) "Constitution" describes the latter as "one of the finest men I've ever known."

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The article is condensed from the Atlantic Monthly.

RALPH

McGILL

'Electoral Eunuchs?'

After the abortive, and somewhat shameful, Dixiecrat antics in 1948 the more thoughtful Deep South political leaders quietly made up their minds not to set foot in that path again if it were at all possible to avoid so doing.



They had been stampeded into the initial action at the Democratic national convention by some of the more obtuse political mentalities of Alabama and South Carolina. An effort later was made to give the movement some respectability and, more important, some valid reason for being.

This never was entirely successful, though the raw edges of it were blurred. It was never possible to hide the fact that the basic motivation for the bolt was one of hate and vindictive impulse. But by putting the chintz of states rights on the windows, some of the ugliness of the initiating spirit was concealed and the presence of an always invisible principle proclaimed.

Despite the fact that in November the Dixiecrat target, Harry S. Truman, lost New York and other key states deemed essential to success, the Dixiecrat bolt was still unable to accomplish its hopes. There was a move to drop the senators and congressmen of the bolting states from their committee posts when the Congress was organized. All agreed it should have been done.

For Unity

But Harry S. Truman, urged on by House Speaker Sam Rayburn and other stalwarts seeking to obtain unity, sent down the word that the victor would be compassionate and forgiving. It took some persuading. But it was agreed and those who had sought to defeat the party would be given a full share in the victory.

But the practical knew that couldn't be done again. It had been too raw and reckless. The Dixiecrats actually had refused, in some states, to allow the people to vote for the party's nominees. They had ruthlessly suppressed the right of the free ballot.

After the second Eisenhower triumph of 1956, with the accompanying Democratic congressional victory, the Deep South members took stock. They saw that the party's new strength came from outside the South.

After the 1958 triumph, which brought in additional party strength, all of it from the East and West, planning was begun. In the first real conference the idea of what has been called "Electoral Eunuchs" was advanced. These electors would be neither Republican nor Democratic. The states wishing to bolt would not really do so. They would refuse to place the name of the party nominees on the ballot. Only names of unpledged electors would be printed as representing the Democratic party. There was then debated whether to try and agree on one regional "favorite son," to whom the electors eventually would go, or whether each state would have its own.

Not Resolved

This question has not yet been resolved. But the "Electoral Eunuchs" are almost certain to be the strategy in four or five states.

That this will be helpful to the Republicans, and may assure that party victory, is undenied. That such a plan would take away the rights of the citizens to vote for the national nominees through electors pledged to them, also is undenied. But technically, there would be no bolt. Deep South members of the Congress would hope thereby to hold committee positions in the event of a Democratic victory.

The Constitution of the United States says simply that the electors shall vote for two persons and that the one receiving the most shall become president. The intent is plain. But a rebellious group presumably could vote for two persons of its choice or refrain from voting at all.

The political morality of thus avoiding the right of the people to vote for the national nominees is in question.

Even more questionable is what these states would gain by isolating themselves from the nation's mainstream of politics as provided by a two-party system.

RALPH

McGILL

Democratic Ghost of 1924

Already there hovers over the Democratic national convention for 1960 the sweaty, weary ghost of 1924.



That was the year the Democrats might have won the presidency. The fantastic corruption of the Harding administration was a ready-made issue. Calvin Coolidge had not yet had time firmly to establish his image as that of a dour, frugal, conservative who would be a national housekeeper fully as prim and neat as any housewife in a New England village.

But the convention, which began so bravely, was soon thrown into bitterness and bickering. In 1924 the major divisive issue was the Ku Klux Klan. It was firmly established in the South and in a few areas east and west which normally were Republican. Depending on its locality, the sheeted KKK was anti-Catholic, anti-foreign, anti-Jewish and anti-Negro. But in the South it was all of these. A second shoal on which the party foundered was the wet-dry issue.

South's Choice

William Gibbs McAdoo, son-in-law of the stricken Woodrow Wilson, was the South's choice. He was an ardent dry. Smith was openly and insistently wet. This gave McAdoo a substantial pre-convention lead.

This proved to be a bubble soon punctured. The investigation of Harding's corrupt organization was in progress. It turned up the fact that McAdoo had been attorney for Edward L. Doheny, wealthy oil executive who was a central figure in disclosures of the bribing of U.S. Senator A. B. Fall. McAdoo was not involved, but he was sufficiently oil-smeared to lose his effectiveness as a crusader against GOP thievery.

Nominating speeches were made before the adoption of the platform. A moment of high drama occurred. There struggled forward on crutches the once lively and ebullient Franklin D. Roosevelt, former assistant secretary of the Navy, and vice presidential nominee in 1920. These were his first steps since infantile paralysis not too many months before. Not only was the convention hall emotionally moved by the spectacle of the tortuous figure concentrating on the agony of taking the necessary steps, but it was stirred by his speech, the only effective one made. He nominated Al Smith.

A large field of favorite sons was nominated. The convention then proceeded to go to pieces. The resolutions committee could not agree on a statement condemning the Klan.

William Jennings Bryan supported the Southern position that the KKK not be named. The convention voted for such an appeasing resolution by 742½ to 351½ votes.

Two-Thirds Rule

Nineteen candidates were up for ballots. The two-thirds rule prevailed and neither Smith nor McAdoo could muster that many delegates.

The deadlocked sessions began June 24 and did not end until July 9. McAdoo withdrew after the 100th ballot. A corporation lawyer, John W. Davis, at last was nominated. For vice president the choice was Charles W. Bryan.

The Democrats had destroyed any chance of victory. Coolidge was overwhelmingly elected.

There no longer is, of course, a two-thirds rule.

But there will be the old, old clash of the urban areas of the East, Midwest and West with the deep South. The issue is not symbolized by the Klan, but in essence it is the same old difference manifested in a new form.

A large field of favorite sons will be nominated in 1960. There is little likelihood that any of the several candidates above this category will be able to win in any of the early balloting. It is possible a deadlock will occur and that bitter division will be paraded on the nation's TV screens.

The yet-weary ghost of the 1924 convention holds up a warning finger to the party and convention leadership to be sure it plans well.

31a 1959

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

McGill Predicts South Will Seek New Leaders

NEW YORK, April 22 (UPI) Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, predicted tonight that the South eventually would break away from old cultures and traditions and turn to a new political leadership more in tune with the region's industrial growth.

The new leadership, he said, would open new and better schools instead of closing them.

"How long it will take, none may say for sure," he said. "Years will pass, perhaps a few, perhaps many, but that leadership in a time of intercontinental missiles, of machines which think and of great concentrations of populations, will not consider the greatest issue to be where a colored man shall sit in a streetcar, or where his child will go to school."

McGill spoke during presentation of Sidney Hillman Foundation awards in recognition of outstanding work in daily and weekly journalism, magazines, books and radio. He received a $500 prize for his columns in defense of the public school systems.

McGill said that the history of the United States was one of frequent struggles with the past, and that what was happening in the South was nothing new.

"But "the young Southerner," he said, "is, by and large, a churchgoing, Sunday school attendant. He understands that what the preacher and the church school teaches us on Sunday runs contrary to what his governor says on Monday.

"He keeps trying to rationalize the sermon on the mount and the last press conference at his state capitol."

Others who received Hillman awards, established in memory of the late president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, were:

Harry and Gretchen Billings, editors of the weekly The People's Voice at Helena, Mont., for their editorials on civil liberties and the public welfare; Harvey Swados, for his artile, "Myth of the Powerful Worker," appearing in The Nation; Prof. John Kenneth Gailbraith, for his book, "The Affluent Society;" and Irving Gitlin, director of public affairs, CBS news, for his supervision of "Unit One," CBS radio network.

ATLANTA EDITOR HEARD AT DUKE

Ralph McGill Says Pupil Assignment Not Greatest Issue In Space Age

DURHAM (UPI)—Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution predicted Monday that questions of where a Negro child will go to school will not be considered the greatest issue in the space age.

McGill, recent Pulitzer Prize-

McGill, recent Pulitzer Prize-North Carolina's role in the South's "Present Travail and Agony."

He told some 1,100 Duke University graduates the South can look forward to more of the "new sort of political leadership" already demonstrated in North Carolina.

The State already "is stronger and happier and more confident of its future because it has had stronger leadership with more integrity than that of some of its neighbors," McGill said.

This new political leadership "will be more in tune with the industrial South and the future which such a civilization produces," he predicted.

Better Schools.

"It will open new and better schools, not close them."

The new leadership, "in a time of intercontinentail missiles, of machines which think and of great concentrations of populations, will not consider the greatest issue to be where a Colored child will go to school."

Speaking of the South in general, McGill said, "We, in this varied and complex South which we love and serve, have had grievous burdens put upon us.

"Young Southerners are watching their political representatives in the spotlight of the great drama of human rights and public education, as well as in economics and international affairs."

Describing the young Southerner as "a product of what cynics call the Bible Belt," McGill said "He keeps trying to rationalize the sermon on the mount and the latest press conference at some of the South's capitals."

McGill emphasized that "ignorance, prejudice and shabbiness of mind and values always are careless leaks in the dyes of civilization in which man is a free individual. These forces must always be recognized for what they are and their presence and purpose publicly proclaimed and opposed."

RALPH

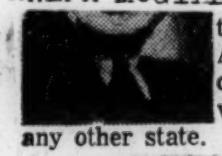
McGILL

A Plea for Constitution's Simple Truth



This is really an essay about judges — especially those of the federal system.

There was a historic feature to the recent Federal District Court decision declaring all segregated school systems in violation of the 14th Amendment not contained in previous decrees in any other state.



In it one got a picture of the loneliness of judges who, once they take what is one of the most solemn of oaths, must withdraw from much of life. They also must seal their lips insofar as any comment on politics or public controversy is concerned.

Only in their decisions may they reveal some of their repressed emotions. And then they can do so only in the calm judicial phrases which explain their decisions.

Since the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision a great many persons have wondered if justices of state supreme courts as well as members of the federal judiciary were not sickened by all the deliberate deception of a disturbed, confused people who, in great majority, strongly opposed and dissented from the Supreme Court's constitutional interpretation of the 14th Amendment.

They had to remain silent while men who knew better shouted that states' rights were superior to the federal. They could say nothing while the utter nonsense of "interposition" was preached by men who argued a state could interpose its authority between the court and the federal government.

The Judges

State Supreme Court justices and federal judges were mute while self-proclaimed authorities on the Constitution heatedly denounced the court and told a hopeful people, desperately seeking an escape, that the court was wrong and had acted unconstitutionally.

One felt a certain sympathy for the political leader who knew better, but who needed time to save face and somehow manage to tell the people the truth.

Many did so manage. They did let the people know that the Supreme Court decision was an established fact and would not be reversed. They attacked the decision, bitterly and angrily, as they had every right to do. But they didn't lie to the people about the primacy of the courts and law.

Then there were the smearers and the extremists who spoke of the President and the court and all who told the truth in terms most vulgar and foul.

Through all of this there was a silence by the justices of the higher courts, state and federal. It had to be. And that silence will, of course, continue.

Between the Lines

But now and then in court decisions one can read between the lines. In the Georgia decision the court announced it was, of course, bound by the Supreme Court, as are all other courts, state and federal. It noted that state legislatures had themselves admitted the fact the United States Supreme Court ruling constitutes the law on the question by passing laws seeking to meet the problems created by the decision.

The court then said that racially segregated schools violated the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

There followed the historic feature, which has not appeared in any previous one. It seems inescapably a plea to leadership not further to deceive the people. The court said of its decision:

"To make any other ruling would only add to the confusion which already exists in the minds of so many of our good citizens, and to build up in the breasts of our citizens hopes of escape which would soon be torn to shreds by rulings of our appellate courts on review. This court feels that any such ruling could accomplish no good, but only cause irreparable harm to our state and her people."

The deceptions and smearings of the past have already done great and lasting harm. One does not blame the people. They looked to their leaders. That was proper.

But surely, from now on, whether that leadership determines to abolish its school system entirely, or to permit local decisions, it will tell the people the plain, simple truth. They have earned it.

McGill Named To Journalism Hall of Honor

Atlanta Constitution Editor Ralph McGill has been elected to the University of Missouri school of journalism's Hall of Honor which will be dedicated Friday in Columbia, Mo.

McGill, winner of the Missouri Honor Award for Distinguished Service in Journalism in 1957, is one of about 100 journalists honored by the school in the past 30 years.

Additional selections to the Hall of Honor will be made annually, school officials reported.

Working With McGill Is Exciting Adventure

Atlanta Constitution

He doesn't know this is being written and if he did he wouldn't let us print it.

But since he will not know until too late to do anything about it, those of us associated with Ralph McGill on the editorial staff of The Constitution cannot let the 30th anniversary of his association with the paper pass without taking note of our debt to him, our affection and our appreciation of the day-to-day adventure which working with him amounts to.

Working with McGill is just that—an adventure. It is trips through uncharted seas and caravans into deserts where the oases are few or nonexistent. It is words of cheer for the fearful and impatience with idiocy. It is encouragement for initiative and free-thinking and tolerance for stupidity. It is confidence that right will prevail and conviction that standing up for the right is preferable to cowardice.

Working with McGill is arguments and disagreements, sometimes bordering on shouting matches to which he listens patiently and kindly but in which he refuses to compromise on principle when convinced he is right. Wrapped up in the character of the man is an amazing intellectual toughness linked with wonderful humility and love for all men. Those of us who have been out-talked or merely overruled usually have ended up being grateful that his judgment prevailed.

Working with McGill is indeed an adventure, an experience to be envied by the fainthearted and the frail. From his great store of knowledge and experience comes guidance which enables us to maintain the respect if not always the love of our readers.

Those of us who now are privileged to work with McGill and many others who have had the experience in the past join in this grateful salute to a great individual and a great newspaperman. Long may he continue to write, to challenge his readers and his associates to shed their intellectual lethargy!—The Editorial Staff.

McGill Praises Press For Its Responsibility

Post + Times Herald P. 7-A

Washington D.C. May 30-60-57

NEW YORK, May 29 (UPI) — Ralph McGill, Pulitzer-Prize winning editor of the Atlanta Constitution, said today that despite the many faults of modern journalism, American newspapers now were the best ever from the standpoint of responsibility.

He recalled that the latter part of the 19th Century and early part of the 20th represented a colorful period in newspaper development and was wonderful to read about. "But we would not tolerate that sort of journalism today."

he said.

McGill, winner of this year's Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing, delivered the fourth annual Joseph Pulitzer memorial lecture at Columbia University School of Journalism.

Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher and chairman of the board of the New York Times, received the second Columbia journalism award for "singular journalistic performance in the public interest."

McGill said journalism in its early days in this country, with few notable exceptions, was bad.

"A large percentage of the American press was either owned or at the beck and call of special interests," he said.

McGill said there still were abuses of the responsibility of the press.

"None was more sickened than I by the inexcusably shabby performance of most of the American press during the Joe McCarthy era," he said.

"One of the saddest things to me has been to see the many papers in the South which have chosen to assist extremist political leadership in deceiving the people" in the integration battle.

"They have participated in the folly and falsehood of declaring the U. S. Supreme Court acted illegally," the Atlanta editor said.

Publishers termed key fo moral values—

News still hard core of papers, Atlanta editor McGill tells school

News P. 2-A

Phoenix, Ariz. Gaz. 5-31-57

NEW YORK, May 30—(AP)—Ralph McGill, winner of this year's Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing, said today that newspapers "must never forget they serve man—not a state . . ."

McGill editor of The Atlanta Constitution, made the statement in the fourth annual Joseph Pulitzer Memorial Lecture prepared for Columbia University's graduate School of Journalism. He completed his 30th year with The Atlanta Constitution this month.

HE DISCUSSED the role of newspapers in the future. He said America's current population is about 173 million but by the year 2000—only 41 years away—"we'll have a population of about 353 million. What will that mean to schools, churches, newspapers and government, local and federal?"

Despite possible changes in other fields, "The news must always constitute the body of a newspaper," McGill said. And, he added:

"Newspapers can't be any better than the people who get them out. In fact, newspapers are the people who produce them. Something of the men and women who work on them gets into the paper—some of their mind, some of their personality, their faith, or lack of it, some of their compassion or apathy, some of their sensitiveness or brittle sophistication, some of their feeling for poetry and beauty—or lack of it.

"This is why we say that a newspaper has a soul. It is a bit trite, that statement. But it is true."

McGILL SAID that in all newspapers which have earned a reputation for public service and editorial stamina, "the character and the purpose of the publishers are the key.

"There is no virtue, per se, in an independent paper, a monopoly, or chain. There is virtue and character only where publishers bring about them the right people and provide the right direction."

The Atlanta editor admitted that 'the faults of today's journalism are many," but added that "it is the best we've ever had from the standpoint of responsibility. I say that even though frequently my gorge rises over abuses of that duty."

McGILL EMPHASIZED "no editor can do a job unless his publisher provides a climate of integrity and understanding in which to work."

He said he believes, too, "newspapers ought to believe in the journalistic relevance of moral principle."

"A newspaper, I firmly believe, must make its news and, equally, its editorials, a part of the tangible issues of the daily lives of its readers," he said.

It may thereby make some angry. But even these will know that what they read touches their lives."



RALPH McGILL
. . . Prize-winner talks

31a 1959

Liberal Editor Stirs Row In Ga.

COLUMBUS, Ga. — (UPI) — The Muscogee County Commission is expected to consider today a recommendation that Atlanta Constitution editor Ralph McGill be deprived of the use of the courthouse for an address.

McGill was invited to "give the other side" of the public-private school issue on a program to be sponsored May 4 by the Columbus League of Women Voters.

A spokesman for the league said that the Muscogee county legislative delegation had endorsed the closing of public schools if that step is necessary to keep them segregated.

Mrs. Joseph Masuck, president of the Columbus League chapter, said the organization feels it is "performing a public service" by presenting both sides of the school controversy.

CONCERN OF ALL

"Every person is entitled to an opinion on a controversial issue, especially when the issue concerns every parent in the state of Georgia," Mrs. Masuck said.

"Certainly everyone is entitled to freedom of speech and assembly in a public place. McGill's appearance here would give an opportunity to people of all views to question him on the school issue."

Ralph King, chairman of the Muscogee County Commission, said he and other members received numerous calls after the commission granted the league permission to use the courthouse. He said most of the callers were against allowing McGill to speak there.

Allen Woodall, member of the state board of regents and president and general manager of a Columbus radio station (WDAX), broadcast editorially suggesting that the league retract its invitation to McGill.

The Atlanta editor was out of the city and unavailable for comment. He has been outspoken in favor of keeping public schools open in Georgia regardless of what trend the race issue takes.

Woodall said he does not believe McGill's appearance "would be in the public interest."

RALPH McGILL

They Resent The Term 'Boy'

Notes made while listening to a conversation at the United Nations:



There was a group in the delegate's lounge. Two were from Ghana. One was from Morocco. Another was an Egyptian.

The graying man from Ghana, which is the old gold coast of Africa, and one of the new nations aided to nationhood by Britain, unfolded a newspaper.

"Here," he said, "in minuscule, is an explanation of what is sometimes so difficult for the long established, comfortable nations to understand. They have for so many centuries enjoyed freedom and the dignity of being free they are not as sensitive to the lack of others as they should be."

This man who holds a degree from one of Britain's great universities, pointed to a news story from northern Rhodesia. It said that when the constitutional status of the Federation of Rhodesia is reviewed in London early next year, the word "boy" will be on the agenda. This word is the traditional form of reference to all African males, the news story explained. No matter what the age, education or position of the person addressed, the word is "boy."

A Symbol

"Now, at first glance," said the delegate from Ghana, "it is a bit ridiculous to make so much of the use of this word as to place it on an important agenda. But it is a symbol of much that is distasteful. Certainly it is not comforting to a man who has worked hard, studied, and become the head of a family, to be addressed as 'boy.' Nor does it sound well in the ears of a man who, even if he is not educated, nonetheless has attained manhood and who earns his own way and supports a family. There are many such things as this, usually small, which remind him many times every day that he is, no matter what his achievements, looked upon not as a man possessed of any dignity or position, however simple or great. He is in a classification of 'boy.'

"I have sat in many conferences," he continued, "where I often have been asked why we in Africa are in such a hurry for nationalism. 'Things are improving,' they say. 'The lot of the African people is better than ever before. There is more education. There is more income. Relations between the races are better. Why the haste for independence when you really aren't ready for it?'

Valid Question

"This is a valid question," he said. "I know that those who ask it are sincere and friendly. Yet this is a revealing question, too. It exposes how little appreciation there is of the real complaint. The African knows that things are better. He knows he isn't really ready with enough trained men to govern well. But it hurts him that those from whom he seeks understanding and independence do not see that what he wants most of all is to be given the status of manhood—not one in which every man is called 'boy,' not one in which things are being 'improved' for him, but one in which he, too, is a person with an identity and dignity.

"This," he said, "is something which the Europeans and Americans, who have had that for centuries, do not understand. They say that things are getting better, that relations are improving, so why not be content to go on with fewer rights as a person, with a restricted citizenship, and being looked upon as somehow not quite a complete human being. This, I suspect," he said, "is the essence of the American problem as well.

"There is a saying," he continued, "in many African countries that we hate white rule but not white people. It would be the same no matter what foreign rule it was. This little story about 'boy' is at the basis of all campaigns against colonial governments. Many of them, particularly those of the English, have brought many benefits. This we know, even though in the heat of controversy we do not always admit it.

"But always there is the imposition of all that's wrapped up in the word 'boy.' But Africa looks to the white West for spiritual and material aid—and for understanding of the great yearning to be free."

RALPH McGILL

The Slow Mills of Law!

On Friday, in Atlanta, the due processes of law which began in May, 1954, with all deliberate speed, reached a time of decision for Georgia. Since we are a nation of law, the district court handed down the only possible decision. A segregated school system violates the 14th amendment. The processes of law will continue. But they will do so with all deliberate speed.



It is important to know what, and why, the court decided as it did. The essential statement was this:

"This court is bound by the decision of the United States Supreme Court as announced not only in the Brown case, but in many other cases subsequent to the Brown case, arising in Little Rock, Arkansas, in Virginia and in other localities. Even the most ardent segregationists in the land, though bitterly opposed to such ruling, now recognize that racially segregated public schools are not permitted by law. Even the Legislature of Georgia and of other states recognize that the ruling of the United States Supreme Court constitutes the law on this question, and the various legislatures for some years have been passing laws in order to meet the problems created by such decisions. The validity of such laws is not now before this court for a decision. This court cannot at this time make any other ruling except a ruling to the effect that the operation of racially segregated public schools in Atlanta violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. To make any other ruling would only add to the confusion which already exists in the minds of so many of our good citizens, and to build up in the breasts of our citizens hopes of escape which would soon be torn to shreds by rulings of our appellate courts on review. This court feels that any such ruling could accomplish no good, but only cause irreparable harm to our state and her people."

Great Contribution

This portion of the ruling, here given at some length, is a great contribution to common sense. The two Southern judges are both highly respected natives of the state where their decision applies.

In calm judicial language they rebuked those extremists, in and out of politics, who have for so long deliberately deceived the people by building up false hope of avoiding the processes of law. From the moment the Supreme Court ruled in 1954 there has been only one possible decision for the states to make. They can accept the provisions for slow change, or close the public school system. But in obeying a state does not have to flood its schools with Negro children. It can, when it makes up its mind to have public schools, screen pupils and keep integration at a minimum. The court long ago confirmed this.

Two Judges

So it is that two judges, of complete integrity, had to say, rebuking all those who have cruelly deceived the people with talk of the court's having acted illegally and of states' rights being greater than those of the nation:

"To make any other ruling would only add to the confusion" . . . and would "build up in the breasts of our citizens hopes of escape which would soon be torn to shreds by rulings of our appellate courts. . . ."

This was never a question of being "for" integration — or against it.

It was, and is, a question of public schools or no schools.

The court will provide time. The schools will hardly be closed this fall.

But Georgia's legislature must determine whether it wants to end public education or adopt a placement law and continue it.

We shall now see, in the months ahead, who will serve the future of the children and the state.

We cannot afford to waste time on angry shoutings. The district court allows time for planning. The state can close all schools or allow the people in each community to decide what they wish—as Virginia has done.

But time is a-wastin'.

RALPH McGILL

Trend-Watching in the South

Voices for Saving Public Education Seen Growing, Despite Extremists

Small items in the news are often informative.

Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi is a man of great ability and integrity. He also is a well-educated man, who fully merits the descriptive adjective, scholarly.

A brief Associated Press story reported his testimony before a Senate committee on civil rights legislation. In stark sentences which revealed as much between the lines as in them, he said he did not think the conciliation committee as proposed by Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, in his rights package, would be effective. It could not obtain agreements.

Attempts to enforce proposed civil rights legislation, which includes the right of qualified persons to vote, would increase migration out of his State, he said.

"Members of both races would gradually migrate," he said, "because of the turmoil and bitterness." And then he added, seemingly almost as an afterthought, a sentence which reveals how much he has thought about the cost to his State of such resistance to civil rights: "A greater number of the young people will want to get away."

He might well have had in mind the population statistics. The two Southern States which already have a net population loss are Mississippi and Arkansas.

The Senator's last sentence is one of great sadness and meaning.

There are other straws in the wind.

The Post-Herald of Birmingham, Ala., in an editorial of May 27 titled "Lesson for Alabama," said:

"Chemstrand Corp., one of Alabama's newest and fastest-growing industries, is setting up a large research laboratory.

"But not in Alabama. Instead, it will be located in North Carolina in a new laboratory in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill area. The company picked North Carolina after an investigation of 21 States in the Eastern United States.

"Just why North Carolina was chosen, we do not know.

"Perhaps one reason was the fact that the State, during this century, has made great progress in education. It has developed a climate that is favorable for scholarship and research. . . ."

The editorial was accurate. North Carolina has developed a climate which is favorable for research and scholarship. The Tarheel State has no turmoil and bitterness, such as Senator Stennis mentioned. Instead, it advertises that its public schools will not be closed. Technicians and scientists who come to work in the State's new enterprises will have excellent public schools to which to send their children.

A further step has been taken by the alert North Carolinians who see an opportunity to make very rapid industrial progress at the expense of those States which are without any assurance for educational stability. North Carolina is building a great research laboratory at a cost of about $10 million. It is located, by no mere coincidence, in the area where Chemstrand Chemical is to set up its own "large research laboratory."

These are but samples. They are similar to news items which appear from week to week. Alone, they do not amount to a great deal. None could honestly say a pattern is clear. But, in time it may be.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the recent recall election in Little Rock, Ark., was the fact that the chamber of commerce publicly participated politically in behalf of retaining the teachers. The chamber previously had broken a silence and announced its membership had voted for the schools to be reopened. A smaller working group of businessmen, including those from large corporations and small businesses, assumed a prominent part in the successful recall of the school board members seeking to discharge teachers.

In all States there is now a new voice being heard. It is just now beginning to be willing to speak up. It has been there all along. This voice of many people is saying, as did the businessmen in Little Rock, that it does not represent integrationists. It does not have a policy of integration. It is not at all "for" integration. But it will take controlled integration which is possible via a school placement law already demonstrated in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, rather than lose public education.

To call these people integrationists is unjust and false.

They are not. But they are putting their children and their future in a competitive world ahead of personal feelings. Their collective voice is not yet as loud as that of the rabid extremists. But it is growing. It is not for integration. It is for education.

McGill's New World

Addressing the graduation class of Duke University last Monday, editor Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution made a prediction about the South.

Mr. McGill predicted that a new political leadership will emerge in the South. The new leadership, he said, "in a time of intercontinental missiles, of machines which think and of great concentrations of population, will not consider the greatest issue to be where a colored child will go to school."

We do not say Mr. McGill has made a wrong prediction. Human questions are likely to receive less and less consideration in an age of technology and organization.

Far wiser men than Mr. McGill warned years ago that man may become a cog in the machine of society. The superstate of the communist world is living proof that societies can be completely modernized in a technical sense while reverting to primitivism in contempt for human wishes.

The world, including the United States, may well undergo rebarbarization in the next few decades. The new political leadership may treat citizens merely as economic units fit for nothing more than direction by the centralized government. Realities of race and individual wishes may be scorned.

We hope that among the graduates at Duke are men who realized the danger to human values in the world which Mr. McGill looks to and apparently favors. A university should be a place where real human differences are appreciated.

RALPH McGILL

They Resent The Term 'Boy'

Notes made while listening to a conversation at the United Nations:



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A Symbol

"Now, at first glance," said the delegate from Ghana, "it is a bit ridiculous to make so much of the use of this word as to place it on an important agenda. But it is a symbol of much that is distasteful. Certainly it is not comforting to a man who has worked hard, studied, and become the head of a family, to be addressed as 'boy.' Nor does it sound well in the ears of a man who, even if he is not educated, nonetheless has attained manhood and who earns his own way and supports a family. There are many such things as this, usually small, which remind him many times every day that he is, no matter what his achievements, looked upon not as a man possessed of any dignity or position, however simple or great. He is in a classification of 'boy.'

"I have sat in many conferences," he continued, "where I often have been asked why we in Africa are in such a hurry for nationalism. 'Things are improving,' they say. 'The lot of the African people is better than ever before. There is more education. There is more income. Relations between the races are better. Why the haste for independence when you really aren't ready for it?'

Valid Question

"This is a valid question," he said. "I know that those who ask it are sincere and friendly. Yet this is a revealing question, too. It exposes how little appreciation there is of the real complaint. The African knows that things are better. He knows he isn't really ready with enough trained men to govern well. But it hurts him that those from whom he seeks understanding and independence do not see that what he wants most of all is to be given the status of manhood—not one in which every man is called 'boy,' not one in which things are being 'improved' for him, but one in which he, too, is a person with an identity and dignity.

"This," he said, "is something which the Europeans and Americans, who have had that for centuries, do not understand. They say that things are getting better, that relations are improving, so why not be content to go on with fewer rights as a person, with a restricted citizenship, and being looked upon as somehow not quite a complete human being. This, I suspect," he said, "is the essence of the American problem as well.

"There is a saying," he continued, "in many African countries that we hate white rule but not white people. It would be the same no matter what foreign rule it was. This little story about 'boy' is at the basis of all campaigns against colonial governments. Many of them, particularly those of the English, have brought many benefits. This we know, even though in the heat of controversy we do not always admit it.

"But always there is the imposition of all that's wrapped up in the word 'boy.' But Africa looks to the white West for spiritual and material aid—and for understanding of the great yearning to be free."

RALPH

McGILL

31a White

The following column was cited specifically by the Pulitzer Committee as an example of the editorial writing which won the Pulitzer Prize for Ralph McGill. The column appeared on Oct. 13, 1958.

Constitution
A Church,
June 5-3-59
A School—
Atlanta, Ga.

Dynamite in great quantity Sunday ripped a beautiful Temple of worship in Atlanta. It followed hard on the heels of a like destruction of a handsome high school at Clinton, Tenn.



The same rabid, mad-dog minds were, without question, behind both. They also are the source of previous bombings in Florida, Alabama and South Carolina. The school house and the church are the targets of diseased, hate-filled minds.

Let us face the facts.

This is a harvest. It is the crop of things sown.

It is the harvest of defiance of courts and the encouragement of citizens to defy law on the part of many Southern politicians. It will be the acme of irony, for example, if any one of four or five Southern governors deplore this bombing. It will be grimly humorous if certain state attorneys general issue statements of regret. And it will be quite a job for some editors, columnists and commentators, who have been saying that our courts have no jurisdiction and that the people should refuse to accept their authority now to deplore.

It is not possible to preach lawlessness and restrict it.

To be sure, none said go bomb a Jewish temple or a school.

Gates Opened

But let it be understood that when leadership in high places in any degree fails to support constituted authority, it opens the gates to all those who wish to take law into their hands.

There will be, to be sure, the customary act of the careful drawing aside of skirts on the part of those in high places.

"How awful," they will exclaim. "How terrible. Something must be done."

But the record stands. The extremists of the citizens' councils, the political leaders who in terms violent and inflammatory have repudiated their oaths and stood against due process of law have helped unloose this flood of hate and bombing.

This, too, is a harvest of those so-called Christian ministers who have chosen to preach hate instead of compassion. Let them now find pious words and raise their hands in deploring the bombing of a synagogue.

You do not preach and encourage hatred for the Negro and hope to restrict it to that field. It is an old, old story. It is one repeated over and over again in history. When the wolves of hate are loosed on one people, then no one is safe.

Hate and lawlessness by those who lead release the yellow rats and encourage the crazed and neurotic who print and distribute the hate pamphlets.

The Harvest

The series of bombings is the harvest, too of something else.

One of those connected with the bombing telephoned a news service early Sunday morning to say the job had been done. It was committed, he said, by the Confederate Underground.

The Confederacy and the men who led it are revered by millions. Its leaders returned to the Union and urged that the future be committed to building a stronger America. This was particularly true of Gen. Robert E. Lee. Time after time he urged his students at Washington University to forget the War Between the States and to help build a greater and stronger union.

But for too many years now we have seen the Confederate flag and the emotions of that great war become the property of men not fit to tie the shoes of those who fought for it. Some of these have been merely childish and immature. Others have perverted and commercialized the flag by making the Stars and Bars, and the Confederacy itself, a symbol of hate and bombings.

For a long time now it has been needful for all Americans to stand up and be counted on the side of law and the due process of law—even when to do so goes against personal beliefs and emotions. It is late. But there is time.

RALPH McGILL

LeRoy Collins' Leadership

The most astonishing "growth" state in the nation is neither Texas nor California, but Florida.



Its percentage population increase leads the nation at the rate of a quarter million per year.

There is an eye-opening illustration of this almost lemming-like surge to live in Florida. It is this. Since 1950 new citizens have come in numbers equal to today's population of Arkansas, or Arizona, or Oregon.

The state presently is building schools at the rate of seven classrooms per day.

The economic growth is vast and varied.

It is fitting that a state with such momentum should have a governor such as LeRoy Collins. In the present period of public school decision his example of leadership is the only one South of North Carolina which is entirely free of extremist recklessness.

Abused Word

Leadership is a poor, tattered, much abused word. Leadership is a function often cynically and casually promised, and as easily betrayed. Gov. Collins constantly keeps before citizens the vast growth of their state and asks them to weigh it against chaos, bitterness and closed schools. His is the weapon of reason and persuasion, not of defiance and defeat. It is exciting to see leadership, in the best and truest sense of the word, grappling honestly with a great and testing problem.

Gov. Collins uses the power of pride in his campaign to lead the people. In recent weeks he has been going up and down the state asking the people to understand where they are in the scheme of things.

In population growth Florida had gone from 31st place in 1930 to 27th in 1940. Ten years later it was in 20th place. By 1958 Florida was the 12th.

"You have passed Missouri and are just gaining on Indiana and Massachusetts," he tells them. "The Bureau of the Census tells us that by 1970, just 11 years away, Florida will be the 8th most populous state in the nation with a total of more than seven million."

The state has demonstrated economic vitality. In the recession year of 1957 Florida led all the states in manufacturing employment gains, both numerically and in percentage.

Florida's Economy

It is at once obvious that Florida's economy is building on much more than tourists, orange juice and sunny beaches.

"The most important thing," Collins argues, "is that we have had the vision to see and the will to work together in building a better state."

Government is the people's business and government is run by people," he says. "And it is no better than those who run it."

Collins somehow managed not to allow himself to be made captive of the extremist groups in his state. This was not easy. But he did it, while all about him other governors hopelessly were enmeshed.

"Ignorance," he says over and over, "is the greatest foe of human progress."

Florida is building new schools at a great rate. Her teachers this year became, for the first time in history, among the best paid and best educated in the union.

"I want you to understand," Collins tells his audiences, "that in all this racial furor I feel a deep sense of duty to deal truthfully and honestly with you.

"I will not hold out to the people the false prospect that by mighty shouts or some legislative magic we can make ourselves immune from the laws of the United States. This 'stand up and fight' talk we hear so irresponsibly turned loose on the hot winds of passion these days is calculated not to resolve our problems but to aggravate them."

Whether this sort of leadership will prevail against a considerable following agitated by John Kasper and his supporters remains to be seen.

But it is inspiring to see leadership, free from ranting and reckless willingness to destroy public education, seek to assist a state to have enough faith in itself to go forward into a future already so abundantly revealed.

RALPH McGILL

Arkansas and Monkey Trial

A story out of Little Rock took me back 36 years to a hot saltry courtroom in Dayton, Tenn.



In a curiously a p r o p o s d u a l action the House o f Representatives of Arkansas approved legislation to free presidential electors f r o m obligation to vote for any one p a r t i c u l a r c a n d i d a t e and forced withdrawal of a bill which would have repealed a state law forbidding the teaching of evolution.

A psychologist s u r m i s e d that this action by the Arkansas House unconsciously reveals an anxiety complex. If the teaching of evolution were p e r m i t t e d someone might prove the legislators had, by their actions, made monkeys of themselves and thereby given evidence to sustain the popular concept of Darwin's thesis.

There was a pathos in the death of the education bill. Mrs. Gordon P. Oates, member of the House, from Pulaski County, said with obvious wistfulness that she thought students should be permitted to study both sides of an issue and decide for themselves what is true. "But," she said, "it now appears a majority of the people do not wish to grant this academic freedom."

Thus, in a day when there are earth satellites in orbit about the moon, when nuclear-powered ships travel beneath the ice of the North Pole, and jets fly above it, does Arkansas stab science and academic freedom to death with the knife of fear. The state officially is on record as not wishing students to study both sides of an issue and decide what is true.

Concealed

Still, there is something to say for this public decision in Arkansas. It was not concealed. In some neighboring states it is possible to study both sides of an issue. But it is not healthy to express an opinion.

Action to free electors from any legal responsibility cannot remove the moral obligation. But there is no statute covering this.

Representative Glenn Walther, not surprisingly, turns out to be from Pulaski County, which opposed Mrs. Oates' bid for academic freedom. He was quoted as saying his bill would leave the electors free to bargain, throwing their support to those willing to make concessions to the South's "position."

This mechanism of freeing the electors of all save moral responsibility is a plan being pushed in the Deep South states by a few of the more hysterical as a substitute for a third, D i x i e c r a t, party. They would simply refuse to support the nominee of the national party, no matter what the voters said. The objective, of course, is to try and throw the presidential e l e c t i o n into the House of Representatives. (This was the Dixicrat plan in 1948 which failed to defeat Harry Truman.)

There is an element of pathos about Rep. Walther and his bill, too. He succeeded. Mrs. Oates and academic freedom failed.

News Story

But revelation that in 1959 here is a state which forbids any instruction in the sciences having to do with natural selection is more of a news story than the futile tactics of political frustration.

Names of Clarence Darrow, William Jennings Bryan, Dudley Field Malone, Arthur Garfield Hayes and others in the Dayton, Tenn., "monkey trial" of John Scopes, high school science teacher, came out of the files of the past. The test of Tennessee's anti-evolution trial brought to the east Tennessee town a medieval climate of witch-burning and an almost unbelievable presentation of farce, drama and tragedy. But the effort by extremist fundamentalist r e l i g i o u s leaders to write their concepts into laws governing the teaching in all public schools came a cropper.

Clarence Darrow pitilessly punctured William Jennings Bryan in a cross-examination when the one-time great "commoner" took the stand as an expert on the Bible. That was almost 40 years ago.

And now, out of that misty past comes an echo. Arkansas proudly defends her anti-evolution law forbidding the right of academic freedom.

A REPRESENTATIVE of the McClure syndicate says a column by Ralph McGill is selling well to Northern papers. Popular, too, in the North and East are the adumbrations of Happy ("A Lion is in the Streets") Ashmore.

Noting in Mr. Gill's piece in the current Atlantic that he was "born in East Tennessee and never saw a Negro until he was six years old," Hamner Cobbs notes that the Atlanta editor is not as heretofore believed a what-do-you-call-them, but a carpet-bagger.

He says that in that part of Tennessee "the courthouse squares are devoted to statues of Northern soldiers, not Confederates, and that during the War Between the States it was about as 'Southern' as the southern part of New Hampshire."

SOMEWHERE WITHIN the wide genuis of Joe Johnston in civil rights moves Alabama ought to be given a way of fighting for some other county than Macon. Our sister Southern states along with outsiders find it hard to separate the legal issues from the fact that the most qualified Negroes in the country—Tuskegee's—are being denied the vote. The denial may please Senator Englehardt but it hurts Alabama—and badly.

* * *

ONE SWALLOW doesn't make a Summer even though it could be an indication. The thought belongs with Southern "resistance." Only 165 of the 23 million Negro pupils in the South were in mixed schools last week. In the Deep South there were none at all. If the 165 are forerunners of millions as the NAACP proposes, or even thousands, the future is dark. But the South is overflowing with will, plan and ways to prevent it.

* * *

"NO ONE knows that you think about the loyalty oath," reports Mr. Cleve Gough, of Quinton. "You are on the fence and don't get off."

You've got me cornered, Mr. Gough!

I may as well make a clean breast of it.

I am against the loyalty oath.

What Mr. Gough really means is that he can't tell whether I'm for being loyal to the next Democratic presidential nominee or not.

I can't tell either, Mr. Gough and neither can the majority of the people of Alabama, I believe. It depends on who he is—even though some of our politicians are trying to fix it that we must take him no matter who he is.

The South wants to go on following its political leaders. But I believe it is not going to follow those who continue a policy of covering up for anti-South Democrats just to keep the party together. Political leaders have personal interests involved but the rest of us do not.

RALPH McGILL

'No Longer Any Solid South'

In an address to the General Assembly of Georgia, United States Senator Richard B. Russell concluded on a note of what might be described as anguished frankness.



"In all honesty," he said, "I must tell you that your representatives in the National Congress simply do not have the strength to put this judicial oligarchy (the U. S. Supreme Court) back in its proper place in our scheme of government. We have not only lost the support of many of those from other sections on whom we once relied, but the representatives and senators from the 11 states of the old Confederacy no longer present a solid front. This was painfully evident when only 17 votes were cast in the Senate against the Civil Rights Bill of 1957. There is no longer any 'solid South' in the Congress."

Thus, from one of the South's Senate veterans, did the Deep South receive official notice that its always politically complex region had seriously declined in power and influence.

Long Needed

This starkly honest evaluation has long been needed to restore reality to an emotional climate sadly lacking in that necessary ingredient. For almost four years the cry from local politicians has been "We are winning". The most preposterous evasions of the truth were peddled like quack cure-all nostrums by men calling themselves "States Righters."

Those editors or columnists, national or local, who sought to keep before the people the truth that the Supreme Court decision was an accomplished fact, and that Southern political strength and prestige in the Congress were at the lowest ebb in a generation, were abused as anti-Southern.

This clamor of confusion, if unchecked, would have begun to do political harm to all Deep South members of the Congress.

Had the truth not been told, that the South now lacks the congressional power it once had, candidates seeking to replace Southern senators would have arisen. (Indeed, some of the local politicians have planned it that way.) Their campaign promise would have been, "Send me to Washington and I'll put the Supreme Court in its place."

The truth is bitter to many, but the net effect cannot be otherwise than healthy. It is no anti-Southerner who has told the plain unvarnished facts — "The eleven states of the old Confederacy no longer present a solid front . . . There is no longer any 'solid South' in the Congress."

Why has the South lost power? And is it only the South which has lost?

Multiple Answers

There are multiple answers to the first query. In the first place, history has passed the South by, nationally and internationally, as it had with slavery in 1860. But basically, political power has eroded because of the great shifts in population.

The North, so-called, also is to lose some of its political strength.

In the years from 1950 through October 1958 the U.S. population growth was 15 per cent. Only two Southern states reached the national average. Amazing Florida went up 51.9 per cent. Virginia had 15.4. But much of this gain was a spill-over from Washington's great force of government workers. In that period three Dixie states lost population. They were West Virginia, Arkansas and Mississippi.

What Sen. Russell said is better illustrated by the Bureau of Census' estimate of what is expected to occur after the 1960 census when Congress, by law, proceeds with reapportionment.

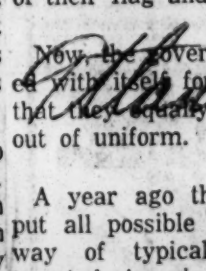
The 17 states of the West will gain 11 House seats. The North will lose seven and the South four. With Alaska in the Union, the 17 states of the West have 36 of the 98 senators. Hawaii would make it 38. This will be 16 more senators than our 12 Southern states.

This already helps explain why Sen. Russell said, "Your representatives in the National Congress simply do not have the strength. . . ."

RALPH McGILL

We Now Trust 'Our Youths'

It is pleasant to note that the U.S. government has learned to believe in its young people. Or as the phrase has it, "our youth."



"Our youth" has fought a lot of battles for us. Again the cliche is at hand. On the land, the sea and in the air they have proved themselves the heroic defenders of their flag and heritage.

Now, the government is delighted with itself for having learned that they equally are trustworthy out of uniform.

A year ago the United States put all possible obstacles in the way of typically curious, interested American youth asking permission to attend the Communist-dominated "World Youth Festival" which was scheduled for Moscow. It was, to be sure, a rather shocking revelation of a free country's fears about the ability of its citizens, especially the young, to appreciate and value freedom over Communist totalitarianism. It almost certainly was a carryover of the hysteria and doubt created by the late Sen. Joe McCarthy.

At any rate, a number of American "youths" did attend the festival. Only a very few made asses of themselves. A somewhat embarrassed government of the United States was delighted at how well the great majority conducted themselves. They learned a lot. They held their own in the debates and questionings. The tricky Communists' dialectic did not confuse or dismay them. They made friends on the wonderful basis of being young together.

Their Return

Nor was this all. The U.S. young people brought back no "intelligence" reports. But they did come back to write articles for their college papers and to give interviews to their home press which made sense and which gave a good idea of Moscow and of what went on there during the festival. It was a good "egghead" job.

This summer the festival is to be held in Vienna. It will, as before, be Communist dominated. But this year the government is encouraging interested college students to go ahead. The State Department is urging all who plan to go to study and acquaint themselves with the propaganda, the questions, and the methods to which they will be subjected.

There is no danger of the American egghead youth or adult being won over by communism. Being an egghead, he is rather well informed. He has read, not merely Pasternak, but Jefferson, and for that matter, Chief Justice Warren. The immature bubblehead, who is at best shallow and who is looking for authority and someone to provide him the "answers" to life, may find the Communist line refreshing and fascinating. But, as the State Department learned, Joe McCarthy was wrong. The American colleges are not hotheads of communism. They are hotbeds of discussion, debate and curiosity about life and people. and we have best hope, for the sake of our country, they stay that way.

Eyes Open

The youth of this country has its eyes open. It is looking rather closely at its leadership these days as are a great many adults. The youth of the South is comparing the leadership which wants to close the public school system and make a farce of education, with that which would save it and strengthen it. Youth everywhere is watching its political leaders cope with the new problems of urbanization, of unemployment. It is noting, too, their efforts to make opportunity for education available to all who earn.

The more mature American college student knows that [illegible] all about him. He wants to know about it. He does not think of the federal Constitution as static and rigid. He suspects those who use it as an argument for maintaining any special privilege status quo. He prefers to be a part of the future of his country, not its past.

He will fight for his country against its enemies. And he is just as interested in defending its great principles of freedom and individual liberty in debate or discussion with a Communist youth. It's good the government has learned that.

Peoples Of Many Lands Watch U. S.

Ralph McGill Also Speaks: Racists Are Doomed To Defeat

Special to Journal and Guide

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — Sen. John Kennedy (D-Mass) told a group of colored educators that segregation in America is part of a world problem.

Kennedy, a contender for the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination, spoke Sunday at the closing session of the United Negro College Fund's 15th annual convocation. Presidents of 32 UNCF member-colleges and of 20 Indiana colleges attended the session.

"INTEGRATION is itself a world process," the youthful senator said. "In India it means Brahmins and untouchables, Hindus and Moslems. In the Middle East it is Arabs and Jews. In Africa it is colonials and natives.

"The closing of the gaps caused by segregation here in America is part of a world problem."

HE SAID Negro colleges and universities share the general crisis of all American education in addition to segregation.

"The Supreme Court five years ago tolled the end of the era of segregated facilities," Kennedy said. "This requires the Negro colleges and universities to transform themselves into just American institutions of higher learning."

THE UNCF IS a federation of private colleges which campaigns annually for financial support. All of the colleges, except for one school in Pennsylvania, are located in the South.

Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, told the presidents that the Supreme Court "did not order integration," but "an end to discrimination."

"WE OFTEN hear it said that one cannot legislate prejudice out of existence," McGill said. "That certainly is true, but we can effectively legislate against any form of discrimination in our citizenship.

"Once discrimination ends, prejudice declines," he said.

McGILL SAID southern extremists, fighting integration "completely out of spite and vindictiveness are doomed to defeat.

He called the situation in Tusekgee, Ala., where city limits were rearranged to disfranchise Negro voters, "the worst side of extremist conduct."

McGill said Tuskegee "now is a ruined city financially" because "the Negro population feels that if it is not wanted there it won't spend money there."

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

A Debt Difficult To Pay

Tampa, Fla. — Monkeys are now on the list of items that colored people are not supposed to watch in public in Dixie. The local zoo is off limits for colored taxpayers.

It will be remembered that someone in Atlanta, Ga., sent a very vigorous protest to the mayor of that city when colored spectators reviewed a parade that included some bare - legged white drum majorettes.

The person making the protest said that no colored men should have been allowed on the line of march because they were caught looking at the white girls' legs. The mayor is reported to have replied that "you can't put the Hope Diamond in the middle of the street and not expect anyone to look at it."

* * *

FLORIDA is taking no chance — even with the monkeys. The bold and daring may take their children to the outskirts of the park, but those who venture inside may find themselves in the paddy wagon.

All of this makes one wonder whether there has been a break in a wall of a colossal lunatic asylum that has permitted the escape of the most muddle-headed patients. These patients, it seems, have managed to come down South and are now safely installed as policy makers or letter writers who send their views to the Mayor of Atlanta.

At one point in a discussion down here I learned that the public library is really the property of racial groups. One teacher reported that he gave his students an assignment that required considerable library work.

* * *

AS MIGHT be expected, the necessary books were not in the "colored" library and the students went to the main building. Late that night the teacher received a call from a white library official who said, "what do you mean by sending those colored children down to our library?"

When this story was told one listener hotly denied that it was the policy of the library to exclude colored people from the main building. He offered to produce a card showing that he was a member of the main library with all of the privileges pertaining thereto.

He did not seem to realize that the important thing was that colored people thought that they were excluded. If the library were doing its duty it should have been actively working to bring in the entire community. Giving one or two persons a card to use the main library would hardly persuade any rational person that segregation had ended.

* * *

EACH TIME that I hear the first-hand accounts of segregation in action and each time that I see the awful results, I am more convinced that the nation owes a debt of gratitude to those who stay in the South and fight for civil rights. It is a debt that staggers the imagination and it will be difficult to pay.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Extremely Bad Strategy

Just when it seemed that Mississippi had used up her quota of ignorance and depravity, a pair of segregationists gave the state another shove into a deeper well of stupidity.

Even from the segregationists point of view, the move to arrest Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP and Medgar Evers, state secretary, was bad strategy.

The two men were at a giant mass meeting of persons from all over the state. The country was acutely aware of the fact that the day was May 17, fifth anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the school desegregation case.

ALL OVER the land men and women were gathering or listening to speeches about the remarkable victory for democracy in the education field. Television, radio and newspapers were doing feature stories and news articles on the NAACP.

On May 16, an apostle of jim crow had gone to a fellow with the same point of view. The apostle asked for a warrant for the arrest and the sympathizer, who also happened to be a justice of peace, handed over the paper. There is no information on whether it was filled out properly, but in Mississippi nobody bothers about minor details of that kind.

The files and hearing records of the U.S. Senate contain a classic example of the judicial process in Mississippi. In answering a charge that he had sentenced a woman who was the victim of police brutality without giving her a hearing, the judge sent a telegram saying that the lady's husband had come in and entered a plea of guilty for her while she was still in jail.

Thus, it seems that warrants and other legal documents are issued in blank and those who execute them fill in whatever they wish and whenever they find a likely prospect for charging with something.

* * *

MR. WILKINS and Mr. Evers were to be charged with general disagreement with the practices of segregation in Mississippi. Since most of those at the meeting shared the Wilkins-Evers point of view, it is fair to assume that the man with the warrant hoped that all present would consider themselves under arrest and report for a place in a prison call as soon as one become available.

Reports indicate that the man with the warrant picked up a so-called deputy sheriff somewhere along the way and they were seated in the rear of the meeting hall. Meanwhile, segregationists with a better set of public relations advisers, got busy in an effort to prevent the arrest.

When the smoke cleared away, those who were responsible for getting the warrant did not use it and the waiting news fraternity did not get a sensational story.

* * *

NOT SATISFIED with their demonstration of the do-it-yourself nature of Mississippi law, the persons who attempted to effect the arrest are now roaming about the state coomplaining that the Governor and attorney general spoiled their act.

They need not worry, however, because they have succeeded very well in giving the proponents of civil rights another example of why a strong federal law is needed to teach respect for the U.S. Constitution.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Separate But Equal Justice

A gruesome kind of score card appeared in the recent dispatches from South Carolina. On the same day that a white man was sentenced to die for the rape of a colored woman, a colored man was sentenced to die following a conviction for attempted rape of a white woman.

Segregationists may believe that this is the way to establish the principle of separate but equal death sentences. Perhaps there are those who will breathe a sigh of relief and say "at last the South has decided to be fair in handling the crime of sexual attack."

Rape is a repulsive crime, but there arises immediately the question, "Will execution of criminals in all cases of this kind serve as a deterrent?" One must also ask, "Does the sentencing of one white man to death in this kind of crime insure that colored women will be safer and does it mean that all colored persons accused of similar crimes against white women will get a fair trial?"

IF THE death penalty is to be the price that rapists must pay for their offense, then there should be no racial distinction. Florida has already indicated that it continues to make such distinctions on the basis of race. White offenders who used a knife and a gun to accomplish their purpose on a helpless colored victim were given life sentences because the jury thought they had not been brutal.

When a colored man is accused of this kind of crime against a white woman, the press automatically tosses in words like "brutal," "outrageous" and "fiendish." The attacker may be of any age or size and the victim may be a woman of loose character, but the death penalty always follows.

It is curious that the white man in the South Carolina case completed his attack, but the colored man was charged with "attempted rape." When there is first degree murder, capital punishment usually follows. When there is attempted murder, a prison sentence usually follows. Why should there be a different standard in sex crimes?

At the bottom of the approach to sex offenses between members of different racial groups is a blind kind of outrage. Where the race factor is not involved psychiatrists, judges, skillful lawyers, and jurors give objective consideration to the facts. The severity of the sentence is determined by the courts in a manner that may not be modern but it is not usually a mere medieval attempt to accomplish revenge.

IN THE South only a change of the present laws can assure the accused colored person of a fair trial. When the cry that a white woman has been raped is sounded, the sentiment of most white law enforcement officers can be expressed in these words, "get somebody who fits the description of the criminal, beat a confession out of him and send him to the electric chair."

Once hanged or electrocuted, there is no chance that an individual who happened to be the wrong man will be able to ask for a new trial because the real culprit has turned up. Also, a corpse cannot complain if it is later discovered that there was no rape in the first place.

The South must face the world of today in which the chief purpose of society should be to eradicate crime and not just to punish such offenders or suspects who may be rounded up without any real evidence to support a charge against them.

A great deal of work must be done to insure that irrelevant racial passions are not aroused. Perhaps the best place to start in accomplishing this is to omit racial tags in identifying the accused. From that point on, it will be possible to begin building a rule of reason that will more closely approach just punishment for the guilty and better protection for the innocent.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Howard Smith's Silly Bill

Members of the U.S. Supreme Court read the newspapers—or perhaps their clerks get a chance to take a look at the headlines. Is there a chance that the constant attacks and the crude jibes are having an effect?

One of the silliest efforts to needle the Court has come from Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia. His pet bill is H.R. 3. It is supposed to assure states that they can pass all kinds of wild laws against subversion and the U.S. Government will do nothing about it.

Commenting on H.R. 3, a distinguished lawyer told me last week that he could not imagine why anyone would believe that it was necessary to protect the average state capital against plotters seeking to overthrow it by force and violence.

USUALLY, THE hangers-on and the cronies of governors are so thick around the place that very few janitors and char women can operate to clean up the debris. Plotters might find a few musty corners in which to work their schemes, but it would be necessary to move the official skeletons first.

H.R. 3 seems to be the product of a mental laboratory that cooks up horror stories about a red under each psychiatrist's couch and a terror plot in every nursery rhyme.

The bill is a bonanza for lawyers who like to chew over the doctrine of states rights, reserve powers and many other things that neither they nor their listeners understand.

* * *

IF IT became law, the gentlemen that H. L. Mencken used to refer to as 100 per cent or dirt communists would have a field day. All of them

would get shaves and hair cuts, put on clean shirts and begin an extensive program of providing false information on people who are honestly trying to make democracy work.

Such informers would be very popular in Georgia, Alabama and other blank points on the compass. If they could assemble a few faked pictures of "mixing up north" they would be the pampered guests of the state in the best hotels with endless opportunities to appear on radio, television and newsreels.

Instead of throwing H.R. 3 in the waste basket with yesterday's cigar butts and pencil sharpenings, there are non-southern members of Congress who are proclaiming that it is just what the doctor ordered for state government that are scared sick of the "red menace." The menace does not seem to be very apparent at this time, but a few clever publicity men will take care of that.

* * *

MEANWHILE, BACK at the Supreme Court there must be people who grow weary of trying to keep irresponsible politicians from tearing up the Constitution.

Last week the papers were full of stories and editorial comment about Supreme Court decisions that were described as reversals of previous positions in the field of civil liberties.

Perhaps this is a gentle reminder that if the people do not get busy and improve the content of the law-making bodies, the Court may find it necessary to close its doors to some of the cases that draw fire.

Some idea of what a few of last week's decisions meant may be gotten from a comment from Senator Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.). He said he thought that they were wonderful.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Valuable Time Being Lost

The recent Louisiana decision in a Federal court upholding the Constitutionality of the Civil Rights Commission is a reminder that early enforcement of a new law is of great importance.

It is now nearly three years since the Commission was created by the Congress and the validity of its actions in a state of flagrant voting injustice are still under court scrutiny.

There are those who say that colored citizens are apathetic and do not seek the opportunity to register and vote in many areas of the South, even when there is no obstacle. This argument certainly cannot be made about Louisiana.

IN THAT state the colored voters have become so aware of the importance of their ballot that the main drive of the anti - civil rights groups is to take colored registrants off the books. this is the real problem in Luisiana.

The Department of Justice has been aware of what was happening for a long time. A major part of the Department's argument for a civil rights bill in 1956 and 1957 was the fantastic purges of voters in the parishes of Louisiana.

It would seem that one of the first items on the agenda of the newly created Civil Rights Commission would have been study, exposure and recommendations on cleaning up the mess in Louisiana. For some reason the Commission delayed and failed to come to grips with the matter until it was almost ready to go out of business.

Fortunately, Congress gave the commission a new lease of life, but the specific matter of halting the purges of voters is still in a legal tangle.

* * *

THE ROLE OF the Department of Justice in this matter is even worse than that of the Commission. So far, the Department has not acted to protect individuals who appealed to it for help and became objects of attack in the state.

One man who asked for Federal help because of the extent and effectiveness of the voter purge was indicted by a state grand jury. The charge represents a vague kind of catch — all accusation about interfering with or embarrassing state officials.

The same grand jury was ready to attack Justice Department officials. Instead of accepting this challenge and moving in to assert the proper powers of the Federal government, the Department backed away from the fight.

* * *

THERE IS good reason to believe that all of the court attacks on the 1957 Civil Rights Act will be overcome and, in the end, the pending cases dealing with violations of the right to vote will be won.

Meanwhile, valuable time has been lost and even supporters of civil rights have properly become disgusted with the failure to make use of the authority given by Congress.

Perhaps the most damaging of all criticisms comes from the Civil Rights Commission itself. On page 132 of the Commission's Report we find this statement about the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, "its legal actions were disappointing in number, nature and results."

The only trouble with the quoted extract from the report is that somewhat the same thing could be said about the Commission.

31a 1959

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Press Freedom In Danger

The able and effective presentation made by Roy Wilkins on NBC - TV has killed an attempt of one commentator to give the nation the impression that civil rights problems would come to an end if the NAACP would step out of the picture.

Segregationists had their best man, Thomas Waring of the Charleston News and Courier, on the scene. In the cold light of the television set the best man did not look or sound good enough to meet the arguments offered by Mr. Wilkins.

This experience should be a constant reminder of the terrible handicap civil rights exponents face each day that the newspapers hit the street and each time a listener turns on his radio or TV set. Most of the time there is no Mr. Wilkins around to set the record straight.

* * *

THE ONLY WAY to keep the record straight is to maintain factual instead of editorial handling of the news. This is what the media of communication must accept as their duty. At present the newspapers, radio networks and television channels offer their best spots to those who give their opinions rather than the plain facts.

When I first ventured into the newspaper field I encountered a type of reporter who liked to ride in police cars to murders, read the confidential files on crime and swap jokes with desk sergeants in the warm police station on cold days.

This type of reporter worked for a daily newspaper. He was either a young man on the way up or an old man who just wanted enough news to enable him to keep his job.

Those who had a cordial relationship with the police could quickly get the facts on any routine story. When a story broke that could possibly embarrass the police, reporters of the type I have described had the choice of making the police look good or leaving the story alone. Usually they let it alone.

* * *

IN THAT SMALL world of crime, police stations and unknown reporters, the police represented power and an easy source of information that enabled a newsgatherer to pick up his pay check. Those who did not play ball did not get to ride in the police cars, did not get a chance to look at the confidential files and, if they had no initiative, got fired.

Almost a quarter of a century later, I find that urge to stay close to the seat of power still operates in the lives of some of those who handle the news. They want to be on good terms with a President because it permits them to get a scoop while sitting in a warm government pressroom on a cold day just like the reporters who sat in the warm police station.

If there is a story that would make a President, a top government official, or a leader of Congress look bad, this type of reporter will change it to make the wrong party appear in an unpleasant light or simply kill it.

* * *

TO A GREAT extent this is why so many top Washington columnists and commentators play up the least word of the segregationists or the "time is not ripe" spokesmen. Giving Senator Richard Russell of Georgia a generous allotment of space to denounce civil rights may lead to a valuable tip on a big story about the Armed Services Committee which the Georgia Senator heads as chairman.

No honest reporter of the news could fail to see the injustice of suggesting that people, who merely seek their Constitutional rights under law, should withdraw because those who do not believe in law will cause trouble.

But this kind of suggestion is not confined to the show that eventually gave Mr. Wilkins a chance to reply. It comes from many other places. It will continue to come as long as key spots are given out on the basis of contacts instead of initiative. As long as it does continue, freedom of the press is in real danger.

NEGRO (CLARENCE MITCHELL)

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Two Disappointing Alaskans

The forty - ninth star in the American flag will be the symbol of a new state. It will also be a reminder that those sent to represent that state in the 86th Congress prompty betrayed the ideals they supported when the territory was fighting for admission to the Union.

In his book "The State of Alaska," Senator Ernest Gruening, who was governor when he wrote it, lamented the existence of the parliamentary blockades that were used against the aspiring candidate for statehood.

On page 481 of his book he said: "The nature of Southern opposition was not too freely admitted. However, the attitude was definitely explained by one Southern senator. When asked by a cabinet member whether he would not support Alaskan statehood, he replied: 'A group of us are committed to oppose the admission of any states whose senators are not likely to support our stand on cloture. The merits of the statehood issue won't play any part in our decision.' "

ON OTHER pages of his book, Senator Gruening has set forth the sabotage of Alaska Statehood in the House by the Rules Committee and the smothering of the bill in committee by the chairman of the committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska.

The book also details the operations of the coalition between Republicans and Southern Democrats that blocked admission of Alaska. In short, it is powerful argument against obstructionists, who operate with parliamentary weapons.

On the magic day that Alaska became a part of the Union many of its citizens were certain that the two new Senators would be valuable additions to the ranks of civil rights proponents. There was some coolness toward Senator E. L. Bartlett because his civil rights views were not as well known as those of Senator Gruening.

* * *

IT IS ironic that the same men who had been frustrated for so long by delaying tactics and a wilful minority of Congress were among the first to answer the roll call and among the first to support the filibuster.

Their action shows that there is no longer a merely coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats arrayed against human rights. This coalition has been replaced by a combination of men from Dixie, men from the west and men from Alaska.

It is clear that these men are willing to sacrifice human rights in exchange for dams, roads, committee seats and just to get re - elected. In a day when, the addition of a new state has virtually made it possible to walk from the United States into the land mass of Asia and Africa, the Alaskans and some of the Western Senators have joined hands with the advocates of white supremacy.

This experience shows that states, senators and social strivers are very much alike. Once they get within the boundaries of privilege, they forget what it was like to be outside. They promptly put their backs against the door to continue the bar against their fellows seeking entrance.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

What About The Deep South?

Massive's in the cold, cold ground! All the Dixiecrats are weeping, but their tears, piety and wit cannot lure him back for an they cancel out half a line of his death notice.

The foregoing was the observation of a young white man who moves in the southern circles and breaks bread with the most ardent segregationists.

The thought kept coming back to me as I read the headlines about the high court of the State of Virginia on resistance laws.

THE SEGREGATIONISTS regard their state courts as higher than the U.S. Supreme Court.

Virginia stands at the top of all the state courts throughout Dixie in the minds of those who wrap themselves in the Confederate flag as soon as they get out of bed in the morning.

From the segregationists' point of view, the Virginia decision must have been something like watching a stern parent shipping an incorrigible brat off to a permanent sentence in a reform school.

Throughout the decision there is a note of reluctance to reach the inveitable conclusion. There are cracks at the U.S. Supreme Court and words of empty consolation for the errant legislators who enacted the package of laws resisting the school desegregation decisions.

IN THE end reason prevailed and the state court decided that the long hours, voluminous writing and artful dodges that the Virginia legislature used to cook up silly schemes were a waste of the taxpayers' money.

What will the southern senators and congressmen say now as they proclaim their defiance in Washington and on the political hustings?

Will they insist that the Virginia court has been "brainwashed by Reds" and has given a sociological decision, instead of a legal decision?

Will they demand an investigation of the state tribunal and introduce legislation to curb its powers?

WILL THEY USE their legislative mailing privileges to spread the kind of refuse that they have been sending around the country about members of the Federal judiciary?

The Dixie tub thumpers will do none of these things. They put their small money on a horse that they thought would run backwards. They made enormous side bets that he could not win.

The horse ran in the right direction and they won some chicken feed at the two-dollar window, but they lost their shirts on the side bets.

Governor Almond seems to be setting the line for the next stand of the resisters.

He appears to be inviting the local obstructionists to formulate their own program of guerilla warfare.

Having failed to get an un-constitutional verdict from the highest state judges who really have some knowledge of the law, the Virginia top executive seems to be calling on county judges or even local justices of the peace to produce the kind of decision he wants.

OTHER STATE courts of last resort may not follow the Virginia lead. In Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi there will be a strong temptation to sacrifice judicial principles for political applause or a chance to be returned to office.

This will not mean very much.

Virginia raised the cry that Yankees were on the march and all must flee into a jungle of closed schools.

Virginians are "quality folks" by the standards of the Old South. All who were "non-quality folks" did not dare to lag behind.

Now as Virginia sees her children sinking into treacherous swamps of ignorance and her reputation becoming threadbare, she seems to be turning around to seek a way out.

Those who followed her may decide to stay in the forest, but they will no longer be able to say that they are doing it because the best people are there.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

A Warning To The Democrats

Democrats, who feel cocky about the heavy support that they got from colored voters, had better take a look at recently released poll figures showing that, while other groups were shifting from the G.O.P. to the Democrats, the colored voters showed a 7 per cent shift to the Republicans.

This should be a warning to those who believe that it is not necessary to make a record on civil rights in order to beat the Republicans in 1960. The Lyndon Johnson move to offer his own version of what he calls a civil rights bill is an indication that he is aware of the liabilities created for the party by the switches of pro-civil rights votes in the anti-filibuster fight.

The battle cry in northern areas for years has been, "Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats defeated civil rights." Somehow, those who use that slogan have been able to give the impression that there was a difference between northern and southern members of the Democratic Party.

OTHERWISE RATIONAL people, who are ardent fans of the Democrats, can work up a great deal of steam about the trickery of a Northern Republican but they soft pedal the fact that Northern and Southern Democrats usually link arms and campaign for each other at election time.

If the top members of the Republican Party in and out of the White House would take a clear cut stand on civil rights, the shift of colored voters would be more pronounced than it was in the 1958 elections.

Unfortunately for themselves, some of the top strategists in the G.O.P. are so busy getting short-run benefits by teaming up with the Old South that they cannot see the long range power that they would have if they had a party record on civil rights that was above suspicion.

IN A contest between Democrats who can show that some of their party members supported civil rights and Republicans who also show that only some of their members were in favor of human freedom, the Democrats have an edge because they have had remarkable success in creating an image of themselves as the poor man's party.

A hungry man who has just lost his job might have an incentive to vote the Republican ticket if he thought that his ballot would help to knock out Faubus and Eastland.

However, that same man knows from bitter experience that some of the G.O.P. members of Congress have records as bad as that of the most ardent Dixiecrats. With nothing to gain by putting Democrats out, he votes for the "poor man's party" and thereby helps to keep Eastland from joining the ranks of the unemployed Senate Committee chairmen.

THE FACT that there was a seven per cent shift of colored voters at a time of recession and unemployment, and when the poor man's party theme was being played for all it was worth, shows that the shift might have been greater if some of the Republicans had not helped to kill Part III of the Civil Rights bill in 1957.

If the men of vision in the Republican Party can shove the obstructionists out of the driver's seat, the G.O.P. will be able to go to the people with a good vote getting civil rights record in 1960.

If those who have a partnership with Dixie continue to dictate mealy-mouthed approaches and programs there will be little to attract voters who want to put an end to second-class citizenship in the United States.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Lesson In Civil Rights

The white people of the United States can rest easy. Sen. Sam Ervin (D., N.C.) is now in possession of information which proves beyond a shadow of doubt that they, too, may call upon the Attorney General of the United States to protect their civil rights.

The Senator is the kind of lawyer who succeeds in getting a jury to agree that his client is right, even when the client is guilty and deserves a jail sentence. As a member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, Harvard-trained Judge Ervin would take a dim view of some of the jury verdicts that can be won on personality.

In the Senate, the North Carolina official frequently plays both parts. Sometimes, he is the detached judicial voice that vetoes any suggestion that persons who work for their civil rights are "reds" or agitators.

ON OTHER occasions, and this is during 95 per cent of the time that he is talking about pending civil rights bills, Senator Ervin is the smiling soft-spoken, but needle sharp lawyer who asks the questions that will get the jury back into courtroom with a verdict in his favor and a happy recollection of his stories.

Lately, he has been boring away at the principle of preventing discrimination because of race, religion or national origin. Last week he met another lawyer who also knows his way around a jury box when Herman Edelsberg, Washington director of the Anti-Defamation League, testified.

Looking at Mr. Edelsberg with the disarming manner that he uses with great success before delivering a haymaker, Senator Ervin asked whether the Jews were a race. A less composed witness would have been so upset by this kind of retreat from modern anthropology that he would have been trapped into a dozen silly answers.

Mr. Edelsberg replied in his softest voice that the Jews were not a race, but followers of a religious faith. There then followed a few observations about the races of mankind and the suggestion that Senator Ervin could become a member of the Jewish faith.

SENATOR ERVIN said he was really interested in finding out how persons of Scotch-Irish descent or just plain Scotch descent might get a little protection under the proposed civil rights law. Mr. Edelsberg was careful to determine that the Scotch referred to did not come in a bottle.

When this point was clarified, at least to Mr. Edelsberg's satisfaction, the legal point at issue came floating out of the hearing room loudspeaker.

Of course, said Mr. Edelsberg, if colored citizens ever get control of a county by electing the sheriffs, the tax collectors, the voting officials and all others it is possible that a person of Scotch-Irish descent could charge that he is being discriminated against.

At that point, Mr. Edelsberg said, with firm reassurance, the person bringing the charge would be covered by the part of this bill which forbids discrimination on the basis of race.

Senator Ervin did not reveal whether this would be sufficient inducement to get him to support the pending bill.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Suggestion To New Yorkers

NEW YORK — There is not much to cheer about in the Bronx, if what I learned on my visit is correct. Job discrimination, housing problems, school segregation and low voter registration were all topics of major concern.

If there had been a little less snow on the ground and the smell of woodsmoke in the air, the scene could just have easily been Atlanta or Jackson, Miss.

First there was a story about a large store that refused to hire colored people until there was a threat of a picket line. Then there was a report of slick moves by housing experts to maintain jim crow in residences. Next came a revelation of stacks of new school books being kept in the basement because "the children would just tear them up."

* * *

JUST WHEN I thought that the recitation of community woes had reached the lowest point, someone added that the majority of the citizens who are eligible to vote do not do so and some do not even register.

Perhaps the time has come for the residents of New York to take a hard look at themselves inspite of laws against segregation, they are still plagued by a variety of troubles that they can solve with a little effort.

Looking in from the outside, I get the impression that New Yorkers spend far too much time making picayune objectives their major goal. There are dozens of deputies of this or that, numerous aides to various officials and a host of small time operators who like to think of themselves as the last word in fashions, art, science or just urban adjustment.

* * *

IN GENERAL, New Yorkers seem to have failed to put their sights high enough. A man might be forgiven for aspiring to be a deputy of something in North Carolina or Virginia, but in New York he should aim to be the man in charge. For example, how can New Yorkers explain why there has never been a colored police commissioner?

It would be very interesting to count the number of divisions, units, agencies and services of New York that are strictly off limits for colored executive talent.

Part of this is due to the tendency of some to glorify jobs that are little more than high grade clerkships. The job-holders are happy because they have a big title and little duty. The public is apathetic because it does not have full information on the hoax being pulled by politicians.

* * *

PERHAPS, THE best way for New Yorkers to come of age is to make up their minds that the time has come to start an integration program in the City Hall. When the candidates are being considered for top posts, New Yorkers should insists that the most qualified man be picked regardless of color.

At present, nobody thinks of urging top colored talent for mayor, attorney general or governor. Let us hope that this will be corrected when slates are being made up for the next election.

Ethel Tells Own Page Boy Story

BULLETIN

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Barratt O'Hara (D-Ill.) said Saturday he has received offers of support from 20 to 30 congressmen in his drive to obtain a special House page-boy post for Negro Jimmy Johnson, jr., of Chicago.

WASHINGTON — Rep. Barratt O'Hara with the aid of other liberal Congressmen plans to offer a resolution in the House next week to change the rules that would permit 51 pages in the House rather than the regulation 50.

Object of this resolution is to pave the way for James Johnson, jr., nephew of Ethel L. Payne, former Defender correspondent, to become the first Negro youth to serve as a page boy in the House of Representatives.

The plan to introduce the resolution was made Thursday during a conference among Miss Payne, James, his mother, Mrs. Avis Johnson, the Rev. Robert Van Deusen, Washington representatives of the Division of Pubic Relations of the National Lutheran Council, and O'Hara in the latter's office.

Rep. James Roosevelt of California, in a telephone call, assured Rep O'Hara that he would help him in everyway possible.

During the conference it was established that:

The Patronage Committee did in fact approve James Johnson's nomination as a page boy on Thursday, Jan. 22: that Rep. O'Hara then called Miss Payne and instructed her to call the boy's parents and have the youth report to Washington on Jan. 26.

That on Friday, Jan. 23, Miss Marie Crowe, administrative assistant to Rep. O'Hara, called Miss Payne and described the regulation uniform James was to bring; that he was to report to Room 359 in the Old House Office building where he would get his letter of credentials from the Patronage Committee and then report at 9:45 a. m. to William (Fishbait) Miller, the doorkeeper for the House.

That later on Friday, Rep. O'Hara called Miss Payne and said there had been a slight delay; that two page boys who had been scheduled to leave on Friday were remaining until Feb. 1 and for James to report on or about Feb. 2.

Miss Payne then telephoned her sister in Chicago to come later in the week and bring James. James, his mother and a young brother left Chicago Tuesday night by plane for Washington.

The following morning (Wednesday), they learned by way of newspapers and television that there had been a mixup and the appointment had not been approved.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

"War Between the States"

ANYONE who follows the demoniac machinations of David L. Lawrence, editor of the South's magazine, U. S. News & World Report, must know that Southerners are making a vast effort to take advantage of prejudice which exists in the North and West and to win the people of these two regions to their point of view.



Mr. Prattis

They have many, many schemes, but one of the most ingenious and diabolical has been proposed by Tom Waring, editor of the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier. Mr. Waring suspects that there are a great many people all over the country who were disturbed when troops and bayonets were sent to Little Rock in 1957. Mr. Waring would take advantage of the probable feeling, North and West, that it was not quite right to use bayonets in Little Rock. He writes:

"Good strategy in the struggle against integration will be to keep every public school operating on a segregated basis until Federal bayonets prescribe a different course. The sight of Federal soldiers on the march everywhere in the South will be as distasteful to most Northerners as to Southerners. Forcing the Federal Government to parade its power over the states again and again may be an effective way to change Northern sentiment."

A commentator adds: "It is thought Federally enforced integration might die on its own fixed bayonets."

THE FOREGOING represents a pertinent tactic in the new "War Between the States." It is a cold war which Southerners would like to see heated in order to sway the sentiment of the rest of the country.

When I read of such schemes to befuddle Americans outside the South, I often wonder why the 25 million of us who don't live in the South are not smart enough to think up some schemes to befuddle the 50 million (including Negroes) who do live in the South. The Southerners are aware that all Northerners and Westerners do not think alike on the race question. It is just as true that all Southerners do not think alike on the race question. I am often appalled by the reluctance of so-called liberal Northerners to help strengthen the forces of liberalism in the South. There are hundreds and hundreds of white Southerners who are sticking to their guns despite ostracism, intimidation and other punitive measures used by the so-called "power structure."

■

MY OPINION is that if we are going to have this cold "war between the states," it should not be one-sided. If the Southerners have the nerve to come up here and try to win us over, we ought to have the skills to go South and win more of the white Southerners over. Further, we should "arm" them for the fight.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

A New Medal

THE SPRINGARN MEDAL has earned great prestige through the years, despite minor carpings about the selections. Any winner of a Spingarn Medal is proud of the honor. It means that the recipient has done something significant not only to promote good-will between the races, but also has acted to add notably to the body of respect with which his group is regarded.



Mr. Prattis

The Spingarn Medal has been furnished by the Spingarn family. I am sure the idea for such a medal came from members of the Spingarn family in the early days of the NAACP. I want to see the Spingarn Medal perpetuated as a symbol of inspiring achievement and service.

BUT I WOULD like to see another kind of medal. I am lost for a name. This is a medal which Negroes would pay for. It is a medal which Negroes would give to whites, preferably Southern whites, each year. I would like to see this medal presented at the NAACP convention, also.

If we are ever to get rid of the Faubuses, the Talmadges, the Griffins, the Eastlands, et al, the Southern whites are going to help us. There are thousands of Southern whites who are just as much opposed to the injustices inflicted upon us by the racists in the South as we are. Unfortunately, they are not in power now. They don't control the political setup, nor the economy. But that need not always be. We can help our friends among Southern whites to achieve political status, and strength in other ways.

Until we do, they must suffer. They are suffering. They are not giving up. They are just as determined for right as our enemies are for wrong. We must recognize this fact in some worthy way.

■

I WOULD LIKE to see the Booker T. Washington Medal or the Frederick Douglass Medal awarded each year to some Southern white who has stood by his guns.

I would like not only for the rest of this country, but for the entire world to know that we have these courageous men and women battling for justice for all.

Can you imagine how this would confuse the Kremlin? How would Pravda or Isvestia report the fact that American Negroes had registered their gratitude to Southern whites who had fought and whipped racism which makes grist for "Nikky's" propaganda mills today?

Martin Luther King Jr. has written that the Negro may be the instrument for America's redemption. Would not most whites do some soul-searching if we had the magnanimity not merely to forgive but to say "Thank you"?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

I AM, of course, sickened by those whites who think and say that they have extra special brains. They go to great pains to prove that the brain encased by a white skin is superior to that inside a black skull. They go ahead and take credit for all the civilizations the world has known. How they do like to pat themselves on the back.



Mr. Prattis

However, I have grown accustomed to this kind of boasting, and I don't feel so bad about it because I know there are plenty of whites who know better and will argue the point.

However, there is something else involving Negroes and whites about which there is practically no disagreement among whites. And many Negroes go along with the whites. That is sexual immorality. Even the best white friends of the Negro will concede that he is sexually more lax than whites, and make allowances for it.

■

I RECENTLY read an article in that frantic U. S. News and World Report in which a Negro lawyer was made to admit that Negroes do not have the same high (?) standards of morality as whites.

This is all for the birds. Just as with brains, Negroes are no worse and no better than whites morally. It would be very easy to find statistics to prove that whites are more immoral than Negroes—if all white immorality went into the statistics.

I suppose the worst form of immorality is prostitution. Well, Negroes (or Africans) certainly did not start prostitution. All the early civilizations of which whites boast wallowed in prostitution. There is not a nation in the western society of nations which has not spawned a population of prostitutes.

Where did common-law marriages come from if not from Anglo-Saxon England? When the Romans first went to England, the people they found there had no marriage ceremony at all. They simply mated.

■

THERE'S A BUBBLEHEAD down in Mississippi named John Bell Williams. He's always talking about the number of illegitimate babies born to Negroes. He can get the statistics on them. He is horrified because twenty-five per cent of the Negro babies born in Washington are illegitimate. I can refer him to a time when sixty per cent of the babies born among the blond Swedes in Stockholm were illegitimate. Illegitimacy, as a rule, is the result of conditions, not of race.

This man Williams, who is a congressman, ought to study up on venereal diseases and learn how his European ancestors spread these diseases all over the world. Yet he prates about morality.

There is so much sneaking, secret immorality among whites in the United States today that you can never be sure where you can find virtue—or freedom from disease. Being a free white means being free to do anything you please. Dr. Kinsey found out what white women are pleased to do before and after marriage

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

White Morals

SO MUCH is written and said (by the white supremacists) about the low state of Negro morals, particularly in the South and in congested areas of Northern and Western cities, that perspective can only be gained by taking a glance at white morals. Edward R. Murrow caused much gnashing of teeth recently when he exposed the manner in which high-class white prostitutes are hired by big corporations in New York.



Mr. Prattis

This is not something new. A hundred years ago, a scholarly physician, then resident physician at Blackwell's Island, wrote in great detail of prostitution in New York City. He wrote about white women. It is interesting today to read what he wrote about high-class prostitution:

"The first class," according to Dr. William D. Sanger, "are those who reside in what are technically called 'parlor houses.' These very seldom leave their abodes, unless for the purpose of making purchases of dress, jewelry, or articles of toilette, or taking an afternoon promenade on the fashionable side of Broadway.

"The houses in which this class of courtesans resides are furnished with lavish display of luxury, scarcely in accordance with the dictates of good taste, however, and mostly exhibiting a quantity of magnificent furniture crowded together without taste or judgment for the sake of ostentation.

"The most costly cabinet and upholstery work is freely employed in their decoration, particularly in the rooms used as reception parlors. Large mirrors adorn the walls, which are frequently handsomely frescoed and gilt. Paintings and engravings in rich frames, vases and statuettes add their charms. Carpets of luxurious softness cover the floors, while sofas, ottomans and easy chairs abound.

"Music has its representative in a beautiful pianoforte, upon which some professed player is paid a liberal salary to perform.

"Even the bed-chambers, passages, halls and stairways are furnished in similar fashion. In such an abode as this probably dwell from three to ten prostitutes, each paying weekly for her board and room. Their active life comprises about 12 or 14 hours daily. Their visitors are mostly of what may be called the aristocratic class: young, middle-aged, and even old men of property, of all callings and professions — anyone who can command a liberal supply of money is welcome, but without this indispensable requisite his company is not sought or appreciated."

This was in 1856 when New York was about the size of the present city of Pittsburgh. Dr. Sanger describes prostitution on all levels. Practically all white women, except the wealthy, were subject to it. And even many wealthy white women maintained hide-outs where they could meet their lovers.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Chet Huntley

I WOULD AGREE that Chet Huntley was completely and sufficiently answered and rebutted by Roy Wilkins, but I just must have my last word. You will recall that Huntley in some bi-focal commentating over NBC had more or less suggested that the NAACP should stay out of the school segregation business, and that militant Negro leadership should silently fold its tent and give moderate Southern whites a chance to work for first-class citizenship for disfranchised Southern Negroes.



Mr. Prattis

If Negroes would just stop fighting on their own and permit the white moderates to whom Mr. Huntley has talked to take over, the Kaspers, the Pattersons, the Eastlands, the Griffins, the Faubuses, et al, would fall flat on their faces and apologize, Mr. Huntley suggested.

I HORN IN where the job has been done well by Mr. Wilkins at only one point and for only one reason. That is the point that anybody should make the shocking suggestion that Negroes should cease their fight under the law. My reason is that I am simply confused and confounded by whites who make such suggestions — apparently because they believe Negroes are different from the rest of the human race.

If there is any lesson to be learned from the whites of this world, it is that freedom is costly, that it is usually bought with blood. Whites have not won their freedom through conciliation, the exercise of patience or the pursuit of courses of non-violent resistance. Always, in the midst of their arguments, they have reached for their guns.

That is true of all other peoples. They shake off the yoke by dint of their strength. Would Castro have yielded to a counsel of patience? Would the Hungarian patriots (?)? Would the Algerians? Can you talk patience to Nasser? Or to Ben Gurion?

■

WOULD any other American minority take it lying down as Negroes have done? A few Jewish synagogues have been dynamited — and a new bill is introduced in Congress every day to make such dynamiting a Federal crime? What would the Italian minority do if it were treated as Negroes are? Or the Poles, the Hungarians, the Germans (who have twice sought to annihilate us)? You don't step on people like these and then ask them to be patient, to give their persecutors a chance to ease their burdens. You either take your foot off their necks or you are in for a fight.

But that's not for Negroes, says Mr. Huntley. And many other whites. We are their words. We must be nice, patient and restrainned while those of good heart among them find acceptable ways to ease our burden.

They had their chance from 1876 to 1954. What did they do?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

South Africa

ALTHOUGH most competent observers are agreed that the Union of South Africa will make the last desperate stand for white supremacy in Africa, they concede that no matter how desperate the effort, it is bound to fail. South Africa will either yield to the tides of nationalism now sweeping the African continent or become the victim of an historic blood bath.



Mr. Prattis

The fact that the bells are tolling for white supremacy in South Africa renders highly significant the recent action of Jamaica which, despite the objections of the British Government, broke off trade relations with South Africa.

■

NORMAN MANLEY, Jamaican Prime Minister, asked: "Why should we send our goods, since we cannot send a colored athlete, not even a cricket team, to South Africa with any pretense of dignity?"

The Jamaican action is an important portent. It means that, little by little, the emerging colored nations of Asia and Africa are going to draw the bead on South Africa. Some of them are going to hit at South Africa's pocketbook—where the pain can be felt first and will last longest.

This rising resentment against South Africa is going to put the United States on the spot. Trade-wise and money-wise, the United States is South Africa's best friend. A few years ago, South Africa was wobbling all over the lot, economically. The United States came to her rescue. There has been more United States investment in South Africa than in all the rest of Africa south of the Sahara. The huge warehouses stocked with arms which the white South Africans hold in reserve for the day when they propose to murder native Africans, bear the brand, "Made In America."

■

SOMEWHERE ALONG the line, the U. S. must make a choice—between the white supremacists in our own Deep South, in Algeria, in Kenya, the Rhodesias and South Africa, and the welfare of native Africans. So far, we have tried to play both ends against the middle. We have preached patience to the American Negro and have approached the black African with sanctimonious guile.

If the United States does not change, the African and other colored peoples will seek other friends and employ other means to attain their objectives. The action of Jamaica is but an ominous sign.

When black Africans in South Africa refuse to work and colored peoples everywhere refuse to buy, where is the way out of such a dilemma for South Africa?

Some day American Negro political leadership might want to raise questions about the morality of our trade with South Africa. They could be just as much concerned about that as about trade with Red China.

Horizon

The Pittsburgh Courier

By P. L. Prattis

3 Parts

The Negro Press

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO ONE who has had long association with the Negro Press, the mere suggestion that our more responsible newspapers might be radical, subversive, communistic or unpatriotic, is as puzzling to comprehend as when similar charges are made against the Supreme Court of the United States by those who do not like its decisions. In a period of more than 40 years, I have known the Negro press to do no more (often less) than to seek, ask and demand for Negroes the democratic rights and privileges accorded first-class citizens.



Mr. Prattis

Apparently, this constant harping for adherence to the American ideal, tradition and creed, has gotten under the skin of many persons, official and unofficial, who are annoyed because the Negro press demands first-class citizenship rights in peace time and war time. These persons attach all sorts of uncomplimentary labels to our newspapers and join Westbrook Pegler in his denigration of our weekly journals.

■

IT IS encouraging indeed that a scholarly study should have been made of our principal newspapers by Dr. Maxwell R. Brooks (The Negro Press Re-Examined, Christopher Publishing House, $2.75), professor of sociology at Wilberforce University. Dr. Brooks' study covered five newspapers: The Pittsburgh Courier, the Afro-American, the Defender, the Amsterdam News and the Journal and Guide.

His study was based upon a search for political symbols in news stories, columns and editorial opinions, published in these newspapers during 1948. There were positive symbols, contextual matter supporting the basic concepts behind the American creed and American ideals. There were negative symbols standing for social and political practices not in line with American tradition.

The papers are rated on how much support, quantitatively and percentage-wise, they gave to the positive symbols and how much they addressed themselves to the negative symbols.

■

DR. BROOKS set up for himself the hypothesis of proving that the Negro Press does support the American creed and the American tradition, and is not subversive.

He proved his point. The arithmetic of his proof is contained in his book as well as the method used to demonstrate his point. He had a distinguished group of collaborators.

Perhaps most impressive is the resounding fact that the papers studied were almost startlingly anti-Communist. Dr. Brooks isn't guessing. He has coldly studied the facts and written down the two-plus-two-equals-four results.

Negro newspapermen are indebted to Dr. Brooks for the painstaking job he has done of puncturing slanders and revealing the bent of a truly patriotic medium of news and protest.

Horizon Courier
By P. L. Prattis

WHAT is the practical application of a good sermon? If you get "the message," what do you do about it? I had the pleasure recently of listening to a sermon by that scholarly and gifted preacher, Dr. George A. Singleton, who is editor - manager of the AME Church Review. Of course, there was a point at which Dr. Singleton put on the "rousements," but there was much more to this sermon than emotion - stirring "rousements."



Mr. Prattis

Those of us who heard Dr. Singleton, never knew his text until the end of his sermon. What he dazzled us with was a theme, a repetitive theme, which sank deeper and deeper into our consciousness and stirred us because of its apt significance. I do not wish to write that he "hammered away," but I must confide that he began his sermon by impressing us with the fact that despite atom and hydrogen bombs, despite satellites and rockets, despite men on the moon, God is still the greatest, and that, as His creatures we are all challenged to give Him "the best that's left" in our lives.

■

NO DISTINCTION was made between young and old. Whatever one's age, whatever one's condition, he or she is challenged, is indeed required, to give "the best that's left." "The best that's left," that was the theme. Entranced almost, we listened as he colorfully told us the stories of Abraham, Moses, Amos, David, Paul, all men who at one stage in their lives had decided to give God "the best that's left."

I was forced to wonder, for your sake and my sake, what it really means to give God "the best that's left." Does it mean mere admiration for the imbedded beauty and significance of the expression? Does it mean merely to feel good under the persuasive eloquence of the exhorter? What does it mean when he has finished, has given his best, and you have left the church and stepped upon the sidewalk? What does it mean when you have reached home, when you have gone to your job the next day? What does it mean when you encounter those who have not heard "the message?"

■

I THINK I know what it means—for you, for me. I think it means that with all our heart, soul and body, awake, asleep, we seek to know and to do what is RIGHT. We must seek a marriage with Truth and never desert it.

I am persuaded that the Moral Rearmament movement, the people in it, have determined to give God "the best that's left." Modern miracles have been performed by them simply by eliminating the contention of "who is right" and establishing the basis of "what is right." That's the goal, the objective—right or righteousness. The man who seeks to be completely right must be trying to be completely on God's side. He's giving God, regardless of age, "the best that's left." All men, giving God "the best that's left, would not only make a better world but also reap rewards.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Senator Fong

SENATOR Hiram L. Fong, the Chinese Republican from Hawaii, has not always found the welcome mat spread for him on his fact-finding and fact-giving tour of Asian countries. As a member of the United States Senate, he decided to visit among Orientals, like himself in order to promote understanding of, and appreciation for, the United States. He almost fell flat on his face. He discovered that many people in Asia have a determined dislike for us. He had to forego trips to Indonesia and India.



Mr. Prattis

We Negroes must often wonder about these transplanted (or home-grown) Orientals. Almost the first gesture the distinguished Senator from Hawaii made in the Senate was in the nature of a kow-tow to the South. He smiled upon his Southern colleagues as brothers, completely forgetting that they were the rascals who had kept him out so long. The Southern oligarchy in the House and Senate did not want Hawaii as a state because they were against any Oriental infusion.

■

BUT YOU watch Mr. Fong. He will play being white, you can bet your life. He'll try to play the game and delude himself into believing that he is accepted. At this point, I would not bet two cents that he will be for any civil rights bill, strong or diluted. No would I be willing to wager that he'll line up with Senators Javits, Keating, Case or Hugh Scott.

Senator Fong went to Asia to prove how great America is. America is great and he is a Senator. But Senator Fong was elected in Hawaii which has a preponderance of Chinese and Japanese. A better test of the democratic spirit in the United States could be made if a Chinese, just as qualified as Senator Fong, were to run in California, Mississippi, or even New York. Any Chinese elected to the Senate from any of those states, or any of the other 46, would really have something to write home about. Such a Senator could make all of Communist China tremble.

■

UNTIL I learn more, I'm not going to look with much hope toward Senator Fong. I guess I'll have to trust my luck with the guys I know, on both sides of the aisle, like Javits and Douglas, Scott and Humphrey, Case and Kennedy, and Keating and Clark. They're already in the club and don't have to sell me short to promote themselves personally. In fact, they somewhat spoil the atmosphere in the club by sticking up for me sometimes. Brother Fong will keep the atmosphere clear.

I have nothing against Senator Fong. I just recall that the Southerners fought against Senator Fong ever getting in because they suspected he might come over on my side. I want to assure them that I am not too sure about Senator Fong. From where I sit and look, the Chinese-Hawaiian Senator might just as easily ensconce himself on their side as mine. Flip a coin and I'd take neither heads nor tails.

Horizon Courier
By P. L. Prattis

How Do You Win?

FORTUNATELY, there are many different kinds of Negroes. That makes them like white folks. There are good and bad Negroes and there are good and bad whites. All whites do not see eye-to-eye. Neither do Negroes. I always take some comfort out of the differences which exist among Jews. Look how they come on. So we should not take a sort of masochistic delight in flagellating ourselves because we don't all think and act alike.



Mr. Prattis

It is not necessary for all of us to think and act alike in order to win. Let's take the example of prizefighters. Their aim is victory over another prizefighter. So long as everything is reasonably fair, all the fighter worries about is how he's going to win. Maybe he would like a knockout which would be more convincing, but if he can outpoint his rival he'll still be the victor. Sometimes a fighter must make up his mind before he goes into the ring as to whether he's going to slug it out for a knockout or go fancy and outpoint his foe.

■

IF YOU ENTER the ring against a heavy-hitter and start slugging, you're liable to get conked yourself. So what's the harm of staying out of glove's reach, befuddling the blockbuster, and tearing him up with sharp jabs and fast combination counters? There's no harm if you win and that's what you enter the ring to do.

I suppose that in this encounter we have in this country with our white fellow-citizens there are occasions when you can take a chance slugging it out with the prospect of winning by a knockout in some situations. But I doubt that most of our fights are knockout affairs. The guy we are fighting has got too many guns, real and figurative, for us to be sure that if we sail into him seeking a knockout we won't land on the floor ourselves. You've got to be careful.

■

I'M NOT AGAINST knockouts, for, as aforesaid, they're convincing. But victory is the real objective. And victory can be achieved by outpointing (outsmarting) the other fellow, often with less risk to one's self.

Congressman Dawson has put this another way. He says: "Don't get mad (and go for the knockout); get smart."

There are many ways in which our traditional foe is not smart. Sometimes you look at some of them and what they do and you wonder how they can be so dumb. We ought not to wonder about it—we ought to take advantage of dumbness wherever we find it. Some of them have been dreaming white supremacy so long that they have got out of touch with the facts of life. They can be counter-punched to a frazzle.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Back of the Times

NOW THAT the Hampton Institute board of trustees has turned the clock by "accepting" the resignation of Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, the first Negro to head the institution, it seems appropriate to call to the attention of our readers and the wolf pack which set out to "get" Moron, some observations recently made about Negro colleges by a writer for the Wall Street Journal.



Mr. Prattis

Moron's principal fault at Hampton was (1) he wanted to transform the institution into a first-rate college serving today's needs, and (2) he pressed board members to get out and obtain funds necessary for such transformation. His attempts to modernize the school were criticized by tradition-bound alumni. His attempt to obtain additional necessary funds was stymied by a board which sat tight on Hampton's $20 million endowment fund and remained indifferent to his plea that a fund-raising campaign should be launched. In disgust, Moron quit.

THE REPORT of Robert Ramaker in the Wall Street Journal pinpoints the fact that most Negro colleges are training students for jobs which don't exist. He writes: "They continue to channel students into old grooves—teaching, the ministry, the law, and embalming—where in the past Negroes have been able to succeed by giving services to fellow Negroes. They are failing, however, to train enough students for new job opportunities, in such fields as engineering, opening up for Negroes in some quantity for the first time."

Mr. Ramaker reveals that of 452 seniors who were graduated from Tuskegee this year, six out of ten tried to go into teaching. Also, that in El Paso, Tex., 281 would-be Negro teachers tried for one job opening. In Waco, Tex., 150 Negro teachers vied for a single opening. Seventy per cent of 72,000 Negro students enrolled in 1957-58 were in training as teachers.

Yet, an official at the Martin missile plant on Orlando, Fla., stated: "We have no Negro with an engineering degree on the payroll. If a Negro candidate met the job requirements, he'd be hired like anyone else."

REPRESENTATIVES from the same firm say they talked with five Negro graduates of Howard University's engineering school and that none of them measured up to Martin's requirements.

At Douglas Aircraft Co., in Charlotte, N. C., a company spokesman stated the experience and training of Negroes who apply is sub-par.

Dr. Paul Clifford, registrar at Atlanta University, asserted: "We have the facilities to double the enrollment in our school of business administration, but students aren't interested. The number of requests we get for trained people is 10 times the candidates available."

According to Julius Thomas of the National Urban League: "Of 26,000 engineers graduated from accredited schools in '59, only 156 were Negroes."

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Althea Gibson

I MUST confess that the great tennis champion, Althea Gibson, is somewhat of a conundrum to me although I have read reams about her, including the "I Wanted To Be Somebody" story in the Saturday Evening Post. I don't know how this girl ticks. I am left wondering if all her genius is concentrated in her arms and legs.



Mr. Prattis

When informed that Ralph Bunche had been nice-talked out of the West Side Tennis Club because he is a Negro, Miss Gibson, then in London, retorted: "That's ridiculous!" Later, when queried as to whether she would play at the West Side Tennis Club again if the ban were not lifted, she is reported to have said she would, That is her business, and I am not sure whether she is right or wrong.

MY POINT of concern is the attitude she assumes which makes her say such things. Take the following which is expressive of her attitude:

"I'm not a Negro tennis player—I'm a tennis player."

I wish I could shrug Miss Gibson off as easily as she shrugs me off.

Will somebody please tell me what Althea Gibson is if she is not a **NEGRO TENNIS PLAYER?**

Did the Negroes who housed, fed, clothed and educated her, free of charge, do so because she was a **tennis player** or because she is a **Negro tennis player?** Did the Negroes who coached her and taught her to play the game do so because she was a **tennis player** or a **Negro tennis player?** Did the American Tennis Association fight for her to get a chance to play in the big national tournaments fight for her to get a chance to play in the big national tournaments because she was a **tennis player** or because she is a **Negro tennis player.**

MISS GIBSON has been spoiled—as so many Negroes are spoiled by the flattering attention of goodwilled whites.

She lacks the understanding to realize that even these white friends and well-wishers can be, and are, baffled by her obvious unwillingness to identify, heart-wise as well as sports-wise, with her own people.

Regardless of God's gifts to her, she would not be where she is today if many Negroes had not helped her to reac' the pinnacle because she is a **NEGRO TENNIS PLAYER.** It may annoy her to be reminded of the fact, but she'll never be able to get away from it.

Norwegians play as Norwegians, Swedes play as Swedes, the French play as Frechmen, the Japanese play as Japanese, the Indians play as Indians, the Italians play as Italians, Americans play as Americans, but all the head-turned Althea can be is a **tennis player,** not even an American tennis player, or an American Negro tennis player.

I understand they found a Negro's part (menial) for this tennis player in the motion picture, "The Horse Soldiers." The whites know what she is if she doesn't.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

BACK IN the late 'twenties and early 'thirties, gifted Negro writers, encouraged and propelled by Charlie Johnson of Opportunity magazine, and grants from the Rosenwald fund made never to be forgotten boosts to a public which welcomed and loved them. There were Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Rudolph Fisher and many, many others.



Mr. Prattis

Among the others were Eric Walrond and Claude McKay. They are pertinent to the point of this essay because they were West Indians and they were writers of the first rank. There is intense interest in creative writing in the West Indies today. There are writers of great merit about whom we know little or nothing.

However, West Indian writers today, as 30 years ago, are trading their genius in our own country. They must make an impact because they have skills of craft and creation that seem almost uncanny.

■

ONE OF these new writers is Paule Marshall, a 30-year-old Barbadian woman, resident in New York, who has written "Brown Girl, Brownstones" (Random House, $3.95). This is a novel about a Barbadian girl in the Barbadian community at the foot of Fulton St. in New York. Miss Marshall writes with great devotion to the meaning and function of words. She etches her characters precisely. You see and know them in the flesh. But, most potently, she translates a community for you in terms of its dialect, its cultural background, its ambitions, its good and its bad men and women. Nobody has ever done this as well as Miss Marshall. For many reasons her first novel must become a work for reference.

■

ANOTHER OF these writers is Alston Anderson, a Jamaican born in Panama and educated largely in the United States, who has written a book of short stories in "Lover Man" (Doubleday, $3.75). These stories mirror the average Negro (his thinking, his idiom, his dialect) more expertly than anything I have ever read, save possibly Fisher's "City of Refuge." These are not pretty stories and they are not "clean." "Salty" may be the word for them. In fact, both Miss Marshall and Mr. Anderson call a spade a spade and a thigh a thigh, although Mr. Anderson is not quite as "nitty-gritty" as Miss Marshall. She lets you in on secrets. I'm not going to quarrel. Maybe she's modern. I'm not.

Ed Frazier's little group of so-called bourgeoise will regurgitate over Mr. Anderson's stories. They'll want to say, "'Taint so!" But it is so, and the only reason the bourgeoise will object is because Mr. Anderson has drawn our picture for everybody (including white folks; in fact, mostly white folks) to see. There's the rub. Marshall and Anderson have the touch. They have both made auspicious beginnings. I think they are going to be important in the future and I trust they are the heralds for a new literary renaissance.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

'Lost' Leadership

DURING a recent visit South a friend complained to me that in his community and state there was no good Negro leadership. He saw things that needed to be done. He thought they could be done if only there were Negro leadership intelligent, wise and courageous enough to work at the job of getting things done.



Mr. Prattis

In the course of his remarks, he mentioned one national Negro leader who had left his state. "We need him down here," my friend protested, "but he's up in New York. That's what is wrong down here—all the good leadership has gone North."

I listened carefully to his complaint. I knew that I could call the roll of Negro leadership in the North and discover that most of this leadership, particularly over the past 40 years, had come from the South, had actually been born in the South. But had this transplantation of leadership left the South as bereft of leadership as my friend seemed to think?

■

I WROTE to one of the men in the North) whom my friend had mentioned. I told him that they were saying they missed him and needed him. But I also told him that he was only a symbol used to show what Southern Negroes are losing to the North.

This other friend, in the North, wrote back and he didn't agree at all. He has not lost his affection for the state of his birth. He returns there almost yearly. But he believes new, effective leadership is being born in the South everyday. He mentioned several Negro leaders in the South today, including, of course, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He does not believe there is a paucity of Negro leadership in the South.

So there you are. I ask myself why these two intelligent men look at this issue (if it is an issue) and see it differently. I think I why why. Progress in the South depends upon intra- as well as inter-racial working together. There must be communication between the two racial groups for the benefit of the South and for the benefit of the Negro.

MY FRIEND in the South knows that there are Southern whites who want this communication and understanding. They are a tiny minority. But they can use the strength, political and otherwise, which the Negro can give them. They will work with Negroes, for fairer play for Negroes, if the Negroes they deal with will understand the precariousness of their own position and will be smart enough not to do and say things which the white majority can use to persecute and eliminate them. The white friend of the Negro is often in a more tenuous position than the Negro himself.

What my Southern friend deplores, I believe, is the existence of too few Negroes, particularly in his locality, who can establish a productive and fruitful rapport with whites who do not mind sticking their necks out, but don't want their necks cut off.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Mr. Meany's Anger

IN LESTER VELIE'S "Labor U.S.A.," one gets the impression that George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, is one tough hombre. He has fought stubbornly and gallantly for what he believed in even when the odds were against him as in the ouster of the Teamsters from the organization. You feel that Meany stands like a rock and that when the chips are down he fights like a lion.



Mr. Prattis

Of course, one must remember that Mr. Meany grew up in the plumbers' union. Some of the saintly garments he now dons would be distinctly inappropriate in a plumbers' parade. Some of Mr. Meany's new friends, such as A. Philip Randolph, could not carry a monkey wrench to a smoke-filled room of plumbers. It is a jim-crow union if there ever was one. If you don't think so, try to get in.

I'LL BE GLAD to publish the names and cities of all the Negro journeymen and master plumbers in the union as of today.

But Mr. Meany, with less respect for the Master than Khrushchev showed, pierced by the truth from Mr. Randolph's arrow, bellows: "Who the h—l named you guardian of all of the Negroes?"

Unfortunately, Mr. Randolph is in the same spot as Mr. Meany. He can't speak for all Negroes any more than Meany can for all whites. But Mr. Randolph can speak for truth and he can be said to speak for the aspirations of MOST American Negroes, particularly workers. Through the years, he has been an eloquent, courageous and truthful voice in the barren vineyard of labor, seeking fair play for all Negro workers and challenging American labor to live up to American ideals.

Mr. Meany's attempted rebuff was no ruder nor rougher than others Mr. Randolph has received in the past, so Brother Meany may be sure that this Galahad of the black worker will again challenge Meany and organized labor at the first opportunity. You can cuss Randolph out but you can't cuss him down.

I AM AWARE of the fact that Mr. Meany is the head of a balky organization of "kings" by divine right. He has gone much further than Tom Gompers or Bill Green to establish the authority of the national organization. But this national authority will never be secure so long as any one international is allowed to boldly draw the color line.

The railroad brotherhoods have had plenty of time to become Christians like they challenge Khrushchev to be. But their leaders have no compunction about slamming the door in the face of a black brother, then turning around for mass or to kiss the feet of Jesus.

Mr. Randolph's demand was very simple—that all members of the AFL-CIO be required to practice the Golden Rule or be expelled. Why should something so simple anger Plumber Meany?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The South's Choice

THERE'S a man going round talking sense in the South. His name is William H. Nichols. He is president of the Southern Economic Association and chairman of Vanderbilt University's economics department. He has been telling Southerners (white ones, of course) that if they want to get their section of the country out of the economic barrel, they had better toss some of their foolishness about race and "our way of life" out the window.



Mr. Prattis

Professor Nichols spoke recently at the annual meeting of Southern economists in Jacksonville, Fla. He asserted that industrialization and urbanization are chipping away at the Southern's cherished prejudices which were founded largely on rural ignorance. Also, that industrial-urban development in the South had contributed much "to remove the heavy hand of history from its tired old back.

PROFESSOR NICHOLS cautioned that "another round of demagogues may yet have their day," and added:

"Few Southerners have yet faced up to the question as to whether they want industrialization badly enough to give up some firmly held Southern traditions which are inconsistent with it.

"And fewer politicians have yet had the foresight or the courage to make clear to their constituents that a fundamental choice between Southern economy development and some cherished traditions must be made."

Concluding, Professor Nichols said: "If the South could at last take a fresh, honest and hard-headed look at the race problem, the gain which would accrue to the region would extend far beyond matters of race."

How right Professor Nichols is. If the white South would only realize that it has the finest region in our great country to develop and that, waiting to help them, is the black Southerner, the most loyal partner they could ever expect to find, undreamed of prosperity would come to everybody in the Southland.

THE WHITE South needs to stop being afraid of the Negro. There's nobody the Southern Negro would prefer as a friend more than the Southern white man. There's nobody he would be more willing to help. There are no two groups in this country which could make a more formidable team. When one considers the good that could come from Negro-white friendship in the South and how cheaply the Southern white man might purchase the goodwill of the Southern Negro, you wonder why human beings can be so dumb that they don't do something about it.

You sort of expect white folk to take advantage of every situation. In the South, they have a made-to-order partnership situation that leads to a better life for all, and most of the whites are too blind to see it.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

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Sat. 1-18-59

Something Wrong?

LAST week, I quoted from a letter written by an Englishwoman. She expressed the belief that the total acceptance of the idea of interracial marriage is the proper approach to a solution of the race problem (in England). But she also implied that Negro males do not make responsible husbands (for white or black women) in the West Indies and Africa, and that in all too many cases they do not make husbands at all.



Mr. Prattis

She did not touch upon the Negro in the United States. However, we all know that there is a sad percentage of common-law marriage and lack of marriage among Negroes in the United States. This is ofter explained away as a heritage of slavery? Or a difference in cultural patterns? Is the same reasoning valid in the West Indies? In Africa?

■

I SUPPOSE THERE are anthropologists who have responsible, scientific explanations of this phenomenon. I had always thought marriage, especially tribal marriage, in Africa, was rather binding. Have I been wrong?

Of course, I am aware that what might be called the tightness or looseness of marriage, or even the existence of marriage, varies in different societies. Among some primitives, the ties are quite loose. When the Romans first set foot upon the soil of England, the wild tribes there knew nothing of the formality of marriage. They simply mated.

How ironic that these English should have become one of the most prudish of peoples!

Although the statistics are all against Negroes, I don't believe they are any more immoral than whites. So I don't worry about that. What does concern me is the sense of responsibility of our men in relation to women. Do they, or do they not, make good husbands? And do too many of them avoid the marital tie?

■

P. S.: I sent P. D. East my check for a subscription to his paper. He wired back: "I was deeply moved by your column. Am sincerely humble and grateful to you. Complimentary subscription to you immediately. Would like to use check for gift subscriptions to college students if okay. Again, thanks to you, and from my heart."

■

WELL, I ESCAPED a bawling out, and you have a chance to see what sort of clay God used to make P. D. East. Incidentally, the subscription rates to his paper are $3 for six months and $5 for a year. Send your check to P. D. East, The Petal Paper, Petal, Mississippi.

If we can help to keep men like P. D. East and Clarence Jordan, and couples like the Bradens going, communication between whites and Negroes in the South will pick up and there will be hope for the future.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 1-24-59

THERE has been quite a to-do recently over the discovery by our good white friends of one "Mr. Muhammad." The national magazines, the press and wire services and radio and TV have "gone to town" on this somewhat gaseous Muslim evangelist. They charge he teaches and incites racial hatred.



Mr. Prattis

If he does, I am 100 per cent against that kind of Eastlandism and Bilboism. I have read everything he has written in this newspaper and I have not discerned that he preaches racial hatred. He calls white people bad names, which I do not think he should do, and he has a tendency to lump together all white people and call them bad. I do not think all whites are bad, so I don't go for that.

What is this Muhammad for: Negro self-reliance, Negro hard work, Negro dedication to their own salvation. What is he against: Laziness, drunkenness, dishonesty, immodesty, immorality, ignorance, begging white people instead of helping yourself.

For this kind of teaching, he has become an object of concern in the United States Senate.

But let's make a few quick comparisons.

No. 1—David Lawrence, U. S. News & World Report: against the 14th Amendment to the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court; against the elimination of segregation in our national life; for so-called voluntarism which leaves whites free, in racial matters, to behave as they please.

No. 2—Let's go to Memphis, where Negroes frightened the pants off whites by running for some municipal offices.

■

THE DAILY newspapers begged the Negroes to get out of the race on the thread-bare theory that "the time ain't ripe."

The whites did all they could to induce white candidates to withdraw to insure the defeat of a better-qualified Negro.

The whites decided, if the Negro were elected, they would strip the Public Service Commission of all its important functions.

Whites in that triangular junction of Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee threatened the white businessmen of Memphis, saying: "If you elect that n——, we'll stop doing business with you."

And don't forget Judge Jim Johnson of the Supreme Court of Arkansas haranguing a wild rally of segregationists and hate mongers in their battle to maintain segregation and flout the Supreme Court.

"I know you will find a way," nudged the judge.

What he meant was a way to defy the law, to deprive American Negroes of their rights, to keep them as second-class citizens or helots.

Muhammad tells his followers to work hard to become first-class citizens. Judge Johnson and the White Citizens Councils tell whites to work hard to keep Negroes in a status of second-class citizenship.

WHO'S PREACHING HATRED?

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 1-31-59

Skinning a Cat

ALL of US can remember the old folks saying, "There are many ways to skin a cat." They meant that if you found it difficult to skin the cat one way, you should try another. Negroes have a cat to skin. They may think there is only one way to skin this cat. I believe there are many ways to skin the cat and that we may be neglecting some ways.



Mr. Prattis

The Negro's cat is the white man (usually Southern) who believes in, or pretends to believe in, strict segregation of the races. The Supreme Court rendered an anti-segregation decision in 1954, and this cat immediately arched its back and flashed its eyes. It has been showing its claws ever since.

■

THE NAACP has been trying to skin this cat, and I think it has done a good job, but it hasn't skinned the cat. Dr. Martin Luther King is trying to skin the cat. I think he is doing a good job, but the cat isn't skinned.

Both the above groups, each in its way, has been working for the good Christian life, but neither has made much headway in the South. The white cats' eyes are blazing. They don't purr any more when the Negro comes around. Whites and Negroes in the South are afraid to be friends any more. The white cat who wants to do the right thing is afraid of what the other white cats will growl. And the Negro who might move to ease tensions is afraid of being called an Uncle Tom.

IT IS NEITHER sinful nor treasonable to try to make friends out of Southern whites. It is not treasonable to try any method to win friendship and respect.

I am truly against Uncle Toms, but I am also against name-calling for the sake of name-calling. If there are Southern groups of Negroes which can establish a constructive rapport between themselves and their white neighbors, I am all for them. Just so their objective is right, I don't care how they skin the cat. I am not going to call names just because right, but if you're going to fight, strike at the enemy (make him a friend) and not them bad names. There are many ways. There are many ways to their method (way) is not my method. There are many ways. But there are many ways to skin a cat, and the point of this piece is to suggest that we ought to try every way we can invent. That is to say, all kinds of groups ought to be working on the problem of skinning this cat which, in substance, means finding a way for the two races to live together in peace and harmony with mutual respect.

The objective is the thing that is important. And the most destructive thing is to criticize the other fellow who has the same objective as you but who

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Fighting Jews

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S "non-violent resistance" campaign is all right with me as a diversionary tactic in the Negro's overall struggle. I do not think such a tactic alone can win the justice for which Dr. King struggles. "Non-violent resistance," as a slogan, is merely a cover under which Dr. King and his followers can "fight" for their objective.



Mr. Prattis

Dr. King has made a profound study of Gandhi's teachings. He has visited India to probe more deeply into the Indian experience. If Dr. King has not done so, I would like to suggest that he read with just as much care Leon Uris' "Exodus." This is a magnificent story of the fight which dispersed Jews put up for life, for freedom, for status, for dignity, and for the fulfillment of their prophetic destiny.

■

I NEVER TIRE reading about the Jewish struggle. Their battle to be recognized as first-class citizens of the world stretched over two thousand years compared to our 96. But most important in any study of these two thousand years of struggle is the record of suffering and persecution. Lynching is in no sense to be compared with the pogroms and massacre of Jews. At best there is no more than a record of 5,000 Negroes lynched. Jews have been murdered by the tens and hundreds of thousands. The Germans set up one gas chamber during the last war capable of exterminating 33,000 Jews every day. There is no torture, suffering or humiliation which the imagination can conjure which Jews have not suffered.

But most Jews never gave in. They clung to their religion and their culture, even in far-away Yemen, India and China. They always looked for God's promised deliverance.

■

AND WHEN the time came, as "Exodus" discloses, they FOUGHT for their freedom. They determined that the world should know that Jews are not cowards. Thus they, men, women, Jews, fought. The ultra-Orthodox Jews who kept their beards buried in the Talmud were murdered in Safed and Jerusalem by the Arabs.

I know of no more inspired war in history than the one waged by the Jews in Palestine. —with only the most rudimentary weapons. It was a war against a foe, inside and out, who vastly outnumbered them.

The Jews did not win status or freedom by non-violent resistance. They fought back with their hands, with bullwhips, with anything that came to hand. They made home-made weapons. They died by the thousands before victory came.

I hope my thoughtful friend, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, and other Negroes, will read and study Exodus. If I've gone overboard about this tremendous story, tell me. I don't believe I have. And I know Exodus is faction based upon historical fact.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

'Jim' Fulton

WHEN Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, just out of his sick bed, tried to make members of Congress face up to discriminatory membership rules in labor unions, such as the railroad brotherhoods, by amending H.R. 8400, the Landrum - Griffin Bill, he separated the sheep from the goats in the House of Representatives on this particular issue.



Mr. Prattis

It should be clearly understood that labor, as represented by the AFL-CIO, was NOT against Powell's amendment. Labor was for the Shelley labor reform bill, and the backers of this bill were for the Powell amendment.

Principally opposed to the Powell amendment were Southern Democrats and the Northern Republicans who, for the last 20 years, have sold Negroes down the river in deals with the Southerners.

■

IT IS ENCOURAGING to know that there are many Republicans on the Lord's side, men who have the courage to disagree with the fellow-partisans on matters of principle. The most outstanding supporter of the Powell amendment was Congressman James G. Fulton, who represents a Republican silk-stocking district outside Pittsburgh as well as important pockets of labor. Mr. Fulton quoted the following sentence from the Powell amendment:

"No labor organization shall discriminate unfairly in its representation of all employes in the negotiation and administration of collective bargaining agreements."

Said Mr. Fulton: "I am in favor of that 100 per cent."

He again quoted from the amendment: "Or refuse membership, segregate or expel any person on the ground of race, religion, color, sex or national origin."

"What is wrong with that?" Mr. Fulton asked his fellow-members in the House, continuing: "What can we, Americans, who want fair play and who want equal treatment and who fought for those principles—what can we say against such a thing?"

■

SAID FULTON further: "The good unions follow this policy now. Why should not all unions follow these good practices?

"I do not care from which side of the House an amendment like this comes. If it is fair and right, and if it is legitimate, and if it is honest, I am going to vote for it. I have found that popularity is so much easier than principle."

To those members who insisted the Powell amendment had no place in the bill, Fulton retorted: "Principle has a place in every bill of the U. S. Congress."

Mr. Fulton's position and that of the Shelley bill backers speak for the majority of organized labor. Northerners who helped kill the amendment, supported the white supremacists of the South

31a 1959

NEGRO (P.L. PRATTIS)

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Difference

MY COLLEAGUE, Mr. Schuyler, views with some concern the "gift" of some Eastern European countries of 8,000 rifles and anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns to the new Republic of Guinea in West Africa. Mr. Schuyler has two fears: (1) that the 'gift' may represent a Communist penetration which should be dreaded and avoided, and (2) that the Africans, now free, may revert to fighting among themselves, just like the Europeans.



Mr. Prattis

I do not share Mr. Schuyler's concern on either point.

In the first place, the Africans have just as much right to fight among themselves as do the Germans, French, Italians and Russians. I don't think they will, but, even if they do, I doubt that they will carry internecine warfare to the same limits of slaughter that two world wars brought to Europe. I think that unquestionably, a black Bismarck will eventually come to the fore in West Africa. This may call for some bloodshed, but I can see such an eventuality leading to greater unity and progress.

■

I AM GLAD to see the Africans get some guns, and I don't care where they come from. The reason the white man was able to take the African's native land from him was that the white man had the gun and the African had only the spear. As long as the gun can be kept out of the African's hands, he, his lands, and his wealth can be controlled.

The western nations have been careful to keep arms from the Africans. But when Africans throw stones in Leopoldville or Blantyre, in Nyasaland of the Rhodesias, in the Union of South Africa or Kenya, the white man quickly resorts to the gun and the airplane to shoot the African down.

I have a creeping suspicion that those rifles and the ammunition that goes with them may not remain in Guinea. I would not be surprised at a not too distant date to learn they had found their way to trouble spots in East, Central and South Africa, to enable the black African to fight fire with fire — just as the North African does.

■

THIS, OF COURSE, is dirty pool, the Communists are playing. As a confirmed white supremist, I am rendered almost apoplectic just thinking about how those Commies are betraying the great white race by giving the Africans firearms. It would be bad enough to sell them. Just think of white Commies giving black Africans guns to shoot the hell out of the English, Dutch, Belgians and Portuguese! What's the world coming to?

My indignation was great when the Chinese stomped down the Tibetans, but that was nothing like this, Man. Giving those Africans guns is just crazy, Man, crazy!

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Hatred of Whites

I WAS SOMEWHAT astounded, recently, when a good and wise friend of mine said to me: "You write like you hate white people. If I were a white person, and read your columns, I'd be convinced that you hated white people. You're bitter."



I must respect this friend's point of view, expressed sincerely, although I know he is wrong.

I am sorry if the tone of my writing has caused anyone to feel that I hate white people as a group. I do not want my friend to feel that way. He does not write a column, but he does not take whites into full fellowship until he has subjected them to the most rigorous examination. All elements of doubt he resolves against them.



Mr. Prattis

■

FOR THE RECORD, I do not hate white people. I take to them as individuals on the same bases that I take to Negroes or other human beings. If I have a chance to know whites, I may respect, admire, even love them. I am somewhat indifferent about those I do not know.

There are some whites I despise. They are not worthy of a sustained hatred and I am not capable of such. I despise Senator Eastland. I despise Griffin and Vandiver of Georgia. I despise Patterson of Alabama, and Coleman of Mississippi. I despise Faubus of Arkansas, and the mayor of Dearborn, Mich.

But I respect, admire and love James McBride Dabbs, Marion Wright, Carl and Anne Braden, Lillian Smith, Aubrey Williams, Sarah Patton Boyle, and scores of others, North and South, who respect me, are Christians, and who wage the good fight to make democracy live in the United States.

This is as good a time as any to record the fact that I despise David L. Lawrence of U.S. News & World Report, and Robert Ruark of Scripps-Howard, while I respect and admire Edward P. Morgan, Edward R. Murrow and Martin Agronsky.

■

THOSE WHOM I despise are, in my opinion, wilful sinners and "killers of the dream" of brotherhood. Those I respect are on the Lord's side.

I cannot hate an individual, or a group, but I can avoid an individual who does not like me—for his sake.

If I must write about the brutalities and injustices which some whites have visited upon Negroes during the last fifty years, it is not because of hatred of the white group. It is because of hatred of the deeds of some of them, and a desire to see that, ultimately, justice prevails.

My friend was wrong. I do not hate whites. As a matter of fact, I accept them on easier terms than he does.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Food for Thought

ANY STUDENT of economics who wished to do so could easily draw a picture to show how the American Negro has been ejected out of traditional occupations by immigration, industrialization and changing social patterns. Negroes were formerly the domestic workers, the waiters, the coachmen, the bootblacks, the barbers, the caterers, etc., etc.



Mr. Prattis

Successive waves of immigrants from Europe cut under the Negro worker. Immigrants, speaking broken English, became the hotel waiters, the maids and chamber maids, the chauffeurs, the bootblacks, the barbers and the caterers.

■

I WAS REMINDED of this recently while listening to a speech by one of the deputy secretaries of the Health, Education and Welfare Department in Washington. He was speaking to some one thousand delegates to the biennial meeting of the Family Service Association of America.

In the course of his talk, he came to the subject of general assistance and the possibility of matching aid to the states by the Federal Government. But he, just as Secretary Fleming before him, expressed theoretical objection to residency requirements in some states for relief recipients.

He called attention to the fact that New York has no residency requirements — although there are many persons who think New York should have such. But he said the fact that New York does not have a residency requirement before granting relief had been a boon to New York City.

He said that the Hotel Owners Association had told him they did not know what they would have done, in face of increasing costs, without Puerto Rican workers. Leaders in the garment industry told the same.

■

FRANKLY, I was startled. Within the last 15 years, Puerto Ricans have flooded into New York and have made themselves indispensable in two industries while unemployed Negroes were standing by.

This was not the first time I had encountered testimony as to the worth of the Puerto Rican worker. The head of the Department of Welfare in Chicago had told me the same thing.

Is there food for thought in this fact? Why do employers prefer European immigrants for jobs traditionally held by Negroes? Why does the hotel industry in New York turn to Puerto Ricans rather than American Negroes? Why do they fill labor gaps in the garment industry?

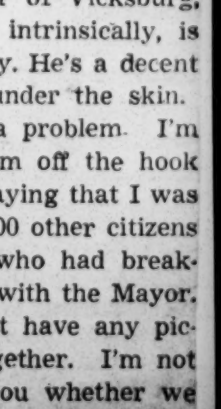
I am not against the employment of Puerto Ricans. I am for fair employment. I am concerned with why the Negro worker seems to be losing out. In Chicago, I am told the Puerto Rican was a better worker—more stable, less turnover. Has this been true in New York? Are we doing anything to make employers want us?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Mississippi Mayor

I HAD BREAKFAST and lunch with the Mayor of Vicksburg, Miss., recently. Yes, Sir, I sure did. He's about as nice a little feller as you'd want to meet, and real cute. The gals, old and young just can't keep their eyes off him. To the old ones, he's the boy they wanted, and to the young ones, he's the Prince Charming they missed.



Mr. Prattis

I know that former Senator Diggs of Detroit, Mich., has been having some sort of strained correspondence with John Holland, Mayor of Vicksburg. Come next November, Senator Diggs wants to lead a huge pilgrimage of colored and white folks to Vicksburg to sort of draw attention to how mean the white folks down that way are. The honorable Mayor says to the honorable Senator: "Look in your own backyard. You've got towns in Michigan where they won't even allow nice, respectable colored persons to live."

■

NOW I THINK both the Mayor and the Senator have something, but I don't want to be a party to their controversy.

The point I want to make is that the Mayor of Vicksburg, inherently and intrinsically, is a right nice guy. He's a decent human being under the skin.

But he has a problem. I'm going to let him off the hook right now by saying that I was among about 100 other citizens of Pittsburgh who had breakfast and lunch with the Mayor. He and I didn't have any pictures taken together. I'm not going to tell you whether we shook hands. No, Sir, I'll not give his political enemies that advantage over him.

The Mayor of Vicksburg was in Pittsburgh because the Pitts-

burgh Bicentennial Association had borrowed the great river-boat Sprague, nicknamed "The Big Mama," for the city's bicentennial celebration. The Mayor and others came up to turn the ship over to us. We Pittsburghers extended the welcome hand to the Mississippians.

■

MR. HOLLAND invited all of us to please come down to Vicksburg, but I'm not going. I'm sure John Holland is a Christian, but he's also a politician.

I think it's just too bad that this John Holland (and all the other John Hollands there are in the South) and I can't get to know each other real well. We've got to assume artificial postures all our lives. We must be suspicious of each other and we must look for a better day to find the way to one another.

I forgot to ask Brother Holland if he is a member of the White Citizens Council. If he is, he's the nicest one I ever met.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Pa.
David L. Lawrence

A COURIER reader in Harrisburg, Pa., writes: "Your very timely article which appeared in the May 23 issue was read and enjoyed. Would you please state your reasons for despising the editor of U. S. News and World Report? Personally, the above-mentioned magazine had appeared to be as fair as any in regards to racial issues. Between Newsweek, Time and U. S. News and World Report, which do you consider the best?"



Mr. Prattis

J. A. Lane

First, Mr. Lane, let me state that I am a subscriber to U. S. News and World Report, and have been almost since it started publication. I think that many domestic and foreign issues are treated more comprehensively in U. S. News and World Report than in the other magazines or in the daily newspapers. If there is an important story on the political, social or economic front, you can expect to find the "full treatment" in U. S. News and World Report. You will also find the complete text of important speeches. I like the magazine for these reasons. I keep a file of the magazine for reference purposes.

■

BUT I DO despise David L. Lawrence, the editor. To begin with, Mr. Lawrence and I were born in the same city, Philadelphia, at about the same time. I lived in Germantown and I loved the Germantown of the early part of this century. Colored and white youngsters got along well, in and out of school.

Mr. Lawrence, by turning himself into a persistent, creative spokesman for the white supremacists of the South and other parts of the nation, has earned my contempt and spoiled my childhood dream.

Make no mistake about it—Mr. Lawrence, who was educated at jim-crow Princeton University, is a very smart man. So is the devil. He does not want to see the Negro become a first-class citizen and a full-fledged member of American society.

■

HE HAS, THEREFORE, engaged his brilliant mind in obviously specious appeals to reason. He would encourage those persons who would repeal the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. He would create a weird social device called "Voluntarism," which would give white Americans the right to treat colored Americans as they voluntarily pleased. Every political slanderer of black people in the South can get a voice in his magazine. Rarely does he publish "two sides" on racial issues. If he does, it is to escape the charge of extremism.

I despise him because HE knows he is wrong. I despise him because he uses this racial issue to create circulation for his magazine. But, I observe, he has tapered off. Maybe he has learned that many Americans, white and colored, object to his sort of national mischief.

On racial matters, there is no magazine that is worse than U. S. News and World Report—except out-and-out hate sheets.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Truth on Scaffold

NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins has "fired" Robert Williams, president of the Union County, N. C. branch of the association. Mr. Williams had ventured to suggest that there might be some Negroes toying with the nation of "meeting violence with violence" in the South. I don't blame Mr. Wilkins for giving "the boot" to Mr. Williams. Brother Williams was letting out a secret.



Mr. Prattis

Further, the NAACP simply cannot afford to have anybody in its ranks who talks about using violence. That would destroy the effectiveness of the organization quick like a minute. As a matter of fact, "sound" Negro leadership, wherever you find it, in the United States or Africa, must forego the privilege, enjoyed by all other people, of saying: "Get your foot off my neck or I'll knock your block off." We must say: "Please take your foot off my neck" and hope we'll arouse enough sympathy among others to make the scoundrel lift his foot.

■

EVEN TOM MBOYA, while speaking in this country, had to iterate and reiterate the African's intention of regaining his homeland by non-violence, by negotiation and persuasion. Of course, Tom was openly speaking for the sub-Sahara black Africans. The North Africans in Algeria don't buy that kind of a philosophy.

I don't believe most Negroes buy it even from its most persuasive salesmen like the Rev. Martin Luther King. As I have written before, the one thing that makes the Negro want to smile and negotiate his way to freedom is that he doesn't have the organized strength and weapons with which to fight.

There's going to be a pretty howdy-do in this country when Negroes in whom resentment smolders suddenly decide the time is ripe to take a chance and fight not only injustice but the unjust person. If the Africans can get their hands on the proper weapons and ammunition, they'll have Tom Mboya singing a new tune—or else.

■

SURE, MR. WILKINS was right in kicking Mr. Williams out. But Mr. Williams was right, too. He was giving voice to what is in the dark brother's mind. He is not going to continue to submit passively to rape and lynching. Some day his patience will wear out.

But, of course, you should not talk out loud about such probabilities. You're supposed to keep such thinking buried in the subconscious and sublimate your sense of injustice in the magnanimity of Richard Nixon or somebody.

Everywhere you turn, around the world, white folks are busy fashioning the most deadly tools to destroy other human beings. And yet, they are the folk on top. While this goes on, Brother Williams, simply for using the word "violence" metaphorically is taken to the woodshed. Oh. well!

World At Large
By Horace Cayton

RED CHINA, the sleeping giant, brought back to life by communism, is today the fourth most powerful nation in the world. What she will be in the next few years to come worries both the East and the West. Toward the white American and European West she has expressed her hostility (especially toward the United States) and fear of her motivates much of Western diplomacy. Toward Russia China's feelings are more complex and subtle: Russia is her socialist ally and is fighting China's battle for inclusion in the United Nations. But there is also the development of the feeling that China can replace the Soviet Union as the leader in the Communist block. That is why the ghost of China is behind the round-table of the Foreign Minister's meeting in Geneva.



Mr. Cayton

■

CHINA HAS broken the color bar in the family of ruling nations of the world. India, Ceylon, the new African nations, have threatened the white supremacy of Europe and America, but China with her enormous reserves in men and nation to be able to play the resources is the only non-white dangerous game of power politics in global affairs.

An important element is the tension which accompanies the ghost appearance at the Foreign Ministers' meetings is the fear among Russian and Western officials that Red China soon may possess enough material and know-how to build her own A-bomb and emerge as a nuclear power. One unconfirmed report in official circles says the Geneva conference was that the Peiping regime

planning a nuclear test explosion next fall. Such a blast would herald the arrival of a fourth nuclear power alongside the United States, Britain and Russia and would shake the delicate balance of power between East and West.

■

BUT MORE important would be the psychological effect that China's possession of the bomb would have on the non-white and uncommitted peoples of the world. In 1906 Japan defeated Czarist Russia and a tremendous thrill went through non-white people throughout the globe. A yellow nation had whipped a white nation and the white man was found not to be invincible. If China gets the bomb the effect will be even more startling. The moment that Asia, India and Africa know that the yellow man has conquered the white man's technical know-how and can produce the most deadly weapon the world has ever known, the colored peoples of the globe will be further stimulated to throw off any remaining shackles which white European civilization has on them. It might even come to pass that even Russia would be forced to align herself against an embittered, hostile and warlike Asia. China not only wants equality, but the domination of the world by non-whites.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Integrated Housing

WHILE the Putnam Letters travel on their diabolic way, there is a significant surge in interest in integrated housing. This interest is in the very areas North, East and West, where Putnam Letter backers are waging psychological warfare to capture men's minds. Integrated housing is a counter-attack, but the battle is not joined on a common front. The push for integrated housing, and its success, however, can be just as deadly, from the opposition point of view, as the Putnam Letters are vicious, un-Christian and unscientific.



Mr. Prattis

■

PERHAPS THE most energetic, practical and significant planning and working for integrated housing is being done by Modern Community Developers, organized last year in New York and headed by Morris Milgrim, the Philadelphia builder who bit into integrated housing by constructing two such projects at Philadelphia. Both have been successful. As a result, Mr. Milgrim's skills and leadership ability have been called upon for a nation-wide building group which has for its avowed purpose the construction of integrated housing projects anywhere in the United States where a market and land can be found.

Modern Community Developers is backed by men who not only want to pursue the democratic ideal, but to make money also. Theirs is an investment corporation. They propose to lend money to other builders who espouse the integrated policy or, in the absence of other builders, to finance building concerns themselves.

■

MR. MILGRIM believes the organization already has had phenomenal success. It is set up with a capitalization of $1,500,000. More than $400,000 of this stock has already been sold, but, as Mr. Milgrim emphasizes, this is not much money for the big job to be done and the opportunities for making money which exist.

He wrote the writer: "You should put your money where your mouth is."

I think he is absolutely right—if you have the money. That is the reason I am passing the word to you. Here is a way of combatting the Putnam Letters by bringing people together in harmony and making money at the same time.

This man Milgrim is a fiend for work and answers all letters. If you have some extra money which you want to put to work for you and at the same time serve a cause you believe in, you should write to Morris Milgrim, President, Modern Community Developers, 84 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. Ask him to send you the proof of the pudding and all particulars. Even if you don't invest, which I hope you will, you'll be proud of the new friend you've made.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Moderation

THESE are days in which we seem to move from word to word, from gradualism to moderation, from integration to desegregation. In the social focus of the times, the meanings and connotations of words seem to change. Who, for example, would ever have thought that the good old words, "conservative"" and "liberal" would ever have become words with which you sought to malign those who did not agree with you?



Mr. Prattis

As the term "moderation" emerges as a **modus operandi** in race relation, it is used to set off extremists "on either side." The extremists on one side are usually denoted as the die-hard segregationists, the White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and hate-mongering groups. The extremists on the other side are conveniently symbolized in the NAACP and those who support the NAACP.

■

I RESENT and deplore this dubbing of the NAACP by so-called moderates who think there is a middle ground between the NAACP and the other segregationist extremist groups.

In the first place, there is no way to be extreme when you adhere to reason and principle. Every step ever taken by the NAACP has been based on a moral or legal principle. Or, in other words, every step has been right under God or man-made law. That is the narrow area in which the NAACP works.

Is there any way to moderate a principle under moral law, or even under man-made law? You can't moderate principles. They are either right or wrong. You can moderate their application. The job of the NAACP is to see that certain moral and legal principles are recognized. In this it cannot be extreme—it can only try to be right. The job of others is to apply the principle as is, or to moderate it. Functionally, the NAACP can take no part in this.

■

THE SEGREGATIONISTS, the White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and other extremist groups on the so-called other side contend neither on the basis of reason or principle. They do not fight for principle. They emote because of fears and dislikes based on customs and a so-called "way of life." They fight for no principles, moral or legal. Indeed they fight against moral and legal principles, and particularly the application of principles they don't like.

To equate the NAACP with such organizations is to slander the NAACP and to try to create for these others a status they do not deserve on any account. There are extremist organizations among Negroes, but the NAACP is not among them. It would be well for the white moderates to be able to recognize a truly extremist organization, and not smear the NAACP with a brush of semantic imagery.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Tibet, Nyasaland

IF THE point of view projected in the April issue of Holiday magazine is to be accepted, the white man (particularly of the West) is becoming, more and more, the "black man's burden." This is a burden which black men are challenged to rid themselves of all over the world.



Mr. Prattis

Significance is given to the point by the lack of heart which Western whites as organized groups, political or otherwise, have for the aspirations of the black man. If the foolish Hungarians, egged on by American subversives in their country, challenge the might of the cruel, murderous Soviet army, they are cheered to the echo. They are called "freedom fighters." If some jazzed-up Poles in Poznan go on a binge against Communist might and are slapped down, again we cheer. Somebody even gets up in Congress and says: "Let's send these Poles twenty-five million dollars."

■

WE'VE ESSAYED to protect "freedom" all over Asia, which, of course, is a sort of subversive method of protecting markets. Yesterday, it was Hungary and Poland. Last week it was Tibet. What is Tibet, anyhow? A wild, isolated, primitive land of about 1,300,000 persons. When it was suspected that the Chinese Reds might be turning the heat on the Tibetans and running away with their Dalai Lama, our blood pressure began to mount and we started panting about "freedom."

Okay, let's accept this "freedom" gambit. Who's around to shed tears about the freedom of black South Africans in the Union of South Africa? Who stands up and cheers when the disfranchised natives of the Belgian Congo ask for the vote, or who deprecates when they are murderously shot down?

Who's around to challenge British bad faith in Nyasaland. The Britons didn't conquer Nyasaland. The Nyasas asked Great Britain to take them under her wing and be a big brother to them. But what have the British done? They have sold out the Nyasas to the adventurers, murderers, thieves and others who, aided by the British, obtained a toehold in the Rhodesias. When the Nyasas protest that federating them with the racist Rhodesians is a violation of their freedom and are shot down by troop detachments from the Rhodesias, what happens? The British join in concocting a story to the effect that the Nyasas were planning to murder all the whites. What with, pray?

And suppose the Hungarians and Poles murdered all the Communists? Who would give a hoot about that?

■

How could you expect Nyasaland, Kenya, the Congo, Mozambique, Angola or the blacks of South Africa to reject a helping hand if it were proffered?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier p. 13

Sat. 6-27-59

Florida Trial

ALTHOUGH there are many persons who take exception to the strong racial position taken by Mr. Muhammad, few, if any, can quarrel with his defense of Negro womanhood. The need for Negro men to defend their women and the good name of their women was clearly demonstrated in the Florida rape trial.



Mr. Prattis

A few weeks earlier, a Negro man, Mack Parker, had been dragged from jail at Poplarville, Miss., and lynched. He was alleged to have raped a white woman, but he was not lynched for that alleged crime. He was lynched because he had a Negro lawyer and if the case had gone to trial, the Negro lawyer would have cross-examined the white woman involved. The lynchers were determined that no Negro was going to ask any white woman any questions about a sex crime.

■

IN TALLAHASSEE, a 19-year-old Negro girl, raped by four white men was put on the stand. She was subjected to questioning by four white lawyers. Not only did they try to prove that she was attacked with her own consent, despite all the evidence to the contrary, but they went so far as to ask her if she was a virgin before the attack. The judge ruled the question improper. Every Negro woman in this country suffered with this girl during her ordeal. Every Negro woman was insulted—as she was. White men go to the extreme of lynching to protect one of their women. It's a great pity we can do nothing—NOW.

Thirty-seven Negroes have been put to death for rape in Florida since 1925. The jury found the four white men guilty but recommended mercy. The judge can give them anything from probation to life imprisonment. There are four Negroes awaiting execution for rape in Florida now. Can the state of Florida fairly take the lives of these four Negroes while extending mercy to the four whites found guilty.

■

THE EYES of the world were on Florida as these four whites were tried. The eyes of the world are also on Florida as four Negroes await execution. The judge in the trial of the four whites, the District Attorney and his assistant, did all in their power to prove there is even-handed justice in Florida. But it can't be even-handed when you execute blacks and simply imprison whites for the same kind of crime.

Governor Leroy Collins has a rare opportunity here to place Florida in a fair light before the world. The lives of these four Negroes are in his hands. He can save them. I believe he should save them.

Of course, Florida stands for more than just itself. It stands for the South. The peoples of the world do not believe there is equal justice for Negroes and whites in the South. Mississippi has done much to create that impression. Florida has the chance to do something to improve the world image of the South.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier p. 13

Sat. 7-4-59

East Ben Adam

THE white man in the South who truly loves his God and his fellow man must frequently be prepared to suffer. Unless he has an independent income and belongs to a family which cannot be reproached, the white supremacists will eat him alive. That is the reason you find so many "moderates," tight rope walkers, in Dixie. The outspoken foe of evil lives precariously — particularly if he is white.



Mr. Prattis has been made reference in this column before to the existence of many Southern whites who want to be true Christians and bury, forever, all the twaddle about white supremacy. But they are a minority. They are not a part of the political, economic or social power structure in the South. They can't be silenced, but they can be hurt.

■

ODDLY ENOUGH, one of the most stubborn of these Southern whites, who believes in the Golden Rule, lives in Mississippi, in a small town called Petal. He edits and publishes a small weekly newspaper known as the Petal Paper. The name of this man is P. D. East. He is not a tight-rope walker like Hodding Carter. East believes in the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He publishes truth in his newspaper in the same manner mothers used to give their children castor oil. He sweetens the stuff so that you don't know how bitter (or greasy) it is until you have swallowed it.

Thus P. D. East has been dosing out castor oil to the white supremacists. At first, they thought it was sort of funny. But as time went on, they caught on to what East was doing to them. So, naturally, the white supremacists, as represented in the White Citizens Council, ganged up on him. They stopped buying his newspaper. They refused to advertise in his newspaper. Their purpose, of course, was either to starve him and his family, or make him hold up on the castor oil.

■

BUT P. D. EAST is stubborn and won't quit although you reduce him to crumbs. He is still publishing the kind of truth in Mississippi that the White Citizens Council does not like.

We ought to stick by and help a man like P. D. East. The Petal Paper has intrinsic merit. It bristles with barbs. It could become one of the brightest visitors to your home. Why don't you write out a check or money order for $3 and send it to P. D. East, the Petal Paper, Petal, Miss., and ask him to send you the paper?

You'll probably be doing God's will if you do. It's hard to believe that God would permit the Philistines in Mississippi to starve East and his loved ones without sending him help from afar.

P. S. TO P. D. EAST: Please don't write and tell me I should not have written this. I don't tell you what to put in your paper.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier p. 13

Sat. 7-11-59

Intermarriage

AN ENGLISHWOMAN, concerned about the race problem, writes a friend:

"After much reading and thinking and talking to friends, I have come to the conclusion that all palliatives which do not intellectually and spiritually and in practice admit the morality of interracial marriage, will get us nowhere.



Mr. Prattis

"I think this is the real answer to the 'KBW' movement (Keep Britain White) which is causing such havoc in Notting Hill and elsewhere.

"The more I think of it, the less I find it possible to consider a man or a woman as primarily white or black or yellow. People are intelligent, kind, stupid, obstinate, cultivated or whatever, regardless of their color.

"Now, even starting from this premise, our problem here (in London) is very real. To begin with the West Indian family is chaotic. Half the immigrants are unmarried mothers of largish families. People don't marry much in the West Indies. The men move about for work and the women and children they leave behind usually go to the grandparents, when in distress. This is true of Ghana and much of Africa.

"One of my best young women friends who went to live in Ghana, and has a coffee-colored little girl of two now, was quickly abandoned by her man and taken up by his parents. But this hasn't worked out. She has had to be brought home. Lady Cripps' daughter who married a Ghanaian and has three children, found life too disorderly in Ghana and brought them all back to her mother's Manor House in Gloucestershire where they go to the village school. These are the pioneers of a movement that is bound to grow.

"Like all pioneers, these women have to pay a very high price for what they quite consciously and deliberately have done. I have yet to meet a Negro who doesn't want to be whiter than he is. (This is a bit of a mystery to me; but it is very common.) Paler children are highly prized. The most nationalist Negro movements in Africa simply claim them as very desirable Negroes. But the white man wants to stay white and to have white offspring. Hence the pioneer women who marry Negroes bear a double burden. They are usually abandoned by their men, or decide that African life is too haphazardous and leave, and they are also abandoned by their white friends."

What trains of thought does the foregoing stir within you, woman, an English journalist, knows us? Is it a fact, inherent gentle readers? Do we know ourselves as well as this white in Negro society, that Negro men—in the West Indies, in Africa, in the United States, abandon their wives? If so, of what class of Negroes is this true? Or is it true of all classes?

Any intelligent Negro must be saddened by what has happened to the daughter of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

White Morals II

I SHOULD LIKE to refer again to the writings of Dr. William W. Sanger, resident physician at Bridewell's Island, N.Y., who surveyed the entire field of prostitution, among whites, 100 years ago, and described conditions which are not much unlike those which exist today, particularly as to numbers and degree of immorality.



Mr. Prattis

Last week, I quoted from Dr. Sanger to give a glimpse of the first class houses of prostitution in New York 100 years ago. This week, I want Dr. Sanger to describe the second-class houses for you.

"We come now to the second grade of prostitutes and houses of prostitution," writes Dr. Sanger. "Many of the women of this rank are those who made their DEBUT in the first-class houses, but left them when their charms began to fade. To some extent, they endeavor to carry out the same rules of conduct which governed them while there, and, generally speaking, the management of some portion of the houses of this grade assimilates very much with the former, the same privacy being observed.

"A longer continuance in the habits of prostitution, and the association with a less aristocratic class of visitors, has diminished the refinement of the women and imparted to them coarser manners. Many of the street walkers and women frequenting the theaters are of this class. It is right to say here, that many of the managers of our best theatres have abolished the third tier, so-called, and if any improper woman visits them she must do so under the assumed garb of respectability.

"The houses of this class are generally conducted in a similar manner to those of the first class, with this distinction, that what is costly luxury in the one is replaced by tawdry finery in the other.

"Drunkenness is more general both with the prostitutes and their visitors, and the most revolting scenes are not uncommon.

"Intercourse with these women is attended with considerable danger, professional experience having shown many of them to be infected with syphilis, while numbers are connected with dishonest men who would not scruple to rob a stranger."

■

DR. SANGER proceeds to describe lower and lower grades of prostitutes who infested New York 100 years ago. There is no reason to believe that human nature has changed since then.

Women, 100 years ago today, were largely treated, economically and socially, just like Negroes are treated today. They suffered second-class status. This was reflected in their morals.

As one who worked in white hotels as a young man, I know that the only difference between Negro immorality and white immorality is that the latter is better-dressed and a bit more circumspect.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Six Million Killed

RECENTLY, WHILE commenting on the summary executions by Castro's regime in Cuba, I expressed doubt about large figures involving atrocities which usually are circulated after wars and rebellions. After Castro had chased Batista out of Cuba, we were told that Batista followers had murdered 20,000 defenseless, innocent Cubans. I did not believe that.



Mr. Prattis

I then referred tangentially to the figure of six million Jews who are said to have been slain, murdered or killed in Eastern Europe. That was a figure I did not hear about until after the war either. I did not quarrel with the figure because I felt that whether the figure was six million or six thousand, a crime against Jews and against humanity had been co[illegible]ed. Some of my Jewish fr[illegible] are conecrned about n[illegible]ots. One is Hugh Y. C[illegible] press attache of the Israeli Embassy in Washington. Mr. Orgel would perfect the record as follows:

■

"I should like to refer you to the judgment of the International Military War Crime Tribunal at Nuremburg in 1946. An official summary was prepared by the court and published in the New York Times on Oct. 1, 1946. This summary states, inter alia: 'Adolph Eichman, who had been put in charge of the pro[illegible]am to exterminate the Jews, [illegible]s estimated that the policy [illegible]esulted in the killing of 6,[illegible]000 Jews, of whom 4,000,[illegible]ere killed in the concen[illegible]n camps and 2,000,000 by the Einsatz Groups.' This judgment was given, as you will recall, after the extensive taking of testimony by international investigators and lawyers, and I think it would be difficult at this juncture to take issue with the facts investigated by the tribunal and found to be sufficient to sentence the accused Nazi leaders.

"The judgment of the International Tribunal was used during subsequent years by the basis for subsequent trials. Thus the Associated Press reported from Nuremberg on April 12, 1949, that "a U.S. war crimes court today convicted a German diplomat and former SS (Elite Guard) general of helping the Nazis to exterminate 6,000,000 Jews . . . Nearly 6,000,000 European Jews were thus exterminated," the court declared."

"

Arnold Toynbee, historian, is thus quoted: "By the time that the Allied Armies gained control of the whole of Europe approximately 6,000,000 Jews had perished."

I have neither the power nor the desire to rewrite history. I am against genocide or the wholesale murder of peoples. I deplore it no matter where it happens.

My handicap is that I simply cannot conceive of SIX MILLION human beings murdered by civilized, Christian white people. Mississippians haven't equalled that.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Moderation

ONE OF the most thought-provoking greetings I received at Christmas came from Morris Milgram, the Philadelphia builder who is trying to promote the building of open housing developments through the organization known as Modern Community Developers. This group will be working for integrated housing across the nation. But more of that later.



Mr. Prattis

I prefer to write about the last part of Mr. Milgram's greeting first. In it he has a quotation from Elton Trueblood's "The Life We prize." Mr. Milgram writes: "In his chapter, 'The Necessity of Boldness,' Trueblood writes of the "don't-stick-your - neck - out" philosophy, which he says is based on cowardice." Mr. Milgram quotes Trueblood directly as follows:

"The dangers of moderation are, paradoxically, greater than the dangers of excess, because the wholly moderate person is so likely to become balanced on dead center, and consequently to accomplish nothing . . . We must learn to wage peace as boldly as we wage war, and with far more imagination . . . Unless our proposals are BOLD they will be ineffective."

■

IS NOT THE FOREGOING the answer to the gradualists and the so-called moderates so far as public school integration and the elimination of other forms of segregation are concerned? Where do you get being moderate? What progress do you make if you do not get off dead center? Must not any action be off dead center? And is not action the key to the inevitability of change?

Was Jesus Christ moderate? Was St. Paul moderate? Was St. Peter moderate? Was the Roman Emperor Constantine moderate? Was Martin Luther moderate?

Is not being moderate something like starting your car and throwing it into neutral? Where can you go with your transmission in neutral? Exactly nowhere. You will simply "idle." If you switch from neutral and drive at an excessive rate of speed, you may be fined or kill yourself or somebody else. On the other hand, it would be ridiculous and hazardous to drive modern cars at five or 10 miles per hour.

■

THE PROGRESS of our times is based upon the boldness to take a chance.

In the area of race relations, so-called liberals are the only ones who want to be moderate. David L. Lawrence, the South's Messiah, doesn't want to be moderate. He would suggest the unconstitutionality of the Fourteenth Amendment in his effort to combat school integration. His brothers, like Faubus, Griffin, Talmadge and Eastland, go along with him.

But those who know that integration is right under God urge a policy of moderation. "Let's go a little slower," they suggest. "Let us cut a middle path between extremists on our side and the extremists on the other side.

That is the way to get exactly nowhere, to do nothing plus.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

IN THE thirties there were two men among others, who were intensely interested in the welfare and progress of their people. One was a labor leader; the other, a scholar and college professor. Each was talented. Many persons, many groups, sought to exploit these two men. Each was a hard and willing worker. Each gave all he could in terms of energy and leadership.



Mr. Prattis

One of these men was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The other was Ralph J. Bunche, at that time a faculty member at Howard University and now deputy secretary general of the United Nations.

IN THE thirties when the careers of these two men paralleled, the Communists were very active, but they had not been dubbed "members of an international conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence," as denoted by the sacrosanct House Un-American Activities Committee. In the thirties, the Communists were recognized as members of a political party. You did not have to be a dupe to work with them, or to associate with them.

Mr. Randolph had his association. He was president of the National Negro Congress which the House Committee says was infiltrated and partly supported by the Communists. Mr. Randolph, a Socialist, severed his connections a couple of years after he learned that the Commies were trying to pull the strings.

Dr. Bunche, a much younger man, was a political scientist. He was engaged in learning. In his pursuit of learning, he knew some Communists and associated with them. They were THEN, in the thirties, members of another political party.

RECENTLY, a group which has smeared Bunche with the Red taint for several years, sought to defame him by placing an advertisement in a paper at Harvard University. The advertisement was rejected. This angered the group and it pulled out all the stops on Bunche. He "was seen walking down the street with a Communist." "He attended this and that meeting where Communists were." He helped with some planning which later turned out to be Communist covered. All this was 25 years ago.

I don't want anybody to get on Phil Randolph. He's great in my book. He was the creative author of the "March on Washington." But my curiosity is whetted when I discover they dog one man who may have had Communist associates in the past and leave the other alone.

I think Randolph deserves to be let alone. I only mention him in contrast because I'm trying to figure out why they are after Bunche? Is Arab money involved? That's hard to believe. Well, then, what? What is the motive of these patrioteers who are obsessed with the desire to destroy the first Negro statesman to win the Nobel Peace prize? What gives here anyhow?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Mr. Dulles Again

THERE'S no need for me to try to dissemble and create the impression that I agree with the President when he calls Secretary of State John Foster Dulles great. I don't—not even when Mr. Dulles is on his sick bed, or recuperating.



Mr. Prattis

I feel great sympathy for him, but I don't think he is great. I think the opposite.

By the time this article reaches print, I have the strong suspicion Mr. Dulles shall have resigned—which I think he should.

Mr. Dulles has not been a great Secretary of State. I think he has superior intellectual qualities, limitless determination and an inveterate devotion to moralizing. I also think he is crafty. There might be those who would suggest that diplomacy is craftiness. I don't believe diplomacy can stop with merely being crafty.

■

I THINK Dulles falls short of being great because he falls short of being creative. He can sloganize, but he doesn't have grand concepts and I doubt if he would know how to implement such concepts.

For example, there has been nothing under Dulles to compare with the Marshall Plan which put Europe back on its feet and helped to keep American industry going. There has been nothing under Dulles to equal the concept of the Point Four program which, originally, was a form of subversion among uncommitted peoples designed to be just as effective as Communist subversion. Point Four has bogged down under an assumed name.

What can we attribute to Dulles? Massive retaliation? A simple threat with no constructive, creative purpose. Agonizing reappraisal? Another threat not designed to win friends and influence people. Brinkmanship? A brazen use of threats and a galling defense of their value.

■

THE QUESTION is often asked: "Who Lost China?" I don't think that question is nearly so important as "Who'll recover China?" It won't be Mr. Dulles. It never would be Mr. Dulles.

Whatever chance we might have had in the Middle East evaporated while Mr. Dulles moralized and used the Big Stick on Nasser. History should recall that Dulles lost the Suez Canal.

I hope Mr. Dulles recovers from his present illness and lives many more years.

But I don't think he's been good for our country, regardless of how hard he has worked. He has been fighting the Russians and the Communists so hard, he has not had time to stop and realize that he was allowing them to shape his "diplomacy," the very thing he was trying to avoid.

If we can keep Faubus quiet, America has the stuff to capture men's minds, but we must have more imaginative and creative leadership than Dulles has given.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Unions, Pro or Con

ANYBODY who wants to can build up a case against the labor unions so far as Negroes are concerned. Discriminatory treatment of Negro workers had been ingrained in so many unions for so many years that when new unions were born and new leadership came to the fore, the task of setting the unions straight on the race question proved to be gigantic.



Mr. Prattis

The union leadership has not solved the race problem within the unions yet. At its last convention, the NAACP labor secretary presented a documented series of complaints against certain unions which discriminate, on the basis of color, in the grossest manner.

■

HOWEVER, although we, as Negroes, must fight discrimination inside and outside of unions, it is incumbent upon us that we preserve a sense of balance. We are not yet first-class citizens in this, our native land, but the strides we have made during the last 25 years would amaze Booker T. Washington if he could return for a looksee. So with the labor movement. There is still much that is rotten in some of the unions, but that is not true of all of them, and concentrating on the evils may obscure the picture of some of the larger benefits which have resulted from union activity.

I was reminded of this recently by Boyd L. Wilson, a big wheel in the international headquarters of the United Steel Workers. Boyd is the kind of a guy who will kick his own union in the pants if he thinks it is wrong. But he is also strong, very strong, for it when he thinks it is right.

Boyd reminded a few of us of the fact that 25 years ago it was rather well established that the Negro worker was the "last hired and first fired." That had come to be axiomatic in American industry. It was sinful, but who cared about that kind of sin.

■

SOME OF us do not realize that the picture has changed. There are still many situations in which Negroes are "last hired and first fired." But that is not the general picture and the unions are responsible for the change. The principle of seniority which the unions have insisted upon, has protected Negroes on their jobs. They are not the "first fired" if they have seniority. In many industries where Negroes have built up seniority, they are protected in their jobs by this device of collective bargaining.

This is a huge gain if one takes a look at the national picture and the number of Negroes in unions. We may still be prone to resort to the "last hired first fired" plaint, but if we stop to think it may occur to us that the basis for it has largely been removed.

I think the unions can and should do more, but I also believe they should be given credit for what they have done.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

THERE seems to be a unique distinction between Negroes and whites who are selected for political preferment, even in the non-colonial sections of our country. The thought comes to mind in the wake of the appointment of Atty. Raymond Pace Alexander, the distinguished Philadelphia lawyer and city councilman, to the Common Pleas Court bench.



Mr. Prattis

Mr. Alexander is in his early sixties. He richly deserves the appointment he has received at the hands of outgoing Governor Leader. As a matter of fact, he should have received such an appointment at least 20 years ago.

However the tendency seems to be to wait until Negroes have distinguished themselves in other fields and have, in a sense, worn themselves out, before considering them for high appointive offices.

THIS IS not so true of whites. The Secretary of Commerce of Pennsylvania is 42. The executive secretary to the Governor and Secretary of Administration is in his thirties. The Secretary of the Budget is 35. When the new Gov-elect of Pennsylvania had occasion to appoint a new city solicitor for the City of Pittsburgh, he chose a 38-year-old man. Earlier he had appointed a woman who was even younger. When a vacancy occurred in the congressional district where most Negroes live in Pittsburgh, a 35-year-old white attorney was slated for the post.

My complaint, if I have any, is that the whites who are in the position to make political appointments don't seem to think Negroes are seasoned enough until they have passed 50.

IF THIS is a fact, it has a definite bearing on the progress of Negroes in public life. It means that they get such a late start that they are almost compelled to stop where they start. They cannot build from one job to another. They do not have the opportunity to accumulate experience which either appointive officials or the electorate may judge them by.

There are exceptions, of course. Atty. Paul F. Jones of Pittsburgh was appointed a Workmen's Compensation Referee when he was young. He is serving his second term as a city councilman. He has just turned 50. Mr. Jones should be ready to go on the Common Pleas Court bench when there is a vacancy.

Another exception is that of Andrew Bradley. He started working in the political vineyards when he was young. When George Leader became Governor of Pennsylvania, he made Bradley his budget secretary. Later, he appointed him Secretary of Property and Supplies.

Governor-elect Lawrence has reappointed Bradley to his cabinet. At the end of the Lawrence term, Bradley will have had invaluable experience as an administrator, and he will know the state's business. A white man with such ability and experience would be considered for Lieutenant Governor or Governor. Will the Democrats be "liberal" and brave enough to slate a man like Bradley? They may not.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Belgian Congo

IN 1949, this writer talked with Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi, India. Nehru is a calm and contemplative man. He told me that "Colonialism must go!" with the same assurance he might have predicted the coming of the next day. He said he meant not only in Asia but in Africa as well.



Mr. Prattis

He indicated his government had the intention of helping Africans to win their freedom. He asserted that Indians in Africa had been notified that the interests of African natives were paramount. He also stated that India was prepared to offer scholarships to African students to help prepare them for independence.

MANY THINGS have happened in Africa since 1949. The British are out of Egypt. The French are out of Tunisia and Morocco. Libya is free. Ghana is free. Nigeria has a date with freedom. Guinea is free. The French dependencies in equatorial and West Africa assumed a new status in the French community of nations. Algeria fights for freedom.

The hard rocks of colonialism are in Central, East and South Africa. The Belgian Congo is in Central Africa. Fires of independence which burn in the Congo may easily spread to Northern Rhodesia or Angola, to East Africa and South Africa. Although Belgian authorities have quickly and thoroughly doused the first flames, it is to be doubted that the fire can be extinguished.

THE CONGOLESE have an advantage not enjoyed by other Africans. The Belgians have thought to play the game smart by giving the Congolese a chance to become educated and to earn economic stability. They have thought the Congolese would be satisfied with education and a pocketbook half-full. The Congolese were supposed to trade off their political independence for these other advantages. The reverse has been true. The better educated the Congolese have become and the more money they have had in their pockets, the more determined they have become that they should vote. That is the issue now. They want to vote and determine their own destiny.

The Congolese can't help but win. There are 13 million of them as against 120,000 foreigners. The Congolese can quit work and close the shop. Gandhi's policy of non-violent resistance would work in the Congo with a vengeance. The native police are not going to continue shooting down their brothers.

What is happening in the Congo is so important to the Union of South Africa I would not be surprised by any sort of "intervention" even by our own country which is interested in the Congo's uranium.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Neighborhoods

ALMOST everybody is complaining that our cities are rotting at the core. What they mean is that middle-class whites are moving to the suburbs and leaving the central city and its expanding periphery to Negroes and poor whites. In turn, that means slums and expanding slums. Our slums in our cities are expanding faster than we can keep up with them.





Mr. Prattis

At a recent meeting of ACTION-Housing (which plans a 20-year anti-slum program in Allegheny County) in Pittsburgh, James Rouse, a national leader in housing rehabilitation and city rebuilding, asserted that cities cannot be rebuilt and slums cannot be detected project by project, but must be subjected to plans for overall overhauling.

IN MR. ROUSE'S opinion, American cities of the future, must consist of a community of neighborhoods. By neighborhoods, Mr. Rouse means natural, self-contained sections of the city where people can live well, can work, can grow and, above all, can have pride in their neighborhood. He emphasized that people are more important than anything else in rebuilding cities.

When I listened to Mr. Rouse, I could not help but think of the program of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers of which Miss Margaret Berry has just been chosen executive director. The affiliates of this organization stretch across the land. They are the centers of stability in our decaying central cities.

Recently, leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association met to consider the problems made for them by the decay in the inner city. Their middle-class clientele has gone to the suburbs and they are left with physical structures and facilities which are "beyond the means" of the population left behind.

THIS IS not true of Neighborhood Centers and Settlement Houses. They were originally set up to combat the conditions created by slums. Their natural habitat is among the poor. Their programs are tailored to meet the needs of the poor, of children and adults alike. Their central objective is the building of pride in the neighborhood and of helping both old and young to grow — to have hope.

It seems to me that any overall attack on the slums in our great cities must consciously recognize the need for these neighborhood centers and for giving them more substantial support than they have had in the past. The so-called teen-age "gangs" must ultimately discover that their headquarters is in the neighborhood center. In the center must be the fount from which they derive their pride.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

CASTRO'S MURDERS

I DID not have the opportunity to go to Cuba to see the justification for the callous execution of scores (maybe hundreds) of the so-called followers of Fulgencio Batista. I do not care what kind of evidence might have been presented to me, I would not think any responsible group of revolutionaries justified in the summary and wholesale execution of servants of the former responsible government.



Mr. Prattis

Ours is a civilized society, but if it is, very little progress has been made when any group in power—in Russia, in Hungary, in Red China, in Cuba, can indulge in plain murder.

■

I AM NOT fully informed on the excesses of the Batista regime. I know that he rescued the Cubans from the tyranny of Machada. The Cubans were grateful then. I see they now say the Batista government "murdered" some 20,000 persons who supported the rebel cause. Why are we just hearing about this if it is true? Correspondents seem to have had ready access to the Oriente province hide-out of Castro for the last couple of years. Why should they not have known that the Batista government was executing men (and possibly women) by the thousands? Why should they not have told the world? I do not believe that Batista could have concealed the fact if his government had executed summarily 20,000 persons.

While I can see no justification for the Castro atrocities, I am compelled to admit the precedents of modern white civilization are all on his side.

BY NOW we are pretty well filled-in on the bad behavior of the Communist countries. We are led to believe that they will stop short of no sort of blood purge.

But the Germans are not supposed to be Communists, yet they murdered 6 million Jews. The English are not supposed to be Communists, yet they sent airplanes to Kenya and shot down Africans by the hundreds.

The civilized Belgians, South Africans and Italians have murdered Africans by the thousans without a shudder from the Western world.

And our yelping Congressmen should not think our own hands are clean. The Nuernberg trials (as assessed by Senator Taft) were a reversion to the butchery of ancient times and the Middle Ages. The same can be said of the Tokyo trials. What is a war crime? Who can be judge guilty of war crimes? Sometimes the greatest patriots must race the firing-squad when the other side wins.

Just imagine Senator Sparkman speaking out. He represents a land which in the course of 50 years murdered and burned at the stake more than 6,000 persons. Truly, Castro has his precedents!

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

More About Castro

ALTHOUGH the "civilized" nations of the world, East and West, have provided precedents for the Castro revenge executions in Cuba, I still cannot disassociate the Castro executions from the most savage mass murders attributed to the conquerors of old. However, I must confess that even Castro's executions do not compare with those of the Confederates at Fort Pillow during the Civil War. At that battle, Negro soldiers, taken prisoner, were shot down in cold blood. Women and children were also murdered.



Mr. Prattis

The words of a Cuban army major ring in my ears: "I was a soldier and I carried out orders."

This major was a servant of the Cuban Government as constituted. Castro and his adherents were parties to a movement which was attempting to overthrow the government by force and violence. As always, there were those who were loyal to constituted authority. There were patriots on the side of constituted authority.

■

WHAT WOULD our Government do if some Americans organized and attempted, by force and violence, to overthrow it. We showed what we would do in the Civil War. All governments fight back as long as they can.

than Africa from this increasingly constructive and productive relationship. Friendship with an area of such material and spiritual promise, whose whole future is still before it, is a prize worth working for with great zeal. While it is true that we have much to share with the new nations of Africa, we also have much to gain from them.

"We can give technical, educational and economic assistance. We can help them build economic institutions which will develop their tremendous potential resources. We can also provide them with some of the 'know-how' involved in establishing a free,democratic administration. This is perhaps what they need most. What we need most are understanding friends."

FRIENDSHIP with Ghana and with the entire West African movement for self-rule and independence is worth all the technical assistance Israel can give that portion of the African continent which is now coming to independence with a speed which is amazing. Their end of the bargain is that they have understanding friends in the vast, undeveloped continent of over 200,000,000 people that will occupy the center of the stage of the human drama as China does now.

Isreal, an island in a sea of antagonism and hate from the Arab world and the Soviet bloc, needs friends desperately for the fundamental difference between Negroes and Jews in this modern world is numbers.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Standards of Living

SEVERAL years ago, I asked a priest of the Holy Ghost Order who had spent many years in Africa to describe just what an African savage was like. He was glad I asked the question. He answered, in part by saying: "If I could choose where I am to spend the rest of my life, I would prefer to live in an African tribal village."



Mr. Prattis

I do not propose to tell you all this priest told me. The essence of what he said was that these people lived simply and had a philosophy of living which led to happiness.

ALMOST EVERY day I hear boasts about the American standard of living. Speakers and writers always are comparing the standard of living in the United States and in Russia, or in other sections of the world. Sometimes, I wonder what they mean by standard of living. We are all victims of a materialistic civilization and our disposition is to base values upon concrete things.

If our standard of living is related to the possession of things, does it necessarily lead to happiness? Or does it enable us to live at peace with ourselves and our neighbors.

Do automobiles, or bathtubs, or Youngstown kitchens, or pretty suburban homes, contribute to happiness and lessen tensions? Can the African living simply by the side of a brook be happier than the fabulously rich Robert Young who committed suicide?

Is there any point to our having a higher standard of living than the Russians? The Romans had a higher standard of living than the barbarian Germans, but look what happened.

'Way back in my high school days, I read something written by an English author about plain living and high thinking. What was the standard of living of the boy, Abraham Lincoln?

■

MIND YOU, I am for food, shelter and clothing — even books. But how many of the things with which we fill our homes do we really need?. Is mink absolutely necessary to warmth?

How solid is the base of a civilization which is based upon fight for existence and survival?

I believe man needs more inside than outside in order to live well.

a concern for things, rather than with concern as to the nature of creation and one's relation to one's fellowman?

Do the Russians, or the Ghanaians, or even the Nationalist Chinese, need as high a standard of living as ours? When the chips are down, is that what is going to count? Cannot an obsession with a standard of living cause you to forget and ignore essential values in the

Lack Of Negro Leaders Is Cited By Famed Writer

DENVER. — The lack of educated leaders is the greatest problem facing the Negro population of the U. S., a nationally known newspaperman said in Denver last week.

Carl T. Rowan, the Minnesota reporter who gained fame for his coverage of the southern integration problems, was featured speaker before a meeting of the United Negro College Fund. He was also principal speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the Glenarm branch YMCA Wednesday.

"As much as we needed the Supreme court decision, we must have educated and trained Negroes in southern states such as Mississippi to give their people leaderhip," he said.

"The Supreme court declared equality of opportunity," he added, "but only excellence of training will enable Negroes to be free and equal citizens."

Rowan praised the work of the fund and said that "from these colleges come men of understanding, compassion and humility whom we so urgently need to solve our problems without turning our nation upside down."

Rowan said "millions of white southerners—people of basic decency—want desperately to be able to talk with Negroes who are able and willing to tell them what the Negro people really want and believe.

"Basically, the UNCF campuses are the only places in the South where members of the two races can get together and talk."

John E. Strelzer, Colorado UNCF campaign chairman, announced this year's drive has netted $9.431 of its $22,500 goal.

Carl T. Rowan Says Parents Are Obligated To Inform Children Of Racial Prejudice

Carl T. Rowan, noted Negro journalist, said today that answering his own children's questions about racial prejudice brought home the fact that this is a problem now faced by all mothers and fathers.

In the August 22 issue of The Saturday Evening Post, Rowan comments that the burden of explanation is heavy on every American parent who wants his children to grow up with even a slim chance to live at peace in our turbulent, changing world.

in our turbulent, changing

Race Conscious

"Our country — in fact, our world — is more conscious of race nowadays than perhaps ever before in history," he continues. "Our newspapers are sprinkled with stories of racial conflict in Little Rock, Virginia, London, South Africa and Nyasaland.

"Our mass circulation magazines carry ten times as many articles on racial matters as they did 30 years ago. Television is bringing the visual drama and impact of racial troubles into our living rooms, where millions of youngsters are caught up in the confusion and frustrations long before they are able to understand the issues at stake.

Basic Issues

"It seems obvious that unless parents help their children to understand the basic issues, millions of Americans will grow up believing that racial conflict is inevitable — and masses of Americans, white and Negro, will approach maturity with a warped sense of what America and democracy is all about, or with a defeatist notion of what a civilized, educated and religious society can do."

The author, a Minneapolis newspaperman, says it would be preferable to have his children gain a gradual understanding of the role race plays in society, but it has become essential to give them an early, fundamental understanding of what a Negro is and what it means to be one in the United States today.

Rowan's article, "We Tell Our Children. . ." concludes with the observation that by proving the possibility, indeed, the desirability, of an interracial society based on respect for individual morth, we Americans can make a monumental contribution to the attainment of that most elusive goal of mankind — a world of peace and good will.

American children being warped on race question, says Rowan

PHILADELPHIA — Carl T. Rowan, noted Negro journalist, says in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post that millions of Americans are on the way to believing that racial conflict is inevitable unless their parents correct them.

The burden of explanation is heavy on every American parent who wants his children to grow up with even a slim chance to live at peace in our turbulent, changing world, said Rowan.

"Our country—in fact, our world—is more conscious of race nowadays than perhaps ever before in history," he continues. "Our newspapers are sprinkled with stories of racial conflict in Little Rock, Virginia, London, South Africa and Nyasaland.

"Our mass circulation magazines carry 10 times as many articles on racial matters as they did 30 years ago. Television is bring the visual drama and impact of racial troubles into our living rooms, where millions of youngsters are caught up in the confusion and frustrations long before they are able to understand the issues at stake.

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Texas Silhouettes

By J. W. RICE

DILEMMAS OF THE DALLAS SCHOOL BOARD AND LITTLEFIELD NEGRO PATRONS

DALLAS. — Dilemmas of two different sorts were prominent in the news dispatches last week. Both had to do with the segregation question in schools but they had little similarity. The Dallas board of education is still trying to get a court opinion on which of the laws it is bound by in the desegregation of its schools. Littlefield Negro parents have appealed for a seperate school with growing division of opinion among themselves.

The Dallas school board seeks a declaratory judgement to clear up its duty either to obey a state law, passed after the federal mandate to it to desegregate with all deliberate speed, or to be bound by the federal mandate. The state law provides that if it desegregates without a vote of the citizens in favor of desegegation it forfeits its claim to state aid which amounts to more than 21-2 million dollars a year.

This remedy has been unsuccessfully sought in state district courts and the court of civil appeals. The present petition has been filed with the Texas Supreme court. In the meantime segregation continues in Dallas schools and much of the general public of both races is of the opinion that there is little objection among Dallasites, the school board included, because of the delay in clearing up the situation.

The Dallas board last week also had a request made of it that brought out again a sample of the inequities of the system. Parents of children in a remote subdivision of the city whose children must travel several miles across town to high school were denied bus service to and from school by both city and county school boards. This situation has maintained in several areas of Dallas for many years. This most recent request comes from a comparatively new area that is just building up. For many years it has been a recognized fact that some of the absenteeism of children living great distances from high school has been due to inability of parents to consistently pay bus fares for them. In most such instances there are high schools for whites in the areas from which these Negro children come.

The Littlefield situation is different from any arising so far in the desegregation hassle. Littlefield voluntarily desegregated its schools in 1956 without any incident. It now has 117 Negro pupils among the 2,000 pupils in its school system. The three leaders who appeared before the board of education recently asking for a separate school for the lower grades said that the danger to the small children who had "to cross the railroad tracks" was too great. Another of the delegation indicated that since the desegregation of the schools there was no meeting place in the Negro community such as the school building afforded.

Interestingly enough but not surprising in the least was a story in the news of the following day indicating that leaders in the Negro community were differing sharply among themselves on the issue. None of them, however, indicated that the request for the separate school for the lower grades grew out of any dissatisfaction with treatment which the pupils were receiving in the desegregated school. Littlefield is in West Texas where the incidence of Negroes in the total population is small. It is to be remembered that several West Texas school districts had petitioned the State Department of Education to allow them to desegregate before the Supreme court decision was rendered because of the extremely high cost of educating Negro children in separate schools. In many instances the per capita cost of education for a Negro child in some of these counties was three times as high as the cost of education for white pupils.

It is hoped that the differences of opinion within the Negro community may be speedily resolved and that whatever the majority find best for the Negro children may be secured. It is to be regretted that we do not thoroughly discuss such matters among ourselves before presenting them. We tend to lose something in respect when we appear prematurely and then must argue among ourselves to the detriment of solidarity among ourselves.

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. 12-13-59

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

I'M HAPPY to say that my new book, "Africa's Gift to America," is due Dec. 10. Since I'm my own publisher, I must be my own press agent. I feel this book will give a new appraisal of the role of the Afro-American and of Africa in the making and saving of the United States, and that it is a searchlight exposing the immense falsehoods told of the Negro in America. Instead of their being a liability, you'll see a heroic, devoted, very useful and undiscouraged people a people who will take their place in world history when truth gets a hearing.



Mr. Rogers

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A SOUTHERN judge recently said of his black "mammy," "The first nutrition I ever had came from the bosom of a black woman." The same is true of America's first economic nutrition. It came from Africa. You'll find quoted white colonists who said that. J. E. DeBose, white historian, asks what would have been the fate of the South had there been no Africa, and adds, "The discovery of African labor was an American enterprise. It was the introduction of a hitherto unknown muscular force proving on trial to be the most perfect agent of production known to commerce. African labor fixed with eagerness the marvelous power in the varied and exhaustless wealth of the South." Georgia failed miserably until the Negro ca[illegible]

NEW ENG[illegible]D, too, was built upon African slavery and slave-grown West Indian molasses for rum. It was the tax on molasses that really caused the American Revolution. "Molasses," says John Adams, "was an essential ingredient in American independence." H. L. Mencken said, "If we knew the real, honest-to-goodness truth about the American Revolution, well, we'd all commit suicide."

As for the Civil War, he predicted, too, what will happen "when this generation of history-fakers dies out and some real fellows begin digging into it." Well, I've done some real digging into that and other fields. One is an amazing new fact on Crispus Attucks.

"Africa's Gift to America" has 260 double-sized pages, on very fine paper, well bound and profusely illustrated with rare pictures. A regular publisher would ask $12. It is only $6; by mail, $6.35. An illustrated, descriptive circular can be had by writing me, 37 Morningside Ave., New York City. Please enclose four-cent stamp if possible.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

DR. JOHN SCUDDER, Columbia University professor, and director of the blood bank of Presbyterian Hospital, after some 30 years of research on blood, has come to the same belief as a Ku Kluxer, who wouldn't even know what blood-group means. Dr. Scudder says that giving so-called Negro blood to a so-called white man is dangerous, maybe even fatal. Thus science fraternizes with the lunatic fringe of our society.



Mr. Rogers

This sort of lunacy is not confined to "race." The Nazis believed that Jewish blood was bad for Aryans. But in appearance a German Jew could not be told from an Aryan. The difference was in religious belief. And there are orthodox Jews who believe that Gentile "blood" is bad for them. Even here in "civilized" America, there are religious groups who fantatically object to blood transfusions even from a near relative. Recently one couple let their daughter die rather than have a transfusion. The Bible says one must not "eat" blood, her parents declared.

■

TO GIVE an air of truth to his belief, Dr. Scudder says that "white" blood in Negro veins is even more dangerous. Many racist Negroes will swallow that. But two days later an AP cable from South Africa said that for years "the blood of whites had been injected into blacks with 'no ill effects'.

Dr. Scudder also raises the old question of what is a Negro in America. And who is white, also? Some of these called Negroes are so white that some of what is a Negro in America. And who is white, also? Some of those called Negroes are so white, that some of the whites are almost as white as these "Negroes." Anyone, including Dr. Scudder, can have a more or less distant Negro strain. Science now knows positively there's no pure race. Such exists only in fanatical, wretchedly poor mentalities. H. G. Wells rightly said, "Everyone alive is, I am convinced, of mixed ancestry, but some of us are more white, some of us more Negro, some of us more Chinese."

■

DR. SCUDDER'S theory has provoked a storm of opposition in scientific circles, including his own university. Dr. Edward C. Mazique of the NMA rightly says, "Negroes and whites in close historic proximity would have more common blood elements than recently arrived white elements of the North."

It is interesting to note though that the Red Cross while admitting "there is no difference in the blood of humans based on race or color," does segregate blood by "race" in "such a manner as to give the physician and the patient the right of selection."

History Shows . . . 31a Negro . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

I'VE SAID more than once that Senator Byrd's "massive resistance" was sheer braggadocio intended for the race-infatuated boobs that keep him in office. I said, too, that his next step would have to be another Fort Sumster and that the South was not going to back him in that. Well, now he has been struck down in his own house. The Virginia Legislature booted his "massive resistance" out. Almond, his man Friday, in a television broadcast, threw in the sponge.



Mr. Rogers

It all shows what happens when Federal officials stop preaching patience to the Negro to tell the likes of Byrd to obey the law of the United States. 'Tis about time. A close student of history will be amazed at how the fight to keep the Negro down has diverted this nation from the path of common right and justice, all of which did immense harm to the whites, themselves. This for over 300 years.

■

TAKE LINCOLN. It made a perfect fool of him at times in the Civil War, and prolonged it by at least two years. We find him saying: "The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for saving the Union," but almost at the same time advising Negroes to get out of the United States to Latin-America.

"But for your race among us there could not be war," he told a delegation of Negroes at the White House. Even while the South was winning, he had Congress vote him a first installment of $600,000, which he used to send 431 Negroes to a desolate island off the coast of Haiti, where they died like flies and he had to send ships to bring back the survivors. This was between August, 1862, and February, 1864, in the most crucial years of the war. Later he did use the Negroes. And did save the Union.

Go back to 1775 and you find Washington doing much the same. To appease the slave-masters he had a return made of his men according to "complexion" and ordered a discharge of all the Negroes, even those who had fought so well at Lexington and Concord.

■

HE WROTE Laurens at the time, "The spirit of freedom which, at the commencement of the contest, would have gladly sacrificed everything to the attainment of its object has long subsided and every selfish passion has taken its place." Later, he used the Negroes to win. A writer of the times said of his army, "It looked as if Ethiopia had come to the rescue."

And so it is throughout American history. We find the politician using his prejudice against Negroes to hurt the whites, themselves. In our own time we see Faubus and Almond shutting tens of thousands of white students out of school in order to perpetuate color prejudice and keep themselves in office.

History Shows . . 31a Negro . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier p. 13

AFTER seeing that hour's broadcast, "The Second Agony of Atlanta," the thought that filled me was "Much Ado About Nothing." All this nonsense about complexion and how it is made to affect the children of the same nation and the same humanity. Here we are in a land where in its largest part children of different complexions go to the same public school. The Northern states once practiced this stupidity, too, but they got rid of it. From the way most Southerners go on, you'd fancy they are the only so-called white people in the United States.



Mr. Rogers

Furthermore, all the rest of the New World, except our South has no jim-crow public schools. Soon after slavery was abolished in the British West Indies, or 120 years ago, whites and blacks attended the same public schools. The same was true of all the Latin-American lands. Note, all these are considered by us backward regions. Most of the countries of Western Europe from Spain to the British Isles had Negro slavery, yet there has never been jim crow of any kind. England, with the most prejudice, never had official jim crow. Islam had none, even during slavery. Today in all the world, there are only two lands with legal jim-crow schools, our South and barbarous South Africa.

BUT THERE was a time when the South had integrated schools. That was during the Reconstruction period. Then there were even Negro school officials. In the 1870's one Negro was Superintendent of Education in Florida. Why, the change? Employers of labor and politicians discovered that the best way to reduce the freedmen and free Negroes to a state as near to slavery as possible was the jim-crow car and the jim-crow school. Thanks to President Hayes' withdrawal of U. S. troops, who were enforcing the 14th and 15th amendments in the South in 1877, and a U. S. Supreme Court decision in favor of jim crow, they won. Thereafter, with the Negro vote suppressed, some of the very ones who had fought against the Union could come to Congress and oppress the Negro who, in Lincoln's words, saved it. Today, these politicians, thanks to jim crow are fixtures in Congress, where they head important committees and run the nation in a way that delights Russia. Think of it, while Russia is orbiting the sun, we are squabbling over complexion.

BUT THEIR end is in sight. Griffin, Governor of Georgia, on that broadcast really tickled me. He defied the United States. Parroting Churchill's defi to Hitler, he announced he would fight "on the beaches," etc. He reminded me of the show-off bullfrog who said he could stop an express train. Sitting on the rails, puffed himself out and waited. The train passed, there was only a grease spot left and the sun dried that up.

When are you going to call out your troops, Governor? Most any time now.

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THROUGH the fight against integration in the schools runs one burning issue, so called intermarriage. That gives me a huge laugh. I know that no Negro parent who sends his child to a white school visions that child marrying a white some day. What that parent wants is a better education for the child. It is only the white parents who fear intermarriage. Now the psychological implications of that are so clear, so contrary to the doctrine of white superiority that only sheer dumbness could cause them to mention it. The obvious thing is that they fear the Negro has something in his personality that will kill even all the bad things they have circulated against him these last 390 years. Yes, they fear the attraction of a dark skin not only in their children but in their own hearts. What other reason could be given? No Negro is ever likely to drag one of these white daughters to the altar by the hair and force her to say "I do."



Mr. Rogers

■

BUT THAT FEAR of the whites is well founded, and history proves it most fully. There was something about that dark skin that proved too irresistible for some of the foremost men in this nation — Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry. I've given abundant evidence of that in Volume Two of my "Sex and Race." Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor, said the proud slaveholders had "many mulatto children . . . with an unmistakable resemblance to their aristocratic owners."

On the other hand, had it been left to the Africans brought to the New World, there would have been no mating with white people. In "Sex and Race," Vol. 2, pp. 400-404, I discussed "Who Wished Miscegenation the More, Negro or Caucasian," and quoted what eminent white explorers and writers had to say on the attitudes of both toward it. They all agree that to an African a white skin was repulsive, as something evil, and that very far back in history. Father Fernandez, a Catholic missionary of the 16th century in Ethiopia, said, "They paint Christ, the Blessed Virgin and other saints in black form, and devils and wicked men, white."

■

WINWOOD READ, white explorer, said that in Africa, "I found myself looked upon as a striking likeness of the Evil Spirit. When I appeared in a bush village, the women and children fled and the dogs with dismal howls, not knowing how to bark."

On the other hand, according to leading white scientists, numerous whites are attracted to a black skin. Iwan Bloch says in "The Sexual Life of Our Times," "White men from very early times have had a peculiar weakness for Negro women and mulatto girls." He tells how they were imported into Europe for white brothels and how in spite "of the deeply rooted racial hatred even in America," there are "numerous connections of that kind."

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THERE IS very much about Lincoln that I admire. I deplore, too, the bitter attacks made on him because he did not come out 100 per cent against the Negro. He repeatedly said he was a white man first and was firmly against equality for Negroes. But even that did not prevent the vilest lies being told of his alleged affairs with Negro women. However, what pains me each Lincoln's Birthday is that the credit is taken from those who did the most and is given to Lincoln.



Mr. Rogers

The Republican party was not against slavery. It was only against the extension of slavery into the territories for political reasons. Lincoln, as its head, stressed that, even at his first inauguration. The real anti-slavery heroes were the abolitionists, such as the four Beechers, John Brown, Lovejoy, Garrison, Emerson, Whitman, Douglass. Lincoln until 1863, was as sharp against these as Byrd and Faubus now are on the integrationists. In his eulogy of Henry Clay, July 16, 1852, Lincoln said they were so rabid they would "even burn the last copy of the Bible rather than that slavery should continue a single hour." They were receiving, he said, "their just execration."

MOST FIERY of all was Gurowski, a Polish refugee. See his Diary and how he excoriates Lincoln for not using Negro soldiers when the North was losing. Lincoln said of him, "So far as my personal safety is concerned, Gurowski is the only man who has given me serious thought." Another who did far more for the Negro than Lincoln, was General Ben Butler, a 100 per cent friend.

Thanks to the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln is called "The Great Emancipator." **But that document not only did not free a single slave, it permitted those slave states that were on the Union side to keep their slaves.** Its closing words, however, contained real poison for the South—a new threat, the use of the Negro in the armed forces. Lincoln, himself, said of this threat, March 26, 1863, "The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebillion at once."

THUS, IT WAS the Negro soldier that provided the balance of power that saved the Union and brought about emancipation. Lincoln, himself, told several times how Negro fighting men had turned the tide. He said, Aug. 17, 1864, that without them "we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks." Again, Sept. 12, 1864, as regards this help. "Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away and the Union goes with it." That is, Lincoln thought but for the Negro soldier the South would win and there'd be no longer a United States.

There is very much I can't go into here, but which I will bring out in my forthcoming book, "Africa's Gift to America: The Negro in the Making and Saving of America."

History Shows

Courier Pittsburgh Pa
Sat 6-13-59

SOME writers have all the luck. They'll do a book would likely never to hear of or notice and some idiot or bunch of idiots see it, say it should be burned and at once it becomes a world sensation. Russia banned Boris Pasternak's "Dr. Zhivago" and made it a best seller.



Mr. Rogers

Just now we are having a sample of that in America, but with such overtones of ridicule it is making the whole world laugh. Someone said, "America is a land of surprises—idiotic surprises." This is certainly it. Garth Williams wrote a kindergarten book, "The Rabbits' Wedding," in which a rabbit couple—one white, the other black—get married. The book was placed on the children's shelf in the Montgomery (Ala.) Public Library.

The White Citizens' Council saw it and went up in the air. Them wasn't no rabbits. They was a black American and a white one getting married. An Alabama newspaper went to town on it; a senator said it should be burned; officials threatened to cut off library funds; other Southern states took up the cry against the poor bunnies; the book was taken from the shelf.

■

IT BECAME big news for Northern dailies and magazines. One New York daily had it three times, twice in its Sunday issue. It was cabled to Europe, appeared in the papers there, and will certainly be told in all Asia and Africa.

Garth Williams became famous overnight. "Rabbits' Wedding" sold hotter than hot cakes. I tried to buy one and was told they were all gone, but that the presses were working day and night to get them out. Mr. Williams says that nothing was further from his mind than the race question when he wrote. "My rabbits," he said, "were inspired by early Chinese paintings of black and white horses in misty landscapes."

He had in mind, he said, a sort of "furry love" that children will understand.

Lucky man! Thanks to the race monomaniacs, he struck the jackpot.

■

ONE THING these superior white folk can always be counted on doing and that is to chalk up one against the United States. After all the to-do we made over Pasternak's book, what a delicious morsel, "The Rabbits' Wedding" is for Russia. And Russia charges it to all America. Mrs. Roosevelt says that when she told Kruschev that blaming all America for Little Rock wasn't fair, he replied, "Why, you're the United States, aren't you?"

Keep it, good Southern white folk. You're adding to the gaiety of the nations. Your next move, someone suggests, is to remove all books with black ink on white paper.

History Shows

Courier Pittsburgh Pa
Sat 6-20-59

THE NEW YORK Daily News, which gives freedom of speech to its readers, however violent their views, recently carried a letter from "A Southern Lady," violently justifying the lynch-murder of Mack Parker. For that she got a good roasting from several other readers. One said that hers "was the most stupid letter ever printed in the 'Voice of the People.' Lady indeed! She sounds less than human to try to justify the Poplarville, Miss., mob lynching." Another wrote, "She stated that 'to consider himself living, a Negro wants only a white woman and a big car.' That is the white trash's viewpoint." Still another said, "Does this woman feel that the same fate Parker suffered should be meted out to the four white hoodlums who brutally raped a Negro co-ed of Florida A. and M. University? Or was this rape quite all right?"



Mr. Rogers

ONE LETTER from a white woman who was raped by a white man sounds like what used to happen to a poor white woman raped by the slave of a rich white man or like the case of Mrs. Mary Reed, a Negro mother, who was raped by a white man in South Carolina (as reported in The Courier on May 16) and how a white jury not only freed the rapist but giggled at her story. This white woman writes, "I also was born in Mississippi. I was 12 when a white cracker, who already had a big car and a white wife, raped me. They didn't put him in jail or lynch him. Other crackers threatened my folks if they reported or swore in court. I am 30 now, I will carry that dog's scars to the day I die, and have never forgiven my cowardly folks for not fighting for me."

If interracial rape were equally punishable by lynching, then a thousand white men would have died for every Negro. As the late Dr. Victor Robinson (white), noted editor, once said, "The sexual crimes of the black race against the white are as nothing when compared to the sexual crimes of the white race against the black. Negroes have raped white women retail, but the white has raped the colored women wholesale."

AS REGARDS racial intermixture, white men have been, and are, more eager after black women than black men for white women. Africa was once dark-skinned. Look at it now! Even the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the blacks farthest down, have been mixed by white men. As for slavery days in the South, what a lecherous record of the "superior" race. It was only the emancipation that halted this a little and made possible unmixed blacks today.

Finally, I have cited elsewhere the testimony of earlier white travelers in Africa how primitive natives shunned any contact with a white skin, thinking it "very ugly."

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Roger

Courier Pittsburgh Pa
6-6-59

THERE'S AN OLD SAYING:

A straw shows which way the wind is blowing. Well, if you see me laughing to myself these days, it's not because I'm going daffy or because I've seen how a mere "bra" shows the way the international wind is blowing . . . especially as it concerns Africa. The story is this: Some weeks ago African dancers, "Les Ballets Africains," arrived in America from Western Europe and Russia where they made a hit as great as the Russian Bolshoi is making here now. As in their native Guinea and Ghana, the female dancers wear no "bras." Theirs are folk dances, centuries old. In Boston by some incredible oversight they appeared as they had done in Europe. But in New York, which up to about 12 years ago women appeared in burlesque garbed like Mother Eve, the order came for bras. The same in Chicago.



Mr. Rogers

■

LATE IN MAY the dancers left for Washington, taking with them their bras. But now came a clash between the city fathers there and the State Department. "Bras," decreed the city fathers. "No bras," said the State Department. "Put bras on those girls and what will the Africans think of it. And just when we are doing so much to try to win them. Bras! How the Communists who are also out to win Africa will make us look ridiculous. There must be no bras!"

And so the dancers appeared without any cover-up. They packed the National Theatre. Prominent State Department officials were present. And the raves were the very top. The News said, "An exciting, uninhibited, electrifying, riotously exotic entertainment."

NOW THIS wooing of Africa today takes me back to the time when folks of color in the United States and especially in the West Indies would be highly insulted if called "black" or "African." African, prior to Marcus Garvey and even later, was a term of contempt as 'American" was in the 1700's. As Englishmen of that day said,, "Americans were a race of convicts and the trash of Europe," so Africans were said to be cannibals and the lowest kind of savages. I remember as a child the horrible picture of Africa that was painted to me. But now that white folk have changed their ideal because of Africa's economic and political importance to the extent that whites born there are calling themselves "African," dark-skinned folk, who preferred "colored" (a la jim-crow sign) are now proudly calling themselves "black" and "African." When, I wonder, will the folks of color here begin to establish their own values in other fields and not wait until white folk lead them to them.

History Shows . . .

Courier

Tallahassee, Fla.

DUMB animals continue to be offenders along the color line. Recently it was rabbits. Now its pigs—the Three Little Pigs of the nursery rhyme. On the cover of a new children's book one pig is white, another brown and the third black.



The "big, bad wolf" eats up the white and the brown, but the black wins. He was intelligent enough to build his house of brick. The wolf huffed and puffed against that in vain.

Leader of the movement to ban this book is David Hawthorne of Florida, who claims it's worse than the rabbits and an insult to the white race.

■

FLORIDA HAS also launched another attack on the Negro on another front. Its House has just voted $500,000 for propaganda in Northern dailies something like that done by Carleton Putnam, whose ad appeared last January in some 30 leading dailies from coast to coast, including the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor. Author of the bill is W. H. Reedy of Eustic, Fla., who announced some months ago that he was out to raise $11 million from 11 Southern states for that purpose. Reedy says that the Southern Governors' Conference, of which Coleman of Mississippi is chairman, is backing him. "When we of the South do not let the rest of the nation know our viewpoint we're letting our people down."

Now the big question is. Will the Negroes feel the same about their side? Or will they they take it lying down as they did Putnam's letter to Eisenhower? Think what would have happened had any other minority in America been attacked thus! Putnam's ad said in effect that the Africans who were brought here were savages and that much of that savagery remains in their descendants here. A barefaced lie! Unbiased historians have shown that the New World, including the United States, would have got almost nowhere had there been no Africa. Of this I have given proof from the most incontravertible sources in my forthcoming book, "Africa's Gift to America—The Negro in the Making and Saving of the United States."

THESE FACTS are backed by an elaborate display of original pictures — hundreds of them. The cuts, which are all made, cost $2,300. The matter is all set up, too. I had hoped to get support to send free copies to leading enemies of the Negro and others, but all is now at a standstill for lack of money. So far I have had to do everything about it myself. I shall however, continue to carry on and hope for the best. I think I could get the money from white friends, but I shan't go to them. It's about time we do such things for ourselves.

History Shows . . .

Courier

Tallahassee, Fla.

THE REV. Robert McNeill of Valdosta, Ga., who was ousted recently from his church because of his stand against race hate, told in his farewell sermon how he had started life as a racist. But he got hold of books that made him see he was on the wrong track.



"I realized," he said, "that my old attitude on race didn't stand up." In short, he admitted that he had been stupid.

Now what Shakespeare said about greatness applies to stupidity, also. Some are born stupid; others achieve stupidity, and still others have stupidity thrust upon them. This was the case of the Rev. Mr. McNeill. His elders thrust stupidity upon him. But he eventually saw the light. Think of the wasted years! Suppose his parents had given him that light in his early years! And that applies to millions of other whites.

No child enters this life with hate for another group. Even the young of the fiercest wild animal can be taught sociability. A year ago two tiger cubs were born in a New York zoo. One remained with its mother; the other was reared in a family. The latter grew up playful as a kitten; the other with its mother, would snarl at visitors. One was friendly; the other remained a tiger. I am reminded also of a 12-year-old blind white boy who grew up with other blind, white and colored, who said, "I guess I'm lucky that I cannot see differences in color because it seems to me that the kind of hate these people put into their minds must chase out all understanding." In short, because he couldn't see color, he had to rely on mind, which after all, is the only real contact possible with a fellow-man.

FURTHERMORE, color prejudice is comparatively new. It really began in the 16th century when whites invaded the black man's land for labor in the New World. Before that whites and blacks had lived in harmony and as social equals in Europe, especially southern Europe. I've given abundant proof of that. Color prejudice, in short, began as an instrument of greed, of enriching colonial whites at the expense of the blacks. And it was nurtured, especially in the United States, like a precious plant. All that's happening in the South, today, has no other goal but that. It's money in the bank to scheming politicians—parasites, termites, undermining the foundations of this republic. And even the future of the white race on this planet. Some day, if this keeps on, color prejudice will swing the other way. No man ever had a point of pride that it did not prove injurious to him, said Emerson.

History Shows . . .

Courier

Tallahassee, Fla.

THE DEATH penalty has been abolished in several countries as barbarous. Mexico is one. In England it nearly is. In some American states, as Michigan, it is abolished entirely. In most Northern states, it is inflicted only for planned murder. Few, if any, have it for rape. But most Southern states have it for rape. For "protection" of the white woman, they say, but really for vindictive hate, that one of a despised race should dare to offend the majesty of a super-superior one. As for the rape of a black woman by a white man, why that's only a local custom, made so by 300 years of slavery and jim crow, just as how the white slave-woman was once in Europe. I recall how, in the 1910's, when the white women of South Carolina tried to raise the age of consent above 12, Ben Hillman had the bill defeated, saying, "Negro girls would invariably take advantage of white men who had intercourse with them."



BUT EVERY unjust law becomes, sooner or later, a boomerang. That was what that Florida jury was up against. Here was a clear-cut rape case. With the eyes of the world on it, the law demanded death, but to send even one white man to death, much less four, for one Negro would be to violate the South's most precious tradition. What was the way out? Admit that though the girl was raped, and cowed by guns and knives, it was all done like gentlemen. Southern chivalry, shall we say? But we know that rape is primitive savagery . . . that's the way the caveman took a wife. If it isn't brutal, why is it considered so shocking now?

The incredible irony of it all is that, as Ted Poston reported in the New York Post, four Negroes are in a Florida jail awaiting execution for attacking white women. They will all die, but the four whites will be freed after short prison terms, to do the same thing again. No wonder American democracy is considered abroad a "de-mockery."

IT WAS THE white man who started interracial rape, not the black. All unmixed Africa once shunned a white skin. The first white woman explorer who went there was killed, not raped. They thought the strange creature an evil spirit. She was Mme. Tinne. Left to the Africans brought here, there would have been no mulattoes.

The white man has mixed every race on this earth. White blood can therefore not be so precious since even the lowest of the low can get it.

Negroes who attack and rape white women are of low mentality. They are are inspired chiefly by revenge—to get even with their oppressor.

History Shows . . .

Courier

WILL THE Khrushchev-Eisenhower visits ease the cold war? There have been some 20 of these top-level conferences since Woodrow Wilson in 1919, and they seem only to have increased tensions. The so-called free world, you see, is a mess of rival interests and ambitions so much so that Eisenhower found it necessary to go to Europe to try to calm them. But it is very likely he will have no better luck than Woodrow Wilson.



Mr. Rogers

■

WILSON, STARTING from a Washington that he had made more jim crow and with a jim-crow region to the South, went to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy." His own allies, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando made a monkey of him and wrote a Versailles Treaty that led directly to another war. Franklin Roosevelt met a similar fate at Yalta, Cairo, and Teheran. Also Truman with "good old Joe" ((Stalin) at Berlin.

Let's see what happened to Berlin, now the bone of contention. In 1939 what led directly to World War II was this. To reach Danzig, a German city, one had to pass through Poland — the Polish Corridor. Did the Americans learn anything from that? No. They fell into the same trap. While keeping West Berlin, they made no agreement with Russia to reach it by land, only by air. It was like having an apartment without a right to use the stairs. To get in, you must fly through a window.

■

AMERICAN statesmanship, if you can call it that, has been a mess of blunders since we entered Europe's wars in 1917? Why? Principally because, unlike the Europeans, it has no training in international affairs. Since Woodrow Wilson, American affairs have been run chiefly by the Southern politician, whose chief training has been to keep down the Negro. James F. Byrnes, the most of whose life has been dedicated to that, was a power under Roosevelt and Secretary of State under Truman when peace treaties were being made.

The most enlightened of the Dixie politicians is undoubtedly Senator James W. Fulbright. But he, too, has to cater to Dixie jim crow if he wants to keep his seat. He was one of those who signed the "Manifesto" opposing integration.

Next week I'll speak on some of the likely effects of Khrushchev's visit.

9-12-59.

History Shows . . .

Courier

THE TITLE of Mike Wallace's documentary on race relations — "The Hate That Hate Produces" — has been much resented by Negroes. And rightly. Though catchy and well meant, it isn't true. Only a small percentage of Negroes hate white people as a group. On most Negroes' part, it is agitation against injustice. To call it "hate" is about as true as when racists call the Supreme Court "Communist" because it ruled against jim-crow.



Mr. Rogers

The part Mr. Wallace gave from the Muhammad attack did sound as if directed against all white people. If it was, who set the example? I recall my first visit to the South in 1911, New Orleans. I had read much of that old French city and looked forward to seeing it. But I wasn't there 10 minutes when I realized I was in enemy territory though I had never done anything to anyone there. Intending to go to Florida later, I went to a ticket window for information. The agent angrily sent me off to the "colored" window. I protested that all I wanted was information. Angry words followed and some colored people came and led me away.

IN THE YEARS since, I've been over the whole South, meeting the same treatment, except once when, for experiment, I spoke French and pretended not to understand English. That, together with the memories of the atrocities once very common to Negroes there, awakens disgust. Whenever I hear "the South," I think of an unfriendly people, overstuck-up with the color of their skins. Of course, I know there are good white Southerners—I've met them — but the bad the law does not lump all white people together, good white people are freer to associate with citizens of other colors. Of one thing I'm certain: White people are not inherently color-prejudiced. History and my own experiences in Europe convince me of that.

Pittsburgh Pa. 8-22-59

Again, if Mr. Wallace knew the inside of the color question, he'd realize that the hate of the small percentage of Negroes for whites is **wordy** while that of the whites who hate Negroes is **active and vicious.** Such whites not only have their severe jim-crow laws but are supplemented by their bombers, mobs, Ku Klux, White Citizens Councils and even still their lynchers.

MOST NEGROES have enough sense to know that but for the good white people things would be worse. As for myself, I do not even hate mischief-makers like Eastland, Byrnes, Faubus, Ellender, Talmadge and Byrd. To me they are interesting only sociologically. I see them as hang-overs from a barbarous slave era.

History Shows . . .

The Pittsburgh Courier

SOME MONTHS ago I mentioned an article in Confidential which said that if Negroes were united politically they could elect the President in 1960. Did that mean a Negro could be elected for that office, I was asked. Quite unlikely unless his Negro strain wasn't known. It's safe to say that there were at least two such Presidents and two Vice Presidents.



Mr. Rogers

But Negroes aren't the only ones. There are four other groups who have a very slim chance of electing a President: Southern whites, Catholics, Jews and Indians. The Southern whites bar themselves by their worship of Lee and the Confederacy. A Southern candidate who is more American than Southservative—those who believe that the Negro is not immediately ready for full democratic rights; Compromise—race relation experts trying to represent the thinking of whites and Negroes; and Nationalists—persons trying to sell the Negro the idea of the National Heritage (such as the Moslems). The editorial appeared to be slanted in a way that shows this professor as obviously "an integrationist," but evidently critical of the dynamic Negro leadership of this day. The editorial also called him a man of "obvious intelligence and perceptiveness."

It was the last paragraph which shows how far Southern segregationsts will go to take a slap at any person who would dare assume the leadership position of Negroes asking for their Civil Rights.

"The Golightly reference to opportunistic should be thoroughly noted hereabouts.

Pittsburgh Pa. 8-22-59

We suspect many a substantial Negro business or professional man in Birmingham could ern in his ideals wouldn't get the Southern Democratic vote. Truman licked the Dixiecrats it's true but that was before Little Rock. And a pro-Southern candidate wouldn't get the vote of Negroes.

■

THE CATHOLICS. I believe that most Americans feel that a Catholic President would take orders from the Pope. The Vatican is a foreign state. Besides the feeling against Catholics is an English inheritance. No Catholic can sit on the English throne. The last four Catholic rulers made a bad record—Mary I (Bloody Mary); Charles I, whose head was chopped off after the Civil War; Charles II, the Farouk of his day; and James II, who was driven from the throne. Result, America started with anti-Catholic feelin. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia had great anti-Catholic riots around the 1840's. The Ku Kiux of World War I was strongly anti-Catholic. The Sou" largely so

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THE RECEPTION of President Toure in North Carolina was in one way rather commendable, but in another way, phony. According to a press report he had asked the State Department for an opportunity to see whether race conditions in the South were like those generally current in other lands. At Durham he was the guest of Governor Hodges, Mayor Evans and leading citizens, colored and white. He was given the key to the city, entertained at Duke University (white) and he and Mrs. Toure were lodged in a hotel owned by the state university. All of this, as I said, sets an example for states like Georgia and Mississippi.



Mr. Rogers

BUT WAS all this a true view of the South? North Carolina is the least uncivilized of the Southern states. By uncivilized, I mean any state in which the prejudices and injustices of white people are supported by jim-crow laws, and where it comes to taxes and getting money from Negroes there is no jim crow. In the North there are discriminations and injustices, too, but they are not written into, and backed by, laws. Again Durham as a Southern town is in a class by itself, thanks largely to the presence of the North Carolina Life Insurance Co.

Here's why I say it was a phony. Toure said he was "very, very pleased by the Durham reception." But let's say he had gone to North Carolina as a private individual. Would jim crow have held off for him? Remember that Ghana official who was recently refused service in a lunch-room in the South and in consequence was invited to lunch at the White House. Or that member of Nehru's cabinet who was refused service in an airport restaurant in Florida?

■

RUSSIA IS accused to shunting tourists away from seamy spots and showing them only the blessings of communism. Was our State Department in taking Toure to Durham any different? Toure said on television, "The international press had pointed out not so long ago quite a lot of difficulties in relations between black and white and in North Carolina felt the unanimity between the white and black population."

Was Toure fooled by Durham? I hardly think so. The Communists and America's white rivals in Africa will let him know in case he was Moreover, there are African leaders as Nkrumah and Azikiwe who have lived in America and know what would have happened to Toure had he gone to North Carolina as his own.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

ONE FACT is clear throughout history. It is that there is hope for all peoples however far down. Because they are human they possess all the potentialities for progress and will eventually rise above dogmas of race. There is no people now up that weren't once at the very bottom. Guinea, for insance. It was once the chief hunting ground for slaves, and when I saw the ticker-tape parade for President Toure up Broadway my mind ran back to time when his ancestors, torn from their homes, were driven up Broadway. New York was then center of the illicit slave-trade (1808-1861). A luncheon was also given by New York City for Toure, and when I saw the white officials, labor leaders and businessmen assembling to do him honor, I thought of the time when such a gathering would be for an auction in Wall St. when black African and white European would be put up for sale on the same block.



Mr. Rogers

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GUINEA, TODAY, is independent. It has its ambassadors in the United States and the United Nations. And seated on the dais with President Toure were ambassadors from other African nations as Ghana, Sudan and Ethiopia. Guinea won its indipendence in a manner that captured world imagination. When De Gaulle of France gave French colonies the choice of staying with France and getting its support, or cutting away and be without any financial help, Guinea voted 90 per cent for freedom. This, too, was in keeping with the spirit of President Toure, who since 1945 has been his country's foremost leader. While still a boy, he was dissatisfied with the kind of education he was getting and he left school to educate himself. He is now 37.

■

ENTERING THE postal service he organized the clerks and became secretary-general of the Postal Union. He extended this to other trade unions and became secretary-general of the Federated Trade Unions of Guinea; and still later to secretary-general of the Federation of the Black Workers of Africa. In 1956 he was elected to the French National Assembly in Paris.

President Toure is an able speaker. His French is of the very best. In his addresses he excoriated colonialism and stressed the rights of man and of the individual. It is clear that in him Africa has a dynamic leader. "We cannot do anything else," he said, "but remain faithful to our goal of an all-free Africa."

History Shows . .31.a.Negro. By J. A. Rogers

IF WE stand up to the Russians," says Harry Truman, "they will back down." Mebbe! Depends on how strong they feel they are. But what mightn't work with the Russians certainly will with an element that is as troublesome here as the Russians are abroad. This element, while it talks as big as the Russians, has none of Russia's mighty weapons and has to resort to such sneak attacks as the bombing of homes, schools, churches and private assassinations.



Mr. Rogers

This is clearly proved by the hearings of the Civil Rights Commission on the denial of voting rights for Negroes in certain Southern states. Election officials with their "massive resistance" talk big until they get on the stand. The first one to go on the stand in Alabama is typical.

Well, if you've ever seen Lawyer Calhoun in "Amos and Andy," you've seen this man. He went to the stand cocky, as one of a "superior" race should be. But a few seconds later he was crawling. Told to hold up his hand to take the oath, he shrank, then actually dropped it. He knew well that he had gone there with a mouthful of lies and suddenly remembered that he could be set up for perjury. From a man he had become a mouse. He looked helplessly at his lawyer, who finally advised him not to take the oath. It all reminded me of labor racketeers on the McClelland Committee taking the Fifth. If you didn't see that television show you really missed something. Never laughed more heartily in my life.

■

ONE THING you may be sure of: these blusters, from Faubus and Almond down, are but Calhouns in white face. They don't intend to be martyrs and if the Justice Department shows the same vigor in upholding the law on equal rights as it does on the income tax, these racist officials will back down quick. They know they have no physical force strong enough to compare with Federal power and that they and their kind had better not start another Fort Sumter.

For one thing, they know they won't have most of the South with them. Byrd of Virginia knows that his "massive resistance" is a fraud and intended only for his numbskull followers. The question is how long will these scheming blowhards be permitted to continue.

The television scene revealed a condition in these United States as repulsive as anything we complain of in Russia and China—citizens, graduates of leading universities with degrees in science unable to qualify for voting, while some ignorant hillbilly with a so-called white skin could. One Tuskegee professor told how he lost three whole days trying to get a hearing to register, and when he did he was never called. Others testified to the same and took the oath, too. What's the effect of all this even on America's friends in the "free" world? That she had better wash her own dirty linen before trying to wash theirs.

History Shows . . . . . 31a Negro By J. A. Rogers

NEGRO History Week comes this year in the midst of the worst anti-Negro campaign since Reconstruction. Old books such as Carroll's "The Negro: A Beast" have been revived. "Birth of a Nation," great anti-Negro film, is being shown through the South and has reached as far north as Washington and Baltimore. It was showing in Little Rock the day U. S. troops arrived there. Anti-Negro pamphlets and postcards are appearing over the nation, and full-page ads are appearing in great Northern dailies. One of the worst was in the New York Times on January 6. An appeal to put it in other papers says, "This advertisement was paid for by individual donations from hundreds of citizens throughout the South." Negroes are called "savages." And of course there's that over-worked quotation from Lincoln saying that he was in favor of white superiority.



Mr. Rogers

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THE SOUTH has taken its war against Negro rights into the North, and since most Northern whites know very little about Negro history, that war is sure to have the desired effect. But it's all so unjust, so undeserved, so untrue. For the past 27 months, I've been digging into rare sources and what I've found, as based on what was said of the great necessity for Negroes and their usefulness during 353 years (1512 to 1865) was a revelation though I've been in the field for almost a lifetime. That is, I never dreamed they had been of such importance in the making and saving of America.

■

TAKE THE Civil War. But for the Negro soldier, there very likely would be no United States today. The South was winning the war. Lincoln, for nearly two years, had refused Negro troops. Deciding to use them at last, he said, "Midsummer, 1862, things had gone from bad to worse until I felt we had reached the end of our rope; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game." Secretary Seward objected. Lincoln says Seward said, "The depression of the public mind consequent upon our repeated reverses is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth her hands to Ethiopia instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government." Seward further said, according to Lincoln, that the use of Negro troops "would be considered the last shriek on the retreat." Lincoln: Complete Works, Vol. 2, pp. 479-80, 1894.)

■

THESE FACTS that I dug up are some of the things even most Negroes are not going to hear during Negro History Week. Why? Because white capital dominates Negro literature and research. Also because even many white friends of the Negro feel that full credit to the Negro is praise taken away from their own race and that the truth will make. Negroes more assertive.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

RECENTLY when I said in reference to two articles in the Saturday Evening Post that the first Thanksgiving Day in the United States was celebrated neither by Virginia nor New England, but by Spaniards and Negroes, I can imagine many wise ones, Negro and white, calling it just another of those Rogers' myths. There has long been a dispute over who started it and the two articles by Dabney and Gould proved that the Virginians had one before the Pilgrims.



Mr. Rogers

Now in a letter to the Saturday Evening Post, Jan. 2, 1959, Gordon Shearer, Texas State Park Board, Austin, Tex., confirms me that it was the Spaniards in 1541, that is 67 years before the arrival of the Virginians and 79 before the coming of the Pilgrims. The first Thanksgiving, he says, "was observed by Spanish explorer Coronado's expedition upon reaching Palo Duro Canyon in 1541 A. D."

To many readers it won't matter a hoot who started it, but the question goes deep just the same. The articles brought both strong protest and warm praise for the Post. One letter to the magazine said of certain facts about the Pilgrims, "We gain nothing by tearing down our monuments." Another letter said, "Americans want to believe the Pilgrims were the first. I have seen this in the faces of visitors to the Plymouth Fort. Men have taken off their hats and the eyes of women have filled with tears."

ANOTHER THING: Mayflower ancestry has long been regarded as tops in America. The Virginians, who were here first, think they ought to be. Both have their organs: Mayflower Descendants and Virginia Magazine of History. These rivals, however, agree on one thing: Whichever was first, was pure white and Nordic. But that the Spaniards were first is indisputable. They landed in 1512. The Virginians in 1608.

Who were the Spaniards? An old European saying was: "Africa begins at the Pyrenees" (mountains separating Spain from France). For thousands of years before Christ, Negro peoples inhabited Spain, and later when Germanic peoples invaded it, the two mixed. In 711 A. D., the Moors, who were then described as "blacker than ink . . . with nothing white except the teeth," invaded Spain and ruled it for 600 years. The first Spaniards in the New World weren't whites. Simon Bolivar, greatest of all the early Spanish-Americans, reminded South Americans of his time of that. He said, "We must face the fact that our race is not European; it is rather a composite of Africa and America than a product of Europe because Spain, itself, had ceased to be European by its African blood, institutions and character."

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

THANKS to the President's proclamation Negro History Week seems to have arrived at last. I remember how it was ridiculed when Dr. Woodson started it 40 years ago. I recall one Negro educator in a white college saying to me, "Nonsense! We have no history."



Mr. Rogers

"Then for 20 years it struggled along until some white politicians seeing it as a vote-getter began to recognize it, which, in turn, caused many who had been laughing at it, to see there was something in it.

It's said that a people without a history is like a tree without roots. History is to a people what memory is to the individual. Lose your memory and you're a child again. A people who have lost their history sink to near the level of the beast of burden, who has none. History is the most importnat thing in our everyday life. It gives us inspiration. Without the knowledge of what others have accomplished, we remain nobodies. And how else could we know what mistakes to avoid? And countless other things? Negroes imitate white people in so many things. Here in the field of history is one they could copy to their advantage.

■

NO PEOPLE on earth need a knowledge of their history more than the American Negro because no other people have had so many degrading things said against them. And for over 300 years. The full force of the Bible and science has been used against them. Why? To create in them such a state of mind they'll think little or nothing of themselves and thus be over-thankful for small mercies. And this propaganda has taken new life since the Supreme Court ruled against the jim-crow school.

Yet it is simply impossible to overestimate what the Negro has done in the making and saving of the United States. Especially as a result of recent research I find myself ever amazed at the thought of how a people who have done so much can be held in such generally low esteem, and even contempt. It's incredible, at least to me.

Whose fault is it? Our leaders, most of whom have been following the old routine set by the slavemasters. I have before me a letter which says, "The Negro preacher ought to quit telling us about the children or Israel crossing the Red Sea when we, today are in worse than any Red Sea." Of course, I do know Negro preachers of whom this is far from being true but I fear it's true of far too many. The trouble is many don't take the trouble to know the history of their people.

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

IT HAS often been said that Negroes could elect the next President. Confidential magazine recently had a leading article to that effect. But that, while possible, is highly improbable. It is possible because at least on three occasions Negroes provided the balance of power that decided what America was to be. First, the Revolutionary War. Washington, to please the slaveholders ordered all Negroes in the Continental Army to be discharged.



Mr. Rogers

Lord Dunsmore, British commander, at once invited the Negroes in, promising them equality. They came, with such success to the British that Washington said, Dec. 20, 1775, "Success will depend on which side can arm the Negroes faster." Dunsmore's strength, he said, "will increase like a snowball by rolling and faster unless some way can be found to win over the Negroes." Washington to get them now promised better treatment. He was so successful that the British commander wrote Lord Germaine in England, "Thus, my lord, are we deprived of another principal support." Washington had so many in his army that a writer of the times said it looked "as if Ethiopia had come to the rescue."

■

AGAIN IN the War of 1812, the British were winning. They had captured Washington, and burnt the Capitol and the White House. They also captured Detroit and a large part of Ohio. They had seized Florida and were marching on New Orleans in 1814 for a crucial battle. General Jackson had only 3,000 white men against the powerful British. But the city had a majority of blacks and Jackson telling them that through "a mistaken policy" they were not being treated as human beings promised them equality. The Negroes responded so well the British were beaten off.

As for the Civil War, Lincoln said most emphatically that it was the Negroes that provided the balance of power that won it. Without their help "it would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing," he said. Also, "Keep it and you can save the Union; throw it away and the Union goes with it." There are other instances, as labor in the South in World War I, that I could give.

SO FAR so good. But I said that Negroes electing a President was highly improbable. Why? Because they have too many leaders, most of whom are leading for themselves. Note: **In the instances mentioned above they were used. It was the whites who provided the initiative.** Sad, indeed it is when an oppressed minority **with so much power** can't sink its petty differences for the common good!

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

AFRICA is big news today. Take up any leading daily and you might see as many as five articles on her. Leading magazines as Life, Time, Holiday and Newsweek have featured her; movies and newsreels on her are popular as well as radio and television. She is being discussed in universities and forums. Our State Department has established a Bureau of African Affairs and American business men are looking Africa-wards. And in Harlem at last, 30 E. 125th St. is the finest exhibit of native African industry I've seen outside of Paris, France.



Mr. Rogers

It is arranged by Tadak, a colored concern, interested in informing America of what Africans are doing today. Chiefly represented are Nigeria, Tanganyika, Ghana, Morocco, Somaliland, Liberia, Egypt and Kenya. There are paintings by African artists of African life. One of Monrovia, capital of Liberia, shows how it looked to the first immigrants. It reminded me so much of a painting showing how New York City looked to the first whites in 1608. Another very interesting exhibit is a showing of phonograph records of African tribal songs and dances.

■

INCLUDED ARE items of historical value as replicas of the famous bronzes from the excavations of Ife, a Nigerian civilization that was founded over 1,100 years ago. There are also replicas of some of the famous Benin bronzes, originals of which are more than worth their weight in gold. Other remarkable items are artwork of the Makondes; Zulu ceremonial shields made of the skin of zebras; ebony bookends from Nigeria, all hand-carved; replicas of Benin kings and Watussi warriors and a Nigerian chief carved out of ebony. There are drums from Nigeria and Kenya; drinking cups from which long ago the Bakuba and the Bushongo drank "the spirits of their enemies," all of fine ornamentation. There are also plates and bowls carved out of Mvule wood which comes from the almost impenetrable forests of East Kenya hinterland, where the natives still hold undisputed sway and are determined to keep out the European invader.

AMONG THE many other items on display are Moroccan dolls, goatskin traveling bags leather pocketbooks, brass and copper trays; ivory jewelry blankets from North Africa beautifully colored cloth from Ghana and French West Africa, all hand-made. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the exhibit is the brass and copper trays from Morocco, exquisitely hand-carved and as large as a cartwheel, some of which are valued at hundreds of dollars.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

I GET many inquiries even from professional men, about migrating to Africa. Now, I rarely give advice of any kind; still, I think that for the young and the adventurous with know-how of some kind, Africa below the Sahara, is a mighty good place.



Mr. Rogers

Today, it is the richest undeveloped region on earth. I predict that before the end of the century there will be a rush to it as there was to America in the 1850's. And Africa has an advantage America, as a young nation hadn't, namely, millions of willing workers. Earliest American labor came chiefly from Africa.

Another reason for emigration to Africa is that the United States is on the decline. Remember Spengler's "Decline of the West"? That is coming true. I hate to admit that as I intend to spend the rest of my life here. But it is clear the United States is going where all other great nations have gone or are going. It is $300 billion in debt, and the interest on that alone is formidable. On top of that is fear of Russia which calls for ever increasing outlay on armament and handouts to 63 countries "lest they go Communist."

■

RESULT IS that one of the words one hears most is "tax." I remember the time when you hardly ever heard it. Then a dollar was a dollar, too, and the cost of living was less than a half of what it is now is, and some made in actual dollars as much as they do now. There was no income tax, state or Federal, and no sales tax. Today Uncle Sam taxes about everything, leaving nothing free for the states and cities.

And things are getting worse in America. England which suffered so much more in two world wars has just announced a surplus and has cut taxes and made concessions of over a billion a year. In England, too, when you're sick the state pays the bill. Win a sweepstakes or a pool and you keep it all. Here you must hand over most of it.

■

AMERICA today is spread out into too many lands. If history runs true to form as it did in the case of Egypt, Rome, Spain, Portugal, and as today with England and France, she will eventually be pushed out or find it necessary to pull out and come home. American foreign policy since Woodrow Wilson took her into World War I has been one of most awful blundering. Truman's Korean War, for instance, drove two old enemies, Russia and China together.

Yes, I believe Africa is a good place for a pushing, adaptable American. The whites now there love it. Life in Africa is easy and with modern science will get easier.

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

I HAD promised myself never to write another book on race, but it looks now as if I'll change my mind. I read how white majorettes were omitted from the Atlanta St. Patrick's Day parade because at the last one Negro males had looked "too hard" at their bare legs. That's a rich one. And I have a collection of similar incidents that give me a huge laugh at pale faces, who Putnam thinks are the salt of the earth.



Mr. Rogers

Remember the case of a few years ago when a white girl accused a Negro of "thinking" of raping her though he was a hundred feet away, how the Negro was given a long sentence, and how he was freed when the case attracted world-wide attention. Also that of the white man who saw a Negro looking at a passing white woman, pushed him roughly and said, "Ah caught yu' thinkin' that time, n. . . .r."

■

I HAVE a quite dark Negro friend who speaks Swedish fluently, having lived years in Sweden. Just for fun he got on a white car in the South. The conductor sent him to the jim crow. He pretended not to know English, though that's his native tongue. When a Swedish-speaking person was brought, my friend held his own. The conductor let him stay. If you are Swedish you can't be a Negro. Moral, if you want to be other than a Negro, don't speak English.

Do you think that far-fetched? Well, see the current Holiday magazine on Africa where so observant a traveler as John Gunther calls the Watussi and Ethiopians "Caucasian," though both are as dark as the darkest American Negro. I have been among them. That is, these blacks are "white," except when they are over here. Remember how Ras Imru, Ethiopian Ambassador, was jim-crowed in Constitution Hall, Washington, and that East Indian diplomat refused service in Florida.

■

THEN THERE are those white folk, women especially, who pass as Negroes. The celebrated Dutch anthropologist, Prof. H. B. Moens, gives an example that's a classic in the Review of Nations of Geneva. Though typically Caucasian, he got into a jim-car car in Oklahoma. The conductor told him to go to the white car. Moens said he was a Negro. The conductor said he didn't look it. Moens insisted he was a Negro and stayed. Later a white man came in and sat by Moens. You can't ride in here, said Moens and the man left.

Yes, I think I'll do such a book. I'll get a lot of fun out of it and a ready publisher in Europe and abroad.

History Shows . . .

WELL, WELL, I've lived to see it! A Governor of Mississippi denouncing lynching and calling in the FBI against lynch murderers. Remember the long fight against defunct anti-lynching bills and how Mississippi Congressman and others from the South fought them viciously, declaring that if they passed white women would have no protection in the South.



Mr. Rogers

I'd love to believe that that television appearance of Governor Coleman was inspired by love of right; still I can't get over the feeling that with him it was as with Judge Dale, who was to try Mack Parker. Dale said, "The people of Mississippi do not deserve this. I do not know what laws will now be passed against us."

YES, COLEMAN'S attack on lynching was about due. Mississippi is "The Lyncher State." From 1882-1947, the U. S. had 4,716 recorded lynchings. Mississippi led with 574. Georgia came next with 525. Texas, third, with 489. Emmett Till was lynched in Mississippi, too.

■

THE LYNCHING of Mack Parker very fittingly occurred at Poplarville, home of notorious Senator Bilbo. His shades could very well have presided at that atrocious deed. And that goes too for such living ministers of the devil as Byrnes and Byrd of Virginia; Talmadge of Georgia, and Faubus. These evil men are responsible for lynching, the murder of Negro leaders, the bombing of schools and churches. They are the ones who incite the openly lawless whites. They are as guilty as if they pulled a rope, set a fire to burn a human being alive, or place a bomb. They are the ones who accuse the NAACP of stirring trouble. How come then, they aren't guilty of stirring mobs to violence with their open defiance of U. S. laws on race?

And these Senators and others do so for political gain.

DURING SLAVERY the white woman who was raped by a Negro was just in hard luck. The slave was worth $3,000 to the master; she, nothing. Catterall has given glaring cases of this. For these and other sources on rape cases in the law courts, see my Sex and Race, Vo. 2. Chap. 29.

As for this Poplarville case, I'm going to be charitable and say the white woman was raped. But I can't get over the suspicion she might have lied. So much of that sort of thing has happened before. Go back to Bible days and you find Potiphar's wife falsely accusing Joseph. He was lucky there was no Mississippi then.

Finally, the white woman was not certain about Parker. In the line-up she said he "looked" like her alleged attacker. And might not the Governor's calling-in of the FBI be a warning to one and all to keep their mouths shut?

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THINKERS love to show little things, sometimes change the destiny of mankind. Pascal illustrated with a few grains of sand in Cromwell's bladder and Victor Hugo with rain at Walterloo. With even greater certainty it can be proved how pigment (that is, paint) placed by nature under the human skin to protect the delicate nerves there has affected the destiny of America. But for it there would have been no Civil War, no closing of public schools, now, and perhaps no American entry into World War I, with all its later complications.



Mr. Rogers

The first slaves in British America were whites, who were brought in great numbers. They were stripped nude on board ship, men and women, for the buyers. But in time these miserable creatures, thanks to their lack of pigment, became one with the ruling class as did the 40 million white slaves freed in Russia in 1861. But it was different with the slaves freed here in 1865. Pigment permitted them still to be held very near to slavery and would keep them down no matter how advanced culturally their "race" should rise. Pigment was set down as "God's curse."

■

ANOTHER INSTANCE in which God was good to these racists is that he placed the pigmented Indian here and then had him killed off, thereby permitting racist whites with dark skin to charge it to the Indian.

These reflections of mine are inspired by an article in the New York Times, May 3, "Churchill Claims Indians as Kin." Now I know little about that and care even less. Still it is risky to claim Indian blood. The Indian mightn't like it. For instance, in 1862 when James B. Floyd, Confederate Secretary of War, former Governor of Virginia, boasted at a party given for Indian chiefs that he was descended from Pocahontas, one chief, noting Floyd's "dark complexion" and "crispy hair," grunted, "Ugh! You no Indian. Nigur! Nigur." (Nigger! Niger!.) Of course, some will say that is only another of those Rogers lies, but it is U. S. official. (See War of the Rebellion, Vol. 3, Poetry and Incidents, page 47, 1862.)

■

AS REGARDS Churchill, the Nazis openly said he was a mulatto. In September, 1939 William Joyce (Lord Haw Haw), An American, Hitler's chief spieler, said on the short wave, "Winston Churchill whose mother is an American Negress." Churchill's "Indian" blood is said to come from Clarissa Hall, his grandmother, "dark and beautiful," and from New York. Now the Indians of the entire Atlantic coast have mixed with the Negro for centuries.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

I'VE been urged to reply to Carleton Putnam's attack on the Negro which appeared in almost full-page ads in leading newspapers of the country, including the New York Times and Wall Street Journal, both paid for, by Southerners. He is, we learn, "a distinguished New Englander," graduate of Princeton and Columbia, biographer of Theodore Roosevelt, etc.



Mr. Roger

Now the strongest point in his whole argument is a quotation from James Bryce's "American Commonwealth" of 79 years ago. A noted English statesman and ambassador to the United States, Bryce was considered an authority on United States government. He is certainly not so now. In his chapter, "Present and Future of the Negro," he was most superficial. He pictured the difference between whites and blacks as the difference between the Stone Age and the Maxim gun of today.

Putnam quotes him, "We have a singular juxtaposition of the most primitive, the most rudimentary, and the most highly developed types of culture . . . a body of savages is violently carried across the ocean and set to work as slaves on the plantations of masters who are three or 4,000 years in advance of them in mental capacity and moral force." Now this was the popular conception in Bryce's time. It isn't so now, except to folk like Putnam, whose thinking stopped then.

■

BRYCE DID NO research on the Negro. Had he done so, he would have found that some of the first Negroes in Virginia imported white people to work for them and received land for that; that later Negroes bought white people and in Louisiana as late as 1818 (Statutes of Louisiana, Sec. 13, March 20, 1818). And when Bryce mentions "moral force" he was just plain ignorant. The first white settlers of the United States were largely the dregs of British humanity—convicts, thieves and prostitutes.

There's a vast amount of evidence on this from original sources. This continued until 1783. That year when two shiploads of convicts arrived, America, now independent, refused to admit them. The Virginia Gazette (May 24, 1751) said: "When we see our papers continually filled with the most audacious robberies, the most cruel murders and other infinite villainies perpetrated by the convicts transported from Europe, what melancholy and what terrible reflections must it occasion. These are some of thy favors, Britain. Thou art called the mother country, but what good mother ever sent thieves and villains to accompany her children and corrupt them with infectious vices and murder the rest."

Benjamin Franklin complained in 1769: "Their emptying their jails in our settlements is an insult and a contempt, the cruelist that ever one people offered another."

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

TO CONTINUE discussion of Carleton Putnam's almost full-page anti-Negro advertisement in the New York Times and other leading dailies. He quotes Lord Bryce of 1880 with hearty approval of what Bryce said on the "moral force" of the whites and the barbarism and savagery of the Africans. Mr. Putnam, says the the ad, "is a member of the famous New England Putnam family. Well, these first New England families made their fortunes in a way that made the most primitive Africans look like good Samaritans. These "aristocrats" **got their start in the slave trade, "the execrable sum of all villainies," as John Wesley called it.** With molasses bought in the West Indies, they made Read of their horrible torture of Irish Catholics and Quakers in A. B. Hart's Commonwealth History of Massachusetts; how they ran red-hot pokers through the tongues of non-believers; nailed the ears of those who wouldn't go to church on church-doors, and stripped Quaker women nude to the waist, tied them to a cart's tail, and lashed them out of town, all in the name of Christ. And here's what William Bradford, Governor of the pious Pilgrim Fathers, had to say of the conduct of many of them. Speaking of the severity of punishment necessary, he said, "And yet all this could not prevent the breaking out of sundry notorious sin, especially drunkenness and uncleanliness, not only in continence between persons unmarried **but that which is even worse, sodomy . . .**" (History of the Plymouth Plantation, p. 459, 1898 ed). If Putnam is honest, he must have been, like so many others, carefully screened from all these truths.



Mr. Roger

rum, and gave it to the Africans to capture their own people and sell them.

■

OUTSPOKEN historians as F. W. Taussig (Rum, Romance and Rebellion), G. F. Dow, and W. B. Weeden, have told the truth on this. "The trade in Negroes," says Weeden, "absorbed immense quantities of rum." All New England business, he said, felt "the initiative and moving power of rum . . , rum distilling and Negro importation gave tremendous impulse to industry and commerce and compelled the exchange to follow in the wake of the rum vessel and slaver . . . all feel the immense prevalence and moving power of rum." These first families grew rich by creating a drunken hell in Africa. And for their own safety here, they made it a terrible crime to sell rum to the Indian. Talk of "moral force!"

These early Americans were not only cruel to Africans, but atrociously so to their kind.

History Shows . . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

WHAT was the top news-story of 1958? The editors of the United Press International in a poll think it was the continued fight over integration. It was also front page news in the world press. Russian, Chinese, Indian and African papers featured it. Nor did it receive less notice in the European press.



Mr. Rogers

Why? What happens racially in the United States has a vital effect on world peace and stability. Racial harmony in world affairs is a matter of great moment to the European nations. I recall in 1956 how the race riots in Kentucky and Tennessee displaced the Suez and Algeria affairs for days in the European press, especially the French. The reason is Europe has become increasingly dependent on the peoples of Asia and Africa for trade.

Sat. 1-10-59

MORE THAN two-thirds of the world population is colored, and race troubles in America tend to make them more color-conscious. Asia and Africa suffered for over three centuries from white arrogance and cruelty. I have before me a French magazine, Crapouillot (Jan., 1936) telling the story of "Colonial Expeditions" with pictures and the cruelty depicted therein makes one shudder. The 20th century saw much of it, too. Can the Chinese and the Japanese forget how they mobbed and murdered on our West Coast, and called "The Yellow Peril"? Or will the Japanese ever forget the horrors of Hiroshima. And that the atom bomb was reserved for them, members of a more pigmented race.

Europe got its real start from the exploitation of the darker races in the New World, Asia and Africa. When the countries of the New World shook off the European yoke, Europe became more dependent on Africa and Asia. What would Britain be today without her African lands? And still more so France and Portugal? As for Belgium it would be, without the Congo, just another Monaco or Luxemburg. Germany and the Scandinavian nations as well as Italy are out to win more and yet more of the trade of darker mankind. In Asia, the day of the arrogant white sahib is over and where force was once used now it must be suavity and friendliness.

■

ON THE OTHER hand, racial troubles in the United States are not without some advantage to the colonial powers—Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal. They use clashes, like Little Rock, as illustrations of the better racial conditions in their own governments. This is particularly true of France where black Africans have much say even in the home government. France's present Secretary of State—equivalent to the post held by Dulles—is an unmixed African. The President of France's Senate is a French Guiana Negro and has been for over eight years. What has England or America to compare, ask the French.

What of South Africa where the problem is much worse, one might also ask. Well, America's importance in world affairs makes South Africa's almost forgotten.

Courier

THE POWER of a nation lies not so much in death-dealing weapons as in trade. Underneath the rivalry in arms between the Communist lands and the so-called free world is that of dominance in world trade. Russia, today, rightly or wrongly, stands out as the champion of the darker races. And is so regarded by them. In the United Nations, she is a bitter foe of colonialism. She comes out flatly in favor of Egypt, the Arab refugees, Algeria, and Africa. While the so-called free world must be diplomatic on these questions, Russia can be outspoken. Added to this is that Russia and China can produce goods much cheaper than the white nations and the United States in particular. This together with the fact that Russia has the reputation of being free from race prejudice makes her a favored nation in business with the dark world.

Dec. 7, 1958

Thus the race question in America is second to none in world importance. What is the Congress going to do about it? Who's to win Africa's trade will be a big issue in 1959.

Historv Shows . . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

TO ANSWER a few queries sent me some ask why the white press mentions Filipinos, Japanese and other colored peoples in the Hawaiian population but omits Negroes. Well, lucky for Hawaii that they were omitted or it wouldn't be a state now.



Mr. Rogers

But the original Hawaiians were Negroes as I showed in Vol. 1 of my Sex and Race. Professor Dorsey said that wherever the Indian Ocean touches land there are Negroids. "Call it the Indian Ocean or the Negro division of the human race," he said. The Indian Ocean stretches into the South Pacific. New Guinea was so called because its people are like those of Guinea, West Africa. The kings and queens of Hawaii were distinctly Negroid. Kamehame the Great was jet-black with wooly hair. His portrait and that of five other rulers are in Sex and Race, Vol. 3.

Sat. 4-4-59

■

AS REGARDS this latter book, I have also got many queries. It has been out of print for years. The entire edition with other of my books was destroyed by water from a fire where they were stored, and I haven't had the money since to get out more. But I'm still hoping to get that out again with "Nature Knows No Color-Line" which was sold out. That I haven't been able to do so yet makes me feel very bad. Bernard Moore X of Los Angeles called on me to say that the folks there are looking forward to my promised book, "Africa's Gift To America," and asks me to tell them when it will be ready. I simply don't know. So far, I've had it set up, but the cost is over $5,000. The pictures in it alone are $1,985. Some months ago I put it up to the readers of this column. This book, from what I have dug up, gives an entirely new perspective on the Negro's role in the making and saving of this nation. I thought, therefore, that some Negro group would sponsor it.

■

SINCE 1917, I have had to publish all my books. Historical research is not easy and when on top of that you have to get out a book yourself and try to sell it, it's real tough. There are no Negro book publishers in the strict sense and the good white folk who finance Negro authors just don't like what I have dug up. I am glad of that though. It gives me the distinction of being about the only better-known Negro author they skip. All of which makes me laugh. What I can't laugh at though are those persons who take my books, sell them, and keep the money. All but one are Negroes. They owe me thousands of dollars. Instead of such folk helping me, I've been helping them.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

SOME writers have all the luck. They'll do a book you'd likely never to hear of or notice and some idiot or bunch of idiots see it say it should be burned and at once it becomes a world sensation. Russia banned Boris Pasternak's "Dr. Zhivago" and made it a best seller.



Mr. Rogers

Just now we are having a sample of that in America, but with such overtones of ridicule it is making the whole world laugh. Someone said, "America is a land of surprises—idiotic surprises." This is certainly it. Garth Williams wrote a kindergarten book, "The Rabbits' Wedding," in which a rabbit couple—one white, the other black—get married. The book was placed on the children's shelf in the Montgomery (Ala.) Public Library.

The White Citizens' Council saw it and went up in the air. Them wasn't no rabbits. They was a black American and a white one getting married. An Alabama newspaper went to town on it; a senator said it should be burned; officials threatened to cut off library funds; other Southern states took up the cry against the poor bunnies; the book was taken from the shelf.

Sat. 6-10-59

IT BECAME big news for Northern dailies and magazines. One New York daily had it three times, twice in its Sunday issue. It was cabled to Europe, appeared in the papers there, and will certainly be told in all Asia and Africa.

Garth Williams became famous overnight. "Rabbits' Wedding" sold hotter than hot cakes. I tried to buy one and was told they were all gone, but that the presses were working day and night to get them out. Mr. Williams says that nothing was further from his mind than the race question when he wrote, "My rabbits," he said, "were inspired by early Chinese paintings of black and white horses in misty landscapes."

He had in mind, he said, a sort of "furry love" that children will understand.

Lucky man! Thanks to the race monomaniacs, he struck the jackpot.

■

ONE THING these superior white folk can always be counted on doing and that is to chalk up one against the United States. After all the to-do we made over Pasternak's book, what a delicious morsel, "The Rabbits' Wedding" is for Russia. And Russia charges it to all America. Mrs. Roosevelt says that when she told Kruschev that blaming all America for Little Rock wasn't fair, he replied, "Why, you're the United States, aren't you?"

Keep it, good Southern white folk. You're adding to the gaiety of the nations. Your next move, someone suggests, is to remove all books with black ink on white paper.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

DID THE difference in stability between the English-speaking countries of the New World and the Latin-American ones ever strike you? The former are more tranquil politically; the latter are in financial trouble or in a state of revolt or near it. You all are rich in natural resources, some, as Cuba, Mexico and the Dominican Republic, were founded before the U.S.A. These countries also had their fight for independence, but while America had only one revolution—the Civil War—most of them have had many. After each of these revolutions came a dictator, who, in turn, was ousted by another dictator, and he by another. The latest is Cuba.

Pittsburgh Pa. 1-11-59



Mr. Rogers

Years ago, I made a study of these dictators for a book, "Obscure Dictators." Some of them I found exceeded in monstrosity those of the French Revolution. Among them were Francia and Lopez of Paraguay, Dessalines of Haiti, and Heureaux of Santo Domingo. The incoming dictator usually butchered the followers of his predecessor, only to be ousted in turn and be butchered as the Castro followers are doing those of Batista.

■

IT WOULD TAKE much more space than I have here to explain the cause for the difference in stability. First, the English settlers started with that freedom of speech and of religion they had acquired at home, principally under Cromwell when they chopped off the head of Charles I, which led to freedom of the press and in making the ruler a Charlie McCarthy. The Latin-American lands had but one religion and their ruler was almost a god. This mass thinking, continued even after they were free, made it easy for the dictator, who, with his friends, fattened off the people, as Batista did, and which, as a result, brought in another dictator. He, in turn, became corrupt and that led to another and another—and poverty.

The Puritans of New England did with religion what the Catholics did in Latin America. Puritan history in this respect is a most ugly one. They treated Catholics as badly as the Catholics had treated their forefathers in Europe. But the rise of Baptist, Anglicans, Quakers and free-thinkers finally clipped their wings and made New England more liberal. Nearby, too, was New York, which was Lutheran.

■

OF COURSE, the U.S.A. had a form of religion that came near wrecking it—race-whitism—which is still a drag, especially in the South. Had the South won independence in 1865, it would very likely be in the unsettled state of most of Latin-America.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

IS THE power of Dixie in the political life of America on the wane? Is it losing out in the courts, Congress and the Democratic party? Look (July 21) thinks it is. It calls the decline of Dixie power, "One of the biggest political developments of our time. It means that the so-called Solid South, held together by the single issue of preserving the supremacy and prerogatives of the white man, can no longer speak with a commanding voice in national politics."

Pittsburgh Pa. 7-23-59



Mr. Rogers

Among the causes named by Look is the admission of non-white Alaska and Hawaii into the Union. It says, "Thus the historian may mark 3:02 P.M., March 12, 1959, when Hawaii was voted into the Union as the moment when Dixie passed into memory as a political force." Other causes, equally important, that could have been named are world opinion, fear of communism, and the rise of the darker races, principally of Africa. There is intense rivalry now between England, France, Russia on one hand and America, on the other, for influence in Africa. Every known instance of color injustice is broadcast in the foreign press and used against America as being historically unfitted for dealing with peoples of darker skin.

■

HOW DIXIE rose to political power is incredibly fantastic to a sane individual. In 1865 it went to war chiefly because it was weak in Congress, what with anti-slave states being admitted. It lost the war, but won Congress. How? By hammering on the theme that America had to choose whether it would remain "pure" white or "mongrel." It made the color issue the dominant one in the nation, thanks to the prejudice in the North.

Thanks to jim-crow laws Dixie politicians could return to Congress term after term and by seniority head committees that ran the nation. And they are still there. The notorious James Eastland of Mississippi, for instance. The evil that Dixie did to America after its readmission to the Union, is worse than its four years of Civil War.

■

THERE IS some comfort in Look's article, but the victims, not only Negro, but white, must not go to sleep on it. The skunk is dying, but there's a lot of stink in it yet. As Hodding Carter in his new book, "The Angry Scar," says, "The Southern moderate is a suspect as was his Reconstruction prototype. A more determined Negro is again faced by a reunified white South no less determined than in 1868 to circumvent the intent of the Federal Government . . . the stump orator's appeals to the past are as sure fire as in the 1870's. And the end is not in sight."

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

TALIB DAWUD, head of the Muslim Brotherhood, USA., and Tadak Enterprises, Inc., New York, has just returned from a seven-week visit to Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Lebanon. It was his first visit to the Near East. I asked him what struck him most there. "The general color and faces of the peoples," he said. "Were it not for language and dress, I could fancy myself among people of African ancestry in Harlem or Mississippi. They were of all shades from jet black to that of Adam Powell. You could see the African strain running almost the entire population. In fact, the people on the whole are darker than those in America." (This was my impression, also, on my first visit there.)



Mr. Dawud said that he talked with leading Egyptian scholars, including some at the famous Al-Azhar University, and they agreed that the Egyptians are an "African people with Arab culture."

THE EGYPTIANS, he said, desire peace in order to carry on their extensive program of building and sanitation. While he was there, the first Egyptian automobile came off the assembly line. Women have attained equality with men. They are in Parliament. (The last time I was there, they were wearing thick veils, a sort of jim crow for the female sex.) The people are behind Nasser, are strongly anti-Communist and are determined to make of their land a first-class power, he said. But in the Near East, the lack of water handicaps progress. Theirs is a "water economy." If those people only had some of America's rainfall, what would they be able to do? "The old saying, 'Egypt is the Nile,' struck me with full force," he said.

It is reported that there is a coolness between Nasser and Haile Selassie. I asked him about that. "False, entirely false," he said. "I happened to be in Cairo the day Selassie arrived, and the reception he received was tremenlous. He and Nasser signed a pact that 'all peoples have a right to absolute independence,' as well as came to an agreement on Nile water."

ANOTHER wonderful impression was his visit to Mecca and Medina, holy cities of Islam. Never had he seen such a variety of peoples before.

Mr. Dawud has been engaged in Islamic work for the past 20 years. He is a scholar of note. His library has many rare books on history and ethnology. Tadak Enterprises, 30 E. 125th St., New York City, of which he is head, has what is, without a doubt, the largest and most varied assortment of objects of native African manufacture in America.

History Shows

THE IMMENSE publicity given Africa in press, motion pictures, television, radio and illustrated magazines over the past two years has caught on among those of African ancestry in the United States and they are being increasingly interested in it. The best practical effort I have seen or heard of by them in this respect is an "African Heritage Exposition, 1959" to be held Aug. 6 to 12, at the New York Trade Show Building in downtown New York at 500 Eighth Ave.



Mr. Rogers

The promoters are the Cheville Publishers and the Kane Advertising Co., 109 West 42nd St. Their effort is city-wide and is being advertised by posters in the subway. In time it is to be national. Societies in other cities have engaged space for their exhibits here.

THE EXPOSITION will portray 4,000 years of African history, what Africans are doing today, as well as the role of the African-American in the early development of Colonial America and the making and savings of the United States since the Revolution. It will show also to the businessman the possibilities of African trade and the huge market awaiting him there. This has a very solid foundation. Africa, today, has the greatest untouched natural resources. By all accounts it leads in gold diamonds, uranium, bauxite and other products necessary to modern civilization. And it is a vast region. From Mauretania eastward to Sudan and all the way southward—the region in question — it is four times the size of the United States and with a population of about 250,000,000.

This part of Africa is the **new land.** It is to Europe and America what the United States was to Europe in the early part of the last century. And with this great advantage: While the USA had to import labor, including Africa's, Africa already has a vast and willing supply. And this labor though now in revolt against centuries of harsh Europeon exploitation is friendly to all who will treat Africans as human beings.

I HAPPEN to know the promoters of the exposition. They are devoted people. I do hope one and all will pitch in and make this initial effort a success.

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P. S.: This week marks the birthday of a very famous American, Ira Aldridge (1810-1867), who received very high honors in Germany and Russia. An excellent book, "Ira Aldridge, Negro Tragedian," by Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock was recently published by MacMillan of London. I've been asked where it can be had. It can be from Miss Mildred Stock, 560 Grand Concourse, New York City, for $6.20, or $1 less than if imported.

History Shows

THE NAACP which has just celebrated its 50th year is, and has been, the chief instrument in winning such civil rights as the Negro now has. It has benefited all classes. Yet it hasn't been able to win the masses—the so-called common Negro—to any extent. I have felt that for a long time. I recall when some Negroes used to dub it: National Association For the Advancement of Certain People. I saw, too, that at its mass meeting, July 19, at the New York Polo Grounds it only drew some 18,000 as against a capacity of 55,000.



Mr. Rogers

WHY HASN'T the NAACP been able to capture support of the masses after all it has done for civil rights? Well, it's one thing to fight for another's rights and quite another to convince him he has rights to be fought for. The simple truth is the NAACP has neglected use of a certain technique—one which though most peaceable, most proper, and very commonly used by all white peoples, would repel many whites who oppose injustice. It could even cause friction in the NAACP, itself.

Now for 300 years, the Negro, or whatever you call him, has been told he is inferior; that he has only such rights as the white man allows him. This dogma is made a reality by law and the mob. Africans here were told that their color was a curse placed on them by God, that the Bible, authority for everything, told them so.

■

THE AFRICANS, cut off from their native land ways and scattered on plantations, had in their next generations, no other alternative but to accept the white man's religion, language, and ways. There are many languages in Africa and there could be 50 Africans on a plantation and they couldn't understand one another. The Africans, as good Christians, accepted the doctrine of inferiority. Black mammies taught the white children they suckled that God cursed all black people because Ham laughed at his drunken father, Noah. A jet-black Sunday school teacher told his class, of which I was a member, that. Doubt it and I'd finish in hell. To be a good Christian and a good American, one should adopt American ways.

Think what this meant to a child enveloped by white domination as a fish in water. Most learnt to despise their color. Their white inside looked down on their black outside. Some bleached their skin and straightened and "processed" their hair in a pathethic attempt to reach what they had been told is the right color. Yes, something deeper than a demand for civil rights is the remedy. I'll say what that is next week. I have found that it works.

Rowan Wins Safety Writing Award

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Carl T. Rowan, noted Negro reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, was named winner Tuesday of a $300 second place award in the 1959 Newspaper Safety Writing Competition of the American Trucking associations.

Rowan won the award for his exhaustive series on drinking drivers, according to the announcement made by ATA President J. Robert Cooper before a general luncheon at the 26th annual convention of the ATA here.

The only Negro among the nine winners, Rowan and the other newspapermen won cash prizes

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier Pittsburgh 12-5-59

AS a close student of communism since its leaders ruthlessly double-crossed democracy in Russia in early 1918 and brutally slaughtered the opposition, I am personally nauseated by the "peace" gabble of Messrs. Eisenhower, Nixon and Co. and their blind and/or timid allies here and abroad. There can never be any peace between this murderous global conspiracy and the free world until the fountainhead of world communism is destroyed. If it is not destroyed, we shall be destroyed. Khrushchev was stating Red gospel when he threatened, "We'll bury you!" This has been Communist policy since their counter-revolution captured Petrograd in October, 1917. They have continually affirmed it.



Mr. Schuyler

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HOW REPRESENTATIVES of the free peoples can shake hands, eat and drink with such murderers as Khrushchev, who directed the murder of tens of thousands of his fellow-Ukrainians, is completely beyond me. It would not be nearly as reprehensible to hobnob with Lucky Luciano and his fellow-members of the Mafia. To invite these people here and let them circulate their propaganda shows, exhibits and "literature" simply softens up the American people for the kill, literally speaking.

Khrushchev and Co. are worse than were Hitler and Co. They have robbed, persecuted and murdered millions of Jews and refuse to let others or anybody else escape from their vast prison. Compared to these brutes, the crimes of the Spanish Conquistadores, the slave traders and buyers of Africans for four centuries, and all the much-maligned colonialists-imperialists pale into insignificance. In all, about ten million Africans were exported to the Americas as slaves, whereas there are twenty million slaves in Russia alone, while the Chinese Reds have enslaved their entire 650 million population! The Russian Communists have enslaved, exiled and murdered more people than were strafed by Genghis Khan, and they have been working toward the same end in this country since World War I. Khrushchev has been identified with every blood bath.

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FOR JUST a part of the truth about this global affliction, which is the sole barrier to world peace, I recommend a reading between now and Khrushchev's arrival, of the following:

"The Katyn Wood Murders" by Joseph Mackiewicz (British Book Centre, Inc., N.Y.C., $3), which details the deliberate murder of the cream of the officer corps of the Polish Army in April, 1940, by the NKVD with the full knowledge of Stalin, Molotov, Vishinsky, Khrushchev et al. These 15,000 were shot in the head one by one and buried in mass graves.

"Assignment in Utopia" by Eugene Lyons tells how five million farmers were deliberately starved to death to sell their grain abroad.

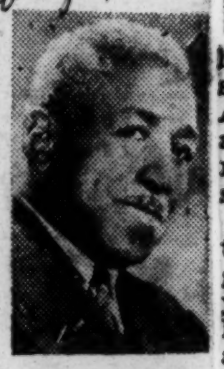
"Forced Labor in Soviet Russia" by David J. Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky (Yale, $3.75) details the Russian slave system.

Can there be any compromise with such a system?

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier 12-12-59 Pittsburgh

THE TRAGIC death of Manning Johnson recently at Lakeville, Calif., as the result of an automobile accident, was a heavy loss to the United States. There are very few anti-Communists active in this country who were as well and accurately informed about the ramifications of the Communist world conspiracy against freedom as it operated and operates here. A demon investigator with an encyclopedic knowledge of the vast Red apparatus above and below the ground, he testified in scores of loyalty and deportation cases, and despite gruelling grilling by defense lawyers, he was never trapped as to matters of fact. Indeed, when Manning Johnson came on the stand, it was just "too bad" for the Communist or fellow-traveling culprits fallen afoul of the law. Only once was a suspicious character given a clean bill of health after Johnson testified against him, and that was a self-evident whitewash.



Mr. Schuyler

■

A FORMER MEMBER of the national committee of the Communist party and once a member of the National Negro Commission of the conspiracy whose aim was to hornswoggle Negroes into falling for the Kremlin propaganda, Manning Johnson was an intensively trained alumnus of the party's secret national training school in New York City, specializing in Red political welfare. He moved steadily through the various stages of the curriculum all the way to the top.

However, being an essentially honest man, both intelligent and observing, after 10 years of communism (1930-1940) he got out and thenceforward devoted himself to putting his vast knowledge of Red subversion at the disposal of his Government. He served his country during World War II, and when he was honorably discharged, he had learned that peace and security could not come to America until the people were alerted to the menace of communism and the world Red conspiracy destroyed.

Becoming an operative for the Naturalization and Immigration Service, he performed yeoman service in uncovering Red plotters and dupes, white and colored, sending dozens of subversives to jail or back where they came from.

■

NATURALLY, this big, brown, jovial six-footer with the amazing memory and stalwart courage was the **bete noir** of the so-called intellectuals, black and white, who at one time or the other had been under Red discipline or did the Communists' bidding. Under the circumstances, their corroding hatred of the man was understandable.

Now that he is suddenly and tragically taken, there will be great sighs of relief among the erring, but there will long be mourning among those who know what this big, brave, patriotic man accomplished.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

A RESOLUTION was presented recently to the second World Congress of Soladalities to Our Lady meeting at Seton Hall University calling for the formation of a group within the World Federation of Soladities to "work out a Christian solution for the problem of exploding world population." The resolution criticized birth curtailment through sterilization, abortion or contraception as "unacceptable" solutions to the problem. The resolution stated the basic factor of the rapid increase in world population as one of food, and stressed "the right of individuals to a sufficient share of the world's goods to enable them to live properly."



Mr. Schuyler

The Catholics are to be commended for attempting to come to grips with the fact of the world population explosion, but it is difficult to see how birth curtailment can be brought about save through the methods which the resolution condemns.

■

THREE centuries ago there were only a half million people on earth; today there are more than 2.5 billion, and the growth becomes increasingly rapid. There are now 150 million MORE people in China than there were in the whole world in the 17th Century! At the same time the arable, food-growing areas have actually decreased. Moreover, it is estimated that there is actually only enough food to properly feed one-quarter of the world's people. Intensive cultivation is depreciating the soil and extensive use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides is speeding this depreciation. If by some miracle of farmer education, agricultural mechanization and extreme expansion of transportation facilities, the available food could be equally distributed, the nutritional problem would remain unsolved, and the populations now adequately supplied (U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand and parts of Western Europe) would suffer malnutrition.

■

IT IS PRECISELY in those areas where food is least available that the population explosion is worst, but because of the economic backwardness of these countries and their cultural lag, no real solution looms in the offing. It is even ridiculous to talk of planned parenthood in the circumstances under which three-fifths of the world's people live. It was not until the advent of preventive medicine, modern sanitation and pure water systems that epidemics were sharply curtailed and population began to soar. How can mere church advocacy of sexual restraint halt this population explosion, especially since the countries with the most people are non-Catholics?

Even in many Christian countries like the United States and Latin America rates of increase are as high as in India and China. It will take more than pious pronouncements to slow the bumper crops of babies which will make the earth as full as a sardine can by 2000 A.D.

Views and Reviews . 31a . By George S. Schuyler

FOR AN objective, detailed account of the calculated viciousness which has characterized the operations of the White Citizens Councils throughout the South, and particularly in the sovereign state of Mississippi, I commend readers to a recent book by a white Mississippian.



Mr. Schuyler

The book is "The South Strikes Back" (Doubleday, $3.95). The author is Hodding Carter III, brilliant liant son of a distinguished father whose contributions to the betterment of race relations are nationally known, as the Pulitzer Prize-winning editor of Greenville's Delta Times-Democrat. The militant Crackers have given the father a hard time, but that's nothing to what they may give the son, who is a 1957 Yale graduate and the newspaper's ace reporter.

IN THIS BOOK, we learn how the hard-core Southern white segregationists and opponents of "mixed" schools work to attain their ends, who is the leading light of this evil crew, and what they have done to spread the Negrophobic word throughout the country. Using pamphlets, photographs, offsets,, press stories, radio and television, these people have cowed black and white integrationists, liberals and moderates into submission with social and economic reprisals unparalleled since the early days of the Ku-Klux Klan.

In Mississippi (and elsewhere), the movement is cleverly led and supported by the leading white people, the so-called salt-of-the-earth folk: that is to say, bankers, editors, merchants, industrialists, politicians, preachers, labor leaders and so-called educators. Most of these are pillars of their respective churches, and all make a point of decrying violence.

■

APPROVING and encouraging violence, they know, would bring the Federals down upon them, so they're trying to be what they call subtle, discourage membership of extremist crackpots, but ready to use them when apparently required.

What keeps them awake nights is the fear of Negro voters. The number might grow, and that would sound the death knell of the lucrative race racket which makes public jobs, fat contracts and the uses of tax money a white monopoly. So, while decrying violence, they have not failed, secretly, to encourage rough measures to keep Negroes off the voting lists. Consequently, there are only about 8,000 Negro voters in the entire state.

Young Hodding Carter writes well, and not without tongue-in-cheek humor. His account is well organized, and he lets the professional Negrophobes damn themselves out of their own mouths. It is evident, too, that they have done a far better propaganda job than has the NAACP. This book is the real McCoy, and you should own a copy.

The World Courier Today Pittsburgh, Pa By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER 7-26-59

AT HOME—Welfare Secretary Fleming is overjoyed because there are 15 more school districts desegregated than a year ago. The big story is how many have NOT desegregated since May 22, 1954! . . . Virginia's hard-core segregationists in Prince Edward County have set up a couple of makeshift private schools for 1,500 whites but none for the 1,700 blacks. Public schools are closed. These are the folk who used to loudly profess love for the Negro!

The arrest of a half dozen white men for the Little Rock bombings indicates there is still hope for law and order there. The action of the Arkansas Supreme Court in outlawing NAACP curbs also shows how the wind is blowing as does the admission of three more colored students to Central High School . . . Remember the bitter fights to integrate schools in Gary, Indianapolis, East St. Louis and other Northern cities not so long ago?

■

ABROAD — Puerto Rico's ruling politicians say they will consider no change in its status until the per capita income level reaches Mississippi's! . . . Ominous note is the subversive activities of Chinese Communists in North Africa and West Africa, coming at a time when a Franco-Algerian deal is in the offing. Pieping's boys are also working overtime in Latin America, especially Cuba.

Shock to the anti-French African bloc led by Ghana was action of the premiers of the 12 autonomous African republics in the French community supporting DeGaulle's Algerian policies. This coming on the heels of assertion by Western Nigeria's Premier Awolowo that neutrality between East and West is a "disservice to humanity, disruptable and dangerous" and shows there is no unanimity among Africans.

The World Courier Today Pittsburgh, Pa By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER 10-10-59

AT HOME: Labor Secretary Mitchell, in New Orleans, tells the Anti-Defamation League segregation is a waste of a "vast reserve of human talent." That's echoing the obvious in Louisiana . . . New York's City College reports that its graduate electrical engineers in 1959 are all working at from $520 to $750 monthly. Of course, no Negroes among them!

Greatest casualties of desegregation seem to be the 344 Negro teachers in Oklahoma, and several elsewhere in integrated schools in border states. What is being done to help them? Assuming there are 400 such teachers who earned an average of $3,000 yearly (which is low), the loss to Negroes must be more than $12 million.

Problematical whether AFL-CIO head, George Meany, will get that National Urban League award after cutting the hog on A. Philip Randolph at Frisco. Are NUL faces red!

ABROAD: Despite discrimination against them, Jews in Russia are 10 per cent of Soviet college students, while only 2 per cent of the population . . . Unrest still plaguing the Belgian Congo where a workers' demonstration in the interior tolled one dead and four injured. Reforms have come too late.

You will be hearing more of Tsotano, the new African magazine in troubled Nyasaland. It may not last 'ong if it prints anything pleasing to blacks . . . Racial tension continues to boil in South Africa, but on the credit side, the government can boast of having built 76,683 new homes for Africans since 1952, with playgrounds, movies, meeting halls, water-borne sewage, golf course and electricity. The new Negro towns are over 20 miles from the big white cities. However, there are still 700,000 African workers living in urban slums of th- worst sort.

Cuba joins the Afro-Asian bloc in the UN, and announces it is "neutral" between Russia and the U. S. God help neutrals in this day and time!

Views and Reviews

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa. 3/2/63

By George S. Schuyler

BECAUSE the Negro community is the largest concentrated market for liquor in the United States (as indicated by our deplorably high morbidity and mortality rates) and therefore the most lucrative, a consideration by us as to who owns and operates the whisky trust is timely. A well-documented article, "Who Controls the Whisky Trust," by John Benedict, in the December issue of the American Mercury becomes required reading. Not only does the same crowd vend most of the whisky, gin, vodka and Scotch, but much of the beer and wine as well. Many of them are criminals, ex-bootleggers and tax-dodgers who successfully defy arrest and conviction by judicious use of their ill-gotten gains in the "right" political circles to such an extent that law enforcement agencies "lay off" them.



Mr. Schuyler

MR. BENEDICT has assembled a tantalizing array of facts. The Big Four (Seagram, Schenley, National and Hiram Walker) had four-fifths of the sales in 1951, or more than $2 billion. Having tied up 90 per cent of the cooperage plants and most of the white oak forests, the little fellow can't get barrels for bonded liquor. Seagram bought 51 companies from 1933 to 1952, while Schenley bought 42, including Blatz Beer, and Cresta Blanca and Roma wines. It bought Park & Tilford in 1958.

For those Negroes who just love their "blends," it is enlightening to learn that these are nothing but raw alcohol, no better than moonshiners produce. In two or three hours by use of chemicals and coloring matter, this mess is made to look, taste, smell and analyze like genuine whisky. Dr. Harvey Wiley once said, "The people who drink this whisky are much more liable to receive injury from it than those who drink the genuine article." Congressman Chelf once called this stuff "appendix cauterizer." To lower the proof to 86 per cent thereabouts, water is added.

THE BIG FOUR markets 84 per cent of the "blends" labeled as "neutral spirits" on which a Federal Trade Commission official testified, "I cannot conceive of any spirits being neutral . . . as I understand it, it is raw alcohol." And Representative Chelf added, ". . they have to add caramel or prune juice to give it the color . . ." Vodka is simply "100 per cent neutral spirits, plus water." It seems that in the blends "two and one-half per cent of the contents of the bottle may be coloring and flavoring materials, including caramel, sherry's, glycerin, etc."

So, unless one is very naive and trustful, he or she had better stay on the safe side and drink bottled-in-bond ryes and bourbons which are bottled under Government supervision after four years in the barrel, and are exactly 100 proof, or 50 per cent alcohol. Most of the cheap wines, loaded with sugar, are as bad on the system as the so-called blends. Apparently, one cannot escape the clutches of the Whisky Trust, but one can choose the best of the stuff, and not completely invite the undertaker—so soon.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

WHAT HAS happened to the Southern Leadership Conference that started off with great fanfare some couple of years ago with the laudable goal of getting the majority of Southern Negroes to qualify to vote? This aggregation of clergymen seems to have slowed down to a halt, or at least their mimeographs are silent.



Mr. Schuyler

True, they set for themselves no easy task, especially in the more remote areas where the Cracker oligarchy rules in the manner of post-Reconstruction days nor even in some urban communities where the indolence, ignorance and indifference of the Negro masses are logs across the highway of progress.

I have been waiting patiently to see or hear what these self-appointed saviors of the race were going to do to demonstrate their leadership in some other positive way. Are they, for example, going to persuade their flocks to establish credit unions and cooperative societies so they can get out of the clutches of loan sharks, pawnbrokers, credit parlors and the petty neighborhood merchants who reside elsewhere and take their loot with them on Saturday night?

■

SUCH WOULD be a revolution, for transcending in importance the registration of a million more Negro workers, because it would be an economic resolution. There must be at least 25,000 Negro congregations in Dixie, and with intelligent leadership they are certainly capable of doing much more than they do for their economic emancipation. Have any of the spokesman of the Southern Leadership Conference sounded off on this theme? Believe me, it would be far wiser to get Negroes to qualify to vote once or twice a year after they had acquired the habit of voting for themselves with their dollars every day.

Which causes me also to wonder what happened to Operation Dollar which was launched with equal fanfare by 500 Baptist preachers in New York City. The reverend clergy were on the right road there, but they seem to have detoured to follow such will-o-the-wisps as the March-on-Washington idiocy and the phoney issue of New York's "segregated" schools.

■

NOR, COME to think of it, has any sound economic (and that means basic) proposal emanated either from the Urban League or the NAACP: some program that Negroes in their communities can carry forward themselves without weeping in public over their plight, rushing into the courts every week, and yelling for help from indifferent or annoyed Caucasians. I note that one hears little or no wailing from Chinese, Japanese and Italian minorities who still suffer many disabilities; but in their chosen fields they are certainly acquiring greater economic and financial strength.

They are acquiring it by organization, solidarity, shrewd investment, thrift—and intelligent leadership. Where is ours?

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

CONGRESSMAN Diggs of Michigan and others are planning a conference on Negro economic rights. This is most timely and, as a matter of fact, such conferences cannot be held too often. However, it seems to this observer that they should be named conferences on Negro economic opportunities, because the Negro's economic opportunities are almost immeasurable. Indeed, Negroes have wasted a whole lot of time on their so-called civil rights which, in the last analysis, can never amount to much unless and until they have commensurate economic power. In a country which passes more laws than any other on earth, and promptly disobeys or ignores them, getting some more civil rights laws on the books is nothing to wax ecstatic about. It may be all well and good to have such laws on the books, but without economic power to implement them, they amount to little.



Mr. Schuyler

■

LET US take the matter of discrimination in housing about which there is much pother these days. What laws have been passed in this connection have been largely honored in the breach. And yet, when you get right down to it, solving this problem requires no race of Einsteins. What it requires is a group of people who know how to organize their assets and go into the real estate market in a big way. With a few million dollars available for investment, it is quite possible to buy or construct good housing in practically any district without time- and money-wasting furore, and it has been for a long time. Indeed, some Negroes have done it in many parts of the country, including the South.

■

SIMILARLY, the improvement and expansion of Negro-owned businesses (the backbone of any group aspiring to get anywhere in our capitalistic society) is not a difficult matter, except to the defeatists, Socialists, fellow-travelers and professional mendicants who have been the race's leaders by default for the past 30 or 40 years. I can see no sound reason why American Negroes cannot organize their liquid capital like the Japanese-Americans, the Chinese-Americans, the Greeks, Italians and others who started out with as many strikes against them as the Negroes, and yet today have infinitely more economic enterprises on a going basis than have the colored brethren. If Negroes had as much invested in an economic program as they have in religious, political and propaganda organizations they could stop yelling for help (which is becoming a nuisance even to the more thoughtful Negroes). For example, there are few hotels and restaurants which Negroes could not have purchased in the past 20 years (and they have certainly had enough experience in this field), but instead invested their cash in fields that brought forth little or no revenue.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

THE AFRICANISTS are going to have a "ball" on April 15, which they have designated as African Freedom Day, celebrating the first anniversary of last year's Ghana conference pledged to promote freedom of remaining African territories from colonialism. While favoring in principle the freedom of all people from foreign rule, those concerned with the welfare of the African people (in contradistinction to that of the ambitious and quarreling elite) are not so sure that all will be sweetness and light when the Caucasians depart. Certainly, there was little prior to the advent of the white folks about 75 years ago, and there are as many rivalries today between groups of blacks as there were then. The optimists are usually those who know nothing of African history, which is as interminable a chronicle at attacks, butcheries, extermination and enslavement as that of Europe, Asia or the Americas. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to assert that the past century has been almost the longest period of peace that Africa has known.



Mr. Schuyler

■

THE WAVE of the future seems to be starting in newly independent Guinea, where Soviet-trained Sekon Toure, the President, has already concluded a barter agreement with such Iron Curtain countries as East Germany, Czechoslovakia Poland and the USSR to exchange raw materials for manufactured goods. More ominously, both via Polish ships

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

The first shipment included anti-aircraft guns, and armored 8,000 rifles, numerous anti-tank, anti-aircraft guns and armored cars. The second was loaded with munitions and military vehicles. These arms were described as "gifts," and there is speculation as to how and against whom they are to be used. Certainly, they are not needed to police the 2,600,000 people of Guinea who overwhemingly support Sekou Toure. Nor are sucn arms necessary for the ruling Fula officials to slap down the rival Soso tribe with whom there have been many bloody clashes. Only Guinea's soldiers and police have guns and bullets.

■

THERE IS not a single white-controlled country adjacent to Guinea. All of the other former French colonies are ruled by black folk from the top down. So is neighboring Gambia and Sierra Leone, and of course Liberia and Ghana. I doubt if altogether they have one war plane or tann, so why the anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns, and the armored cars? Why 8,000 rifles which is more than the French had in West Africa in their heyday? Why are the Reds "giving Sekou Tore these arms, unless the Communist intention is to foment strife to further some imperialistic design? Is West Africa to be shot into federation as Samory, grandfather of Sekou Toure, attempted in the 1890's? Sekou Toure's "fellow members of the Negro race" (as Marcus Garvey used to put it) better be on the alert.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

AS THE international Marxist holiday of May 1 approaches (and as some of my Africanist friends are wroth because I recently mentioned the foothold Comrade Khrushchev has gained in Guinea through Comrade Sekou Toure), this is a good and appropriate time to recapitulate.



Mr. Schuyler

Let me first note that "Women of the World," the official, slick-paper magazine (in colors) has honored Mme. Sekou Toure by putting her picture on the cover. This magazine is the official organ of the notorious Communist-front "The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). This outfit is headquartered in East Berlin where the aforesaid magazine is published. I read it with interest each month, and I note that the lead article in this issue is on the recent Accra conference and authored by Eslanda Goode Robeson.

■

COMRADE SEKOU Toure's ambassadors have been busily denying that there is anything sinister about trade agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia and other Iron Curtain countries, or about getting sudden "gifts" of small arms, cannon, tank guns, ammunition, etc., from the Reds. They argue that nobody else offered them anything, but implied that they would take it if they did.

This is toying a little roughly with the truth. Long before the Reds got interested in Guinea, the French were bankrolling it to the tune of $25 million yearly. An international (Western European and American) combine had signed an agreement to sink $500 million into a dam across the Konkoure River leading to the processing of bauxite into aluminum, build a railroad and homes for 5,000 workers. Guinea on her part had guaranteed a 25-year tax stability. The U. S. company concerned was Olin Mathieson which a year ago was angling for U. S. Government backing. I have not heard that this agreement has been abrogated. So why rush to the Iron Curtain?

■

AS FOR the sudden gift of armament and munitions, a glance at the map shows the vast distance from Guinea to either the Belgian Congo, Kenya or the Rhodesias. So if the arms are used (and they will be), they will be used on neighboring blacks: i.e., Sierra Leone, Liberia or the Ivory Coast Republic, who are much better off than Guinea in this world's goods and the wherewithal to get them, and therefore excite the avarice of the Guinea Reds.

President Sekou Toure (who took instruction behind the Iron Curtain shortly after World War II) is certainly giving much attention to these matters as May Day 1959 rolls around. We can be sure that the Red agents swarming in Guinea are helping make up his mind.

World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

ABROAD: Crazy Boer South Africans have won their fight to remove white representatives of Africans in the Legislature. This means that blacks will have no representation at all—not that what it had meant much! Don't be surprised if a few bombs are thrown soon! . . . Smart politician Felix Houphoet-Boigny, Prime Minister of the Ivory Coast Republic, has resigned as French Minister of State to concentrate on home problems. His country separates Guinea and Ghana, so this is a situation to watch . . . Troubled Caribbean set for another explosion, with Guatemala having designs on British Honduras, and nearby countries having designs on Guatemala. Tourists, especially, should stear clear of Central America, where, at best, Negro visitors are not wanted . . . Now that Fidel Castro has been exposed as a Communist, what is the word from Congressman Adam C. Powell, who rushed to Havana to applaud the revolution? Fellow-travelers always run true to form, whether in the U.S.A. or abroad.

■

AT HOME: Critical is the U. S. Supreme Court consideration of the NAACP case against Arkansas which passed a law requiring disclosure of association membership and finances. Whatever is decided will determine the future of the NAACP in the South . . . The Litle Rock vote scheduled for May 25, to recall all or part of the city's six-man school board, will determine the future of desegregation in the city's schools. It is significant that there is any conflict at all . . . There is grief among Norfolk's segregationists because a court order preventing the City Council from withholding public school funds to avoid integration has been upheld. What to do now? . . . AFL-CIO bosses fighting the watered-down labor control bill are being "bugged" by discriminatory practices of Southern unions which persist in fighting the Civil War.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

SOME readers have not relished my remarks about the new Republic of Guinea, its recent acquirement of considerable arms and advisers from behind the Iron Curtain and its one-party state. This is very bad, but the realist must call the shots as he sees them, and not be carried away by cliches about colonialism and imperialism from African leaders and propagandists. One must consider not only what is good for a tiny elite but what is beneficial also, for the people of the lands concerned. These latter have massive needs, and simply acquiring freedom is not satisfying those needs, which include health, sanitation, transportation, housing, education and economic viability. The needs of industrially retarded, impoverished countries, wherever they are in the world, can only be served by association with richer and more powerful states having the means to help them toward economic independence, which is the basis for all real national freedom.



Mr. Schuyler

■

IF 13 OUT OF 14 of the erstwhile French colonies decided to stay within the French Community, they were uncommonly wise in doing so. From the viewpoint of its people's welfare and progress, Guinea was not. Claptrap about colonialism-imperialism will not feed the hungry, cure the sick, provide jobs and adequate income, or increase exports to the point where there is a favorable balance of trade.

If Ghana, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have found it expedient to remain inside the British Commonwealth while enjoying political autonomy, why were 13 of the African French colonies unwise to remain within the French Community which has the money, industry and trained personnel to help them?

■

ECONOMIC imperialism has always existed, and it is here to stay. There are two great economic imperialisms in the world today: capitalist and communist, the West and the East. Small and poor countries with a general imbalance of trade to their disfavor must, of necessity, have close economic relations with either one power complex or the other for purposes of trade, aid and defense. Even in the Middle Ages and ancient times, the weak lands were satellites of one power complex or the other, even when they were simply subsistence economies. Today, a country with only a subsistence economy or which is dependent upon one or two crops for export is in a bad way.

Of the two great power complexes in the world today (capitalist and communist), the richer, more generous and most humane is the capitalist, and native leaders who have the interests of their people at heart should ally themselves with the capitalist system of free enterprise, free worship, free courts, free press, free women and political plurality. The alternative is the Soviet slave system, which is worse than chattel slavery by far.

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

THIS IS the season when silent thanks go up from the white bourgeoisie for the great gift of the Negro to enrich bank balances. The holiday season is the time when colored folks coin really filthy Caucasian cornucopia, and the storekeepers, white hotel proprietors, railroads, airlines, bus lines and liquor dealers sing hosannas for the big parties "thrown" in Aframerica, the various conclaves and reunions staged (wherever they can be) in big "downtown" places; that is to say, white hotels and restaurants. These merchants shout with joy over the $250 and $500 "imported" dresses, the $1,000 and $2,500 fur coats, and the other items they have sold to sepia matrons and mistresses for the big Christmastime orgy of conspicuous waste and outdoing the Joneses.



Mr. Schuyler

■

OF COURSE, this is inevitable in American society which stresses things rather than culture; but what is saddening is that Negroes get so little out of it. In the horrid days before integration reared its welcome head, much of this wealth Aframerica pours out in celebrating the birth of The Master remained within the colored community. The harvest was reaped by colored hotels, ballrooms, restaurants and cabarets. Unable then to be fitted in most big stores, more of the brown ladies patronized "their own" dressmakers and milliners. There has been no change in the patronage of the white distillers, of course, since Negroes have never figured in this field except as consumers and moonshiners. The colored booze bill reaches at least $1 billion yearly by conservative estimate.

THE POINT being made here is that this commercial integration is a one-way street, very largely. When the black bourgeoisie wants to make a big fling, it rushes "downtown" to the swankiest hotel that will accept Negroes; but it would not invest a dollar in a good hotel in its own neighborhood, or in a Negro-owned hotel in midtown. It is the same story where "white" restaurants, bars, cabarets, etc. will admit the colored brethren—Negro businesses thereafter perish on the vine or deteriorate into dumps. The two Negro-owned hotel-bath houses in Hot Springs, Ark., have facilities service comparable to what the white places provide; but if the color bars were let down, the Negro-owned places would have to close down for the lack of patronage.

We need two-way integration in business and service, if not by establishing Negro-owned enterprises catering to all, then by buying stock in existing "white" businesses. As it is, while Mose does not look like Santa, he certainly plays the role to the hilt.

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

ONE OF the salutory results to be expected from the progressive withdrawal of the Europeans from the political scene in Africa, will be the gradual exposure of the vaulting ambitions of black politicians, the antagonism between Western-educated and indigenous leadership, and the conflict between tribal leaders and young Red intellectuals approving the methods of China's Mao.



Mr. Schuyler

The chorus of black agitators and politicians shouting against imperialism and colonialism has drawn atttention from the historical fact that prior to the white man's arrival in Africa wars were almost constant, human slavery was an ages-old affliction, and imperialism was the order of the day, as elsewhere. With no outside interference, we may expect these things to recur, since they ended only about 75 years ago.

■

THE MORE experienced politicians in Sierra Leone and Liberia are keenly aware of past history, and so look with jaundiced eye on the ballyhoo emanating chiefly from Ghana for a great West African federation. The more sage politicians in Nigeria cannot see it, and M. Olympio, French Togoland's premier, is also doubtful. The authoritarian measures instituted by the Ghana government in consolidating its power have not been reassuring. Nor has the recent marriage of convenience between Guinea and Ghana calmed suspicions.

Almost surrounded landwise by impoverished Guinea, and remembering the military threat of the imperialist Foulah chief, Samory, in the '80's and '90's, Sierra Leone and Liberia have no illusions about Guinea's Sekou Toure, who is Samory's grandson. They are all for nationalism, but they suspect that black internationalism, engineered by Leftist politicians with Napoleonic complexes, might lead to black imperialism. This would scarcely be a welcome replacement for white imperialism, which at least has the virtue of possessing capital and know-how.

■

SENEGAL, French Sudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey have voted to federate under the ancient name of Mali, with capital at Dakar; but they wisely remain autonomous states within the French union, as do other African states of Chad, Gabon, Congo Republic and the Central African Republic.

For linguistic, tribal, political and economic reasons a great federation of African states could not be viable for any time in the near future, any more than a United States of Europe, of Asia or of Latin America. Right now all of these new nations need white aid, credits and know-how more than ever and are importuning West and East for them. But there are a few black dreamers who would even resort to military conquest to bring into being one great black empire with themselves, of course, wielding the knout.

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

That Atlanta (Ga.) Presbyterian Church, formerly lily-white, which voted to admit Negroes on a segregated basis, does not realize that it was just such a decision a century ago which led to the setting up of all-Negro churches.

Negroes then would not tolerate second-class church membership, and will not today . . . "A Raisin in the Sun," by talented Negro playwright, Lorraine Hansberry, has been bought by Hollywood for $300,000, showing that opportunities for Negroes to tell their story in a competent manner, are not dead . . . UAR's President Nasser has discovered via Iraq that Sovietism is a continuing menace. Premier Nehru of India is finding out the same thing a la Tibet. President Sekou Toure of Guinea will soon get the message.

Africans in Southern Rhodesia have finally got the right to participate in the state lottery which carries a top prize of $70,000, which whites figured was too much money for black folk to win. This is one "right" that U. S. Negroes have had for many years.

■

Look for new conflict in the Central African Republic, now that Premier Barthelemy Boganda has died in an airplane accident. Tribalism will be at the root of it, as elsewhere in Africa.

Biggest news is not the daughter of revolting tribesmen in Nyasaland but the appointment of the first Negro cabinet minister in the federation, 41-year-old Jasper Zengeya Savanhu, who has served in the Legislature since 1953. He will handle racial matters in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Negro leftist leaders are now reappraising the situation as it turns out that Cuba's blacks will be no better off.

Indeed, the basis of all Caribbean conflict is the color line, and neither Castro nor anybody else can eliminate that — or will even try.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

HOW POORLY the bulk of American newspapers serve their public was spotlighted by the recent dramatic events in Cuba, which is only 90 miles from the USA, and thus more accessible than any Western Hemisphere country except Canada.



Mr. Schuyler

The American newspapers almost completely misinformed their readers about Fidel Castro and his brother Paul. They were made to appear as callow youths imbued with the spirit of freedom to revolt against tyranny, with almost no reference to their international connections; just college boys who couldn't take Batista.

This was a completely false picture, and informed editors should have known it, since there are AP and UPI reporters and many "stringers" in Cuba serving the American newspapers. With the hasty departure of Batista and his henchmen, there suddenly came a flood of stories about the horrible atrocities committed by the dictator's guerillas, the packed prisons and the alleged 20,000 victims during the period since Batista seized power in 1952.

■

IS IT not strange that we heard little or nothing about these atrocities until Castro won? What kind of news were we getting out of Cuba that such alleged horrors were not reported? If certain U. S. newspapers sent reporters into the Sierra Maestra mountains to interview Castro when, until recently, he was holed up there, why could they not report on happenings in far less remote parts of Cuba? I can recall extremely few interpretive stories explaining the background of events so readers could understand what they meant.

Of course, this is no news to U. S. Negroes about the journalistic crimes of the daily press. We have long been victims of unprincipled practices. One can easily count the Southern newspapers that have lived up to the best traditions of the craft in connection with public school desegregation. I know personally that most Southern newspapers have closed their columns to the pro-integration side. I have been so informed. Several Dixie editors flatly told the head of a news syndicate that they could not (or would not) let this viewpoint be expressed while upholding the Confederate position editorially every day. These papers are not forums but mere propaganda sheets, and thus perform a grave disservice to readers.

■

WHILE there is much hypocritical talk about the freedom of the press, we cannot discount the personal prejudices, political and racial, of reporters and editors, Southern and non-Southern, that color the news and determine its placement and prominence. For instance, in Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America, newspaper staffs are saturated with Reds and fellow-travelers, and while color prejudice looms large everywhere down there, one reads nothing about it.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

THERE is hardly an intelligent Negro in the United States with access to newspapers, radio and television who has not heard about, perhaps been moved by, Mrs. Daisy Bates who, with her husband L. C. Bates, publishes the Arkansas State Press, and who has become internationally known for her dedicated leadership of the public school integration fight in Little Rock, Ark. There is nation-wide pride in her courageous and resourceful leadership and undoubtedly, a feeling of great respect and affection. However, when it comes to help L. C. and Daisy Bates save their livelihood, the "race conscious" Negroes of Arkansas and the other forty-eight states sit firmly on their hands. The late and lamented Dr. Kelly Miller was not wrong when he declared that 'the Negro pays for what he wants and begs for what he needs."



Mr. Schuyler

■

NOT LONG ago I urged here that those who want to show their appreciation for the sacrifices made by the Bates couple, should send $5.50 to the Arkansas State Press for a year's subscription. The weekly needs 20,000 such subscriptions to keep it from going into the grave. Apparently, few of the Ku Klux-hating Negroes, panting to save the whole Negro race here, in Africa and in the islands of the sea, were sufficiently stirred by my urging to help save this courageous newspaper which is getting increasingly less advertising from white businesses and less circulation from Negroes. Although there are 100,000 Negro businesses of various kinds across the country, scarcely any have responded by taking out a one- or two-inch advertisement in this newspaper, for even one insertion.

Of the 10,000 Negro physicians, dentists, chiropodists, and registered nurses, few, if any, have shown their appreciation for the Bateses' courageous leadership by sending a $5 greeting to be printed in the Press.

■

OF THE 25,000 experts who fry and clip the Negro's wool, and whose shops resound with expressions of love for what Daisy Bates has done, few if any have taken out even a six-month subscription or a one-time one-inch advertisement.

The 40,000-odd colored clergy urging a fighting gospel, fronting the fight to get Negroes to register and vote, and making the welkin ring for civil rights, have not made any dollars ring in the cash register (if it has one!) of the Arkansas State Press.

A people without a press is a people without a voice, and a people without a voice, cannot speak or reply or defend itself. Even those with an IQ of eight years should have learned since May, 1954, that the only press which will consistently champion its cause is the Negro press. Had the Bateses' paper supported Faubus, it would be rich.

The World Today
Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
By
GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
Sat. 6-6-59

AT HOME: Fifty years ago there were no Negro oficers in the U. S. defense forces. Today there are over 1,000 and one of them has become a major general. That's progress! . . . More talk about anti-lynching and civil rights bills, but little if anything will come of this—except to excite some Negroes . . . The labor bill will die shortly because organized labor and its henchmen are too strong for the majority of honest citizens . . . A measure of the progress being made in race relations is the opening of city libraries to Negroes in many Southern cities. Latest to abandon jim crow is Atlanta . . . When the Department of Justice pulled out of the Poplarville case, it proved that lynching marches on! . . . "Liberals" are reviving the anti-lynching bill but nobody expects anything from it, nor from the FEPC bill . . . Florida's new law to segregate the sexes if and when school integration has to be done, is a measure of Southern civilization . . . Much to do about the children's book about a white and black rabbit marrying before the assembled animals of the forest. The South's opposition to the book shows the backwardness of it.

ABROAD: Good going wished for the new West Indian-African group in London, organized to fight racial discrimination there . . . Emperor Haile Selassie visiting Cairo and Moscow. Nile water is the problem, and Ethiopia controls 85 per cent of it. Look for an early deal on this . . . Nine African independent states to study Algerian problem. All of them would do the same as France if confronted by the same problem . . . Segregation moving faster and faster in South Africa. New segregated areas could be more of a headache than the integration fight. That's the Boers' problem . . . Much grief in Uganda where majority blacks have been boycotting European and Asian

ut who will vote at the dictates
t their leaders."

Views and Reviews

FROM what I have seen and heard about the program of the black Moslems in this country in the past few years, I conclude that there is much to commend it to other sects and religious groups, many of which seem to be distressingly unwitting of their way.



Mr. Schuyler

These people believe that their children should be taught in their own religious schools with a solid background study of the history of their people, and what they have accomplished, as well as the usual curricula. They believe in having their own hospitals, their own department stores, restaurants, haberdasheries, barber shops, dress shops, cleaning establishments, butcher shops, grocery stores, bakeries and shoeshine stands. Not only do they believe in it, but they are doing it. They are not only preparing and serving their food, but growing it.

THEY ARE creating a revolution by forbidding their followers to eat pork in any form or to fry any foods, urging them to stay away from liquor, to defend and protect their women. Holding that the surnames borne by American Negroes were slave names borrowed or bestowed upon them by those who held them in bondage, they have arbitrarily changed their names to those of their own choosing.

They believe in supporting their own, economically and otherwise, and this is a great lesson that too few colored Americans have learned. Too few have failed to face up to the fact that there will always be a colored community in this country; and that in order to hold its own and progress in a land where colored are a minority, they must close and solidify their ranks. This does not mean, as Dr. W. E. B. DuBois urged in the thirties, that Negroes cut their contact with white people to minimum and encourage a physical ghetto (which was criminally immature advice). Negroes can close ranks economically, operating business enterprises to serve the general public (as the Oriental communities here do) and yet work together without ballyhoo for the economic advancement of their national community. We are alone in not doing this, so are always rattling the tin cup and crying for succor.

■

TO BE SURE I cannot countenance fanaticism, religious or otherwise, and I wish these Moslems would spend more time and energy proselyting and less in denunciation of other faiths and sects, difficult though that may be to zealots, if they adhere to their teachings and program. I predict that they will set an example which their rivals will have to emulate or lose their following. Some of the Moslem program has been advanced by other colored folk in the past from Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington to Marcus Garvey and and Father Divine; but this effort would seem to be the most promising because cause of the zeal and intelligence with which it is being pushed.

Views and Reviews

WITH apparently nothing more rational to propose, some 80 parsons of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the "Alabama Gandhi," the Rev. Martin Luther King, have suggested a march on Mississippi in protest against the Parker lynching in Poplarville. Coming so soon after the proposal of the otherwise sapient C. C. Diggs of Detroit for an Armistice Day hike to Vicksburg, it causes one to conclude that some of our spokesmen are blowing their wigs. Or they have taken to hashish or started kicking the gong around. Perhaps the two groups (if Br'er Diggs has a group) should join forces, march to Vicksburg at the same time, accommodatingly notify Mississippi authorities of their schedule—and procure an adequate supply of bullet-proof vests, since November is the very heart of the hunting season!



Mr. Schuyler

■

IF ONE MUST march to Mississippi, Vicksburg is one of the destinations where the marchers would be at least likely to enrich the local morticians. I would not suggest that the brave colored marchers make for Wiggins, Fayette, Tupelo or Brookhaven, because I am not sadistic, so I want to see them return whole. I am also afraid that if the noble pedestrians should head for Tishomingo County, they would leave there so hurriedly that people en route would think they were crawling—they would see the soles of their feet so often! If I were an evil fellow, I might suggest that they converge on Pelahatchie, just east of Jackson. Many years ago, I visited that barrio on a Courier mission and asked a school principal's wife if what I had heard about Pelahatchie was true. She threw back her head and, laughing jovially, said, "Mister, **anything** you hear about this town is true!" Pelahatchie was the one Mississippi town where I never got an agent. The last agent there for a Negro paper left his eye on the street as he headed for Jackson. A dressed-up Negro preacher who jumped off the bus in the square, en route to a revival, was chased out raggedier than a jaybird.

■

SO, IF THE prospective marchers must go to Mississippi to protest lynching, discrimination and disfranchisement, I think Vicksburg will be the happiest choice. Nobody has been lynched there in decades, although I wouldn't be so sure about the surrounding suburbs. I can vouch for the jail being fairly clean because I spent an interesting evening there just before Christmas in 1933, when I came up in overalls from Waterproof, La., only to be nabbed by the local gendarmerie who were amazed to find that they had an NAACP agent instead of a second-story man. Then, too, Vicksburg is on Highway 61 going to Memphis, an excellent thoroughfare for hasty departure. There is also the nearby bridge across The Father of Waters to Tallulah, La., and points west. The Mayor of Vicksburg has also said he will greet any sable marchers who enter town, but just what that means, I wouldn't know.

Views and Reviews

ANOTHER superstition has been debunked! The universal assumption that because babies are born without racial intolerance there will be less prejudice against Negroes (or whites) by school children has been exploded.

Early last month a paper was presented before the annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association meeting in San Francisco. The study was made by Harvard-trained Dr. Ernest Q. Campbell, associate professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, and dealt with white students and parents in Norfolk, Va. He found that enclosed closing of their schools had turned the children violently against Negroes, so that 55 per cent of them would rather see the schools stay closed than open on an integrated basis. Only 37 per cent of their parents felt that strongly about it. This latter was due not so much to a greater liberality on the part of the parents, as it was to get the children out of their hair and back into school.



Mr. Schuyler

■

DR. CAMPBELL in making his study questioned 2,000 white students, and closely studied and interviewed a cross-section of 373 students and their parents. Students were in the seventh to 12th grade level. The kids were more liberal before the court decision, but once the schools were closed, they took out their frustration on the Negroes, blaming them for the closing and becoming more intolerant than their parents.

However, some 53 per cent of the white students believed they could get as good an education in the presence of Negroes; but only 36 per cent of the adults held the same belief. Significantly, 71 per cent of those who attended church regularly wanted the schools reopened even though integrated; 61 per cent of non-church attenders wanted them reopened. Concluded Dr. Campbell: "The striking thing about these findings is that the racial tolerance so often imputed to youth in contrast to their elders does not appear."

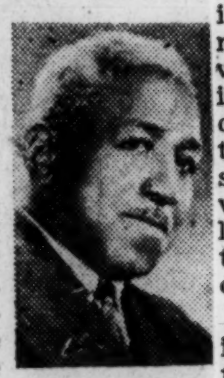
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HOW THIS superstition about tolerant children ever got got started is probably lost in the dimness of antiquity. Children are, because of ignorance and inexperience, the most gullible element in the human race, the most cruel, snobbish, unreasoning and callous. They are the fuel used by all demagoges and bigots everywhere to ignite the fires of revolt. That is why every calculating agitator everywhere works on them first. They have always been the most eager to torture and kill. In the long struggle to desegregate public schools, bigots have had no difficulty in mobilizing mobs of white children to terrorize Negroes. Every lynch mob I have seen photographed has disclosed a large proportion of what can be accurately called flaming youth.

Views and Reviews

THE National Education Association laments the low estate into which the study of geography has fallen. It wants geography instruction restored in our schools, and greatly improved.

Many who attended school 40 or 50 years ago are appalled to talk with youngsters and even people in middle age who are astoundingly ignorant of the earth. I am frequently asked by supposedly educated people about the whereabouts of places about which I had thought almost everybody knew.



Mr. Schuyler

Since there is vast ignorance of other subjects, I often speculate as to what is actually taught in our schools. There is a constant cry for more and better schools, and more and more pay for teachers, and then you are flabbergasted to run into the products of this educational process who can barely figure, cannot spell, and could not tell you where Valparaiso is to save their lives.

■

AS I RECALL, the study of geography ended at the sixth grade, after about three or four years devoted to it. Much of the early recitations were by the entire class in chorus. Beginning with Maine and ending with Washington, a pupil learned every state and territory, its capital and where located, and the products for which each state was noted. He knew every county and county seat in his state. He knew every country on earth, where located, its relative size, its products, its distance, and sundry other information, even to approximate population.

He started off knowing the solar system, the rotation and revolution of the earth, and the two hypotheses concerning its formation. He had to pretty well know all of this, for in those dear, dead days one had to make 75 in every subject or one would stay in that class until the school building was condemned. I remember how horrified I was when some years back I learned that children were actually being passed along from class to class regardless of academic standing! Even worse, I have heard this practice defended by alleged educators.

■

IGNORANCE of geography is inexcusable. Not to be familiar with the earth on which we live is almost as bad as being illiterate. Geographies are cheap and so are globes, so there is no reason why homes should not have them, along with a few basic source books, like dictionaries, encyclopedias, thesauri, almanacs and books of quotations.

Indeed, they are much more important than much of the trash with which so many homes are stuffed. There are jigsaw maps of the United States and of the entire world which can be reasonably purchased and which kids who are not cretins delight in putting together, and should be able to do so by the age of four, if not sooner.

Views and Reviews

IF THERE remain any Afra-mericans wondering why the white oligarchy that governs Georgia is so obdurate in refusing most of the colored brethren the privilege of casting a ballot, the current disclosures of wholesale graft and corruption in the Empire State of the South should wise them up.



Mr. Schuyler

Those who remember how former Governor Marvin Griffin hurried to Little Rock and braced Governor Faubus into defying the Federal Government on the issue of school integration, will scarcely be surprised to learn how Griffin's henchmen were fleecing Georgia while he was saving the white race.

Corruption in Georgia, it has been disclosed, has been widespread. With the new state administration taking office, 25 persons have already been indicted for theft, and criminal charges have penetrated into Griffin's family. One Savannah business man sank so low as to chisel $22 out of the state on the purchase of two wheelbarrows worth $22, for which he charged $50. He overcharged the state $18,000 on such items as knives, forks and partitions.

■

THE STATE PAID for equipment never delivered, such as earth movers, power mowers and harrows. The parks department paid for playground equipment and filing cabinets it never received. It also paid for rowboats that didn't float and paid $16,000 to employes who didn't work.

Big stealing was done on sales taxes. If a firm owed $100,000, it would hand over $50,000 to the tax collector, who would split the loot 50-50 with the state. He would then fix the tax records to show that $25,000 was the entire tax. One tax man who was miraculously caught for stealing $85,000 (and probably failed to pay off the "right" people) got six years in jail.

People in the know say that sales tax delinquencies run into the millions. State employes have a field day with fringe benefits, from having cars painted to houses built. State employes are used to help elect department bosses. Some national concerns have to pay off in order to get state business, as much as 20 per cent "commission" being necessary.

■

THE GRIFFIN administration chiseled 13 cents on every gallon of creosote and $1.90 on every pair of trousers for fish and game officers. Orders for hundreds of shirts and pairs of shoes were honored although no size or type was specified—and no shirts delivered!

One veteran political hustler jovially remarked that "60 counties are for sale to the highest bidder." One politician told how his campaign manager obtained $50,000 "to buy counties."

Well, you can see that it wouldn't be in the interest of white supremacy to let Negroes vote and grab some of this graft.

Views and Reviews

RETURNING to last week's topic of a national NAACP grass roots program of local activities to increase interest and membership, I mentioned the lack of economic, social and cultural activities, although there is much interest in them in every Negro community. With some 1,200 association branches from coast to coast, how many have sponsored anything of the sort. I have heard about a few credit unions, mostly in the West, but how many NAACP branches have a committee on the local economic and business status of Negroes which is carrying on a program? The opportunities in such an activity are limitless. It would require an entire column simply to list them.



Mr. Schuyler

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HAS ANY BRANCH of the association a cultural committee which actively promotes a string orchestra, an annual art show or even a photographic exhibit? In central Europe revolutionary movements aimed at achieving independence before World War I kept alive not by leaflets and protests, but by gymnastic clubs (Sokols) which enlisted large numbers of teenagers for mass drills and exhibitions. This served a two-fold purpose of promoting physical fitness and mobilizing youth for the cause. These clubs traveled all over and competed with other such groups. Of course they didn't "integrate" with other groups not like-minded, but they grew powerful enough to win the political goals for which they were fundamentally organized. They also discouraged juvenile delinquency. Can we learn something from this?

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A NEGRO short-story writer lamented to me the other day that there was no encouragement and little outlet for his or any other Negro's literary talents. Is the NAACP doing something about this? Would it not win the enthusias and membership of many potential young members now untouched who are not professional agitators if the national office inaugurated a drive to get the 1,200 branches to organize literary clubs? There young writers or would-be writers could meet, read their work, discuss mutual problems and talk about sales and production. The best of their work could be printed in **The Crisis.** The latter's circulation would gain thereby. An annual series of prizes might well be offered by the national office, thus bringing the best writers to national attention of publishers. Is such a suggestion visionary?

This seems to me to be something greatly needed in Negro life, and requires no vast funds to launch it. None of these activities would preclude Negroes participating widely in the general field, locally, regionally or nationally, so it wouldn't be segregation, any more than a Jewish synagogue, Catholic or Moorish temple is segregation. Behind militancy, there has to be something more than loud words. There are many roads leading to Rome.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT HAS been my pleasure in the past few weeks to recommend to all and sundry the purchase and reading of a remarkable work of research, Ira Aldridge The Negro Tragedian by Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock (Macmillan, $7). It is truly a dedicated work by two white people who seem to have laboriously consulted every source in America, in England and throughout Europe for letters, reviews, playbills and other data to piece together this excellent biography. Certainly no one interested in the history of the theatre should be without it. From the viewpoint of Negro history it is invaluable, and must take its place with that other original and informative work by Tom Fletcher "100 Years of the Negro in Show Business," and Rudi Blesh's "They All Played Ragtime."



Mr. Schuyler

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BORN IN New York City on July 24, 1807, dark-skinned Ira Aldridge attended the African Free School No. 2, and later got his first taste of acting in Brown's (or the African) Theatre, around 1821 or 1822. It was the first Negro theatre in America. It put on plays, vaudeville and musicals, from low comedy to Shakespearean tragedy, and became so popular that the jealousy of white rivals led to its closing. Ironically, New York Negroes have no theatre today!

As a lad of 18, Ira Aldridge worked his way to England, intent on getting a chance to do what was impossible in the America of that day where free Negroes were restricted to the roost as spectators and completely barred from the boards as performers. In England, Abolitionists were growing stronger. They had succeeded in getting the slave traffic outlawed and in a few years were to win the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. A brilliant Negro actor proved their point about the equality of man, and Aldridge was brilliant.

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FROM 1824 to 1867, he performed in all parts of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, from one end to the other of Europe, and was received with great applause in Imperial Russia, where the authors found a treasure trove of information about his journeys and successes.

Aldridge had a tremendous repertoire. He was not only the first Negro actor to play "Othello," but he ran through Shakespeare from "King Lear and Macbeth" to the "Merchant of Venice" and "Richard III." When a role called for a Negro complexion, he played it straight; when it called for a white person, he made up as one. An extremely resourceful fellow, he would on occasion assume low comedy roles, sing and play a guitar or dance a jig. He was hailed by the greatest critics of his time and met most of the great and near-great of his day. He was decorated by the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, King Frederick William IV of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, received the White Cross of Switzerland, became an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Beaux Arts in St. Petersburg, and received an honorary commission of captain in the Republican Army of Haiti, 17th Regiment of Grenadiers and Aide-de-Camp to President Boyor of Haiti (Dec. 2, 1827). What a man!

NEGRO EQUALITY

Paper Totters On Destruction From Whites As Negroes Turn Backs

George S. Schuyler Scores Negroes

George S. Schuyler, the Pittsburgh Courier's Pegler-like columnist, writes scathingly in the February 28 Courier about Negroes, particularly Negro businesses, who have failed in supporting L. C. and Daisy Bates, of Little Rock.

The Bates, publishers of the Arkansas State Press, a weekly that has come under heavy pressure from white advertisers because of Mrs. Bates' unrelenting fight for Negro children at Little Rock's Central High School.

Schuyler has asked Negroes to show appreciation to the Bates by sending $5.50 to the Arkansas State Press for a year's subscription. He says the paper needs 20,000 such subscriptions to "Keep it from going into the grave."

He reports, however, that few Negroes have responded to the appeal. And he adds that although there are 100,000 Negro businesses of various kinds in this country, scarcely any have responded by taking out one or two-inch advertisements for insertion in the Arkansas State Press.

Schuyler's full column on the Bates is reprinted below:

"There is hardly an intelligent Negro in the United States with access to newspapers, radio and television who has not heard about perhaps seen Mrs. Daisy Bates who, with her husband, L. C. Bates, publishes the Arkansas State Press, and who has become internationally known for her dedicated leadership of the public school integration fight in Little Rock, Ark.

There is nation-wide pride in her courageous and resourceful leadership and undoubtedly, a feeling of great respect and affection. However, when it comes to help, L. A. and Daisey Bates save their livelihood, the "race conscious" Negroes of Arkansas and the other forty-eight states sit firmly on their hands. The late and lamented Dr. Kelly Miller was not wrong when he declared that 'the Negro pays for what he wants and begs for what he needs."

"NOT LONG ago I urged here that those who want to show their appreciation for the sacrifices made by the Bates couple, should send $5.50 to the Arkansas State Press for a year's subscription. The weekly needs 20,000 such subscriptions to keep it from going into the grave. Apparently, few of the Ku Klux-hating Negroes, wanting to save the whole Negro race here, in Africa and in the islands of the sea, were sufficiently stirred by my urging to help save this courageous newspaper which is getting increasingly less advertising from white businesses and less circulation from Negroes. Although there are 100,000 Negro businesses of various kinds across the country, scarcely any have responded by taking out a one or two-inch advertisement in this newspaper for even one insertion.

"Of the 10,000 Negro physicians, dentists, chiropodists, and registered nurses, few if any, have shown thaeir appreciation for the Bateses' courageous leadership by sending a $5.00 greeting to be printed in the Press.

"OF THE 25,000 experts who fry and clip the Negro's wool, and whose shops resound with expressions of love for what Daisy Bates has done, few if any have taken out even a six month's subscription or a one time one-inch advertisement.

The 40,000-odd colored clergy urging a fighting gospel, fronting the fight to get Negroes to register and vote, and making the welkin ring for civil rights, have not made any dollars ring in the cash register (if it has one!) of the Arkansas State Press.

"A people without a press is a people without a voice, and a people without a voice, cannot speak or reply or defend itself. Even those with an IQ of eight years should have learned since May, 1954 that the only press which will consistently champion its cause is the Negro press. Had the Bateses' paper upported Faubus, it would be rich."

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

AS IMPLIED last week, statism is the Open Sesame to dictatorship and most of the new democracies (and a lot of the old ones) are only glimpsing freedom from afar even if everybody, with any genius or cretin, has the right to periodically put a piece of paper in a box to express political will. Practically all are living far beyond their means with one-crop economies dependent upon sales to and loans from the big consumers: i.e., the Western (capitalist) and the Eastern (Communist) blocs, both white controlled. While the desire to be politically independent is certainly commendable and legitimate, when attained, this does not necessarily mean that the people are freer than they were before. This is especially true where frantic efforts are made to industrialize on borrowed money and along Socialist (statist) lines. Where economic enterprise is not free, the people are invariably enslaved. When and where Government controls the economy, it also and inevitably controls everything else. In the process liberty takes a beating.



Mr. Schuyler

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THE MOST viable countries on Africa's West Coast are Liberia, Ivory Coast Republic, Ghana and Nigeria, and each of them is crying for foreign investment for development. The Ivory Coast which sensibly stayed within the French Union, has as much local autonomy as the others and has had for some time. The other three are still going concerns because of large European and American investments in capital and loans for the past generation or so, and on which they will be paying interest for generations. From the Mediterranean southward, the other "republics are in the barrel. Ironically, the Belgian Congolese are better off economically, educationally and in public health than all of the rest; just as in the Caribbean the "republics" that are not woefully impoverished are Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic where general mass welfare mocks outsiders who yammer for their "liberation."

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IN ASIA all of the countries are virtual or actual dictatorships although in some instances claiming to be free lands. Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, South Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, and to a lesser extent India, Korea and Formosa, remain in the category of police states where the Opposition has a tougher time than when they were colonies. Of course, the hapless lands behind the Iron Curtain are everywhere enslaved with not even any pretense that freedom rings. All are in hock to either the Western nations or Soviet Russia, and could not make the grade if they were not. The same is true throughout South America, even including Brazil, Argentina and oil-rich Venezuela. Cuba's ending of Batista's dictatorship where prosperity prevailed, has been replaced by Castro's with its daily murders, economic stagnation, wholesale confiscations and vague promise of elections two or more years hence. It is all this which makes the United Nations ridiculous.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

UNQUESTIONABLY the Negro is moving up in drama, theatre and entertainment. I was thinking of this the other night when I sat engrossed through "A Raisin in the Sun," by Lorraine Hansberry (a Negro), starring Sidney Poitier, Claudia McNeil and Ruby Dee, and directed by Lloyd Richards (a Negro). This drama of Negro life in Chicago has everything, just as all the critics have said. It is a play that has alternately the customers laughing, tense and crying, and it is most superbly acted. The play provides an immensely satisfying evening, and I should imagine that it will be on Broadway for many months.



Mr. Schuyler

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MISS HANSBERRY (who comes from a distinguished Chicago family) has over-night demonstrated that she is one of the great American playwrights and, of course, Sidney Poitier and the rest of the play's stars are among the top American actors. The crowded nightly houses prove that they are great, without using any of the gimmicks customarily used to play the box office. Here is theater art at its best.

The history of the Negro in the American theatre is a most fascinating one, considering the formidable obstacles in his path. As pointed out in my recent review of "Ira Aldridge," it began back in 1821 in the African Theatre in New York City, where creditable performances of Shakespearean plays were given, and the young Ira got his first chance on the boards. Unfortunately, the Negro could not make any headway in the theatre until after the Civil War, but thereafter he scored in minstrelsy and musical comedy.

IF YOU ARE interested in some of the prodigies performed by Negro composers, actors, musicians and playwrights through the past century, read that classic "100 Years of the Negro in Show," by Tom Fletcher. Also "Black Manhattan," by James Weldon Johnson. Too few Negroes today know that the great extravaganzas in the first years of the 20th century were written and produced by Negroes. Names like Jesse Shipp, Paul Laurance Dunbar, the Johnson brothers (James Weldon and Rosamond), Will Marion Cook, etc., abound.

The twenties saw a proliferation of musical comedies with such stars a Miller and Lyles, Sissle and Blake, Johnny Hudgins, Bill Robinson, Aida Ward, Florence Mills, etc., clicking at home and abroad. It was not until the thirties, however, that the serious Negro playwright began starring. The first inspiration same with the success of the Lafayette Players after World War I, starring such greats as Abbie Mitchell. Then during the depression years and afterward, American Negro theatre groups served as workshops for students of serious drama. With the improved atmosphere of the late forties and the fifties, the work of the dark dramatists has become acceptable. Greater things, I think, are now in the cards.

A Southerner Speaks . . .

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

ONE OF THE MOST shocking things to happen in Birmingham occurred last week when Mrs. Virginia Thelma Brown Robey, a school teacher of high reputation, principal of Douglas Elementary School, chairman of the 8th Ave. Branch YWCA, a very noted and prominent woman and a life member of NAACP, was arrested and arrested by police in a fashion shown only to noted criminals and gangsters.



Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

We understand that Mrs. Robey, along with several other school principals, was at the City Board getting their payroll for teachers. In backing her car out of the parking lot reserved by the Board, it is said that the car scraped the bumper of a certain white doctor's car. No damage is reported to have been done to the doctor's car. What damage occurred was done to the side of Mrs. Robey's car, and estimated at about $75.

SOMEHOW or another, this doctor swore out a warrant for Mrs. Robey, and it is understood that Commissioner Eugene Connor personally took charge, directing that she be arrested on this Friday night and held in jail over the weekend to be released some time on Monday. Thus three squad cars were alerted to look out for this lady, and about 9 o'clock we hear that three squad cars and five or six policemen were "waiting for her" at her home after she had finished doing some shopping.

She remained in jail all of Friday night. And though she did not have bond, some lawyer high in political circles, got her out Saturday morning on bond "at a reported high figure" so that she could be out over Sunday. She still had to be put in the county jail Monday to satisfy the writ of indictment.

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ALL THIS POINTS up a campaign of harassment and terror in this city that can be unleashed by the police at any time. And this case is supposed to have been personally handled by Commissioner Connor. Perhaps the background for this is Mr. Connor's own disposition of striking at anybody who is in favor of civil rights, the fact that Birmingham is expecting at any time a decision of the bus-riding case, and the terminal station case has just been aired, awaiting a decision within a month. Added to this is the fact that a petition for a general plan for school desegregation was submitted to the Board during this period with the names of 53 Negro families typed on it. The Board, claiming this petition not valid because "it could have been gotten from the telephone book," said in substance that in effect there was no petition before it. I think it was shocked at the number of names.

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IN SHORT ORDER, however, we submitted another petition having even more signed names (81 in number) asking for the same thing. One can readily see in the light of these events why one of our best ladies and better-class citizens has been so humiliated and treated by police. It is a crime against the standards of humanity when good citizens can be treated like vicious criminals for doing practically nothing.

But a great day is dawning for Birmingham, and Negroes are learning to stick together as is evidenced by the number of petitioners. We shall stand by Mrs. Robey and all other citizens abused for nothing by the police. We shall continue to resist segregation everywhere and at all times! We shall never surrender! We shall never quit going forward!

A Southerner Speaks . . .

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

I HAVE often wondered how men who get elected to public office on great promises of service, goodness, and Christian conduct, can so soon forget these vows after election, and do things so ungodly and wicked as to belittle the very democracy they swore to uphold and protect; and to act in such ways that their works appear to abrogate Christian principles, and deny the religious foundations upon which this country was founded.



Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

This is true from local assemblies to the halls of Congress, from the unenlightened backwoods township to the gilded halls of the learned orators. Brotherhood, righteousness, humanitarianism, all suffer because words come far more easily than perseverance, and political promises cannot become guarantees that the greatest good will be done. It is true today as it was in Christ's day that, "People honor Him with their lips, but their hearts are far from Him." And when the wicked are in power the people are troubled.

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AFTER WEEKS of terrible filibusters and string-pulling the Alabama Legislature adjourned last week. It was amazing as well as educational to see and read how some could stand solidly and filibuster against the very things most needed in this state; to see the power plays and string pulling by those who fight for the wrong while claiming to be right; to see the lobbyists with their great power struggling to broaden the base by which they keep their greedy lusty feet on the necks of the poor. Some good was done however, for a bill was passed which regulates to a much better degree—with penalties provided — the practices of loan sharks, those groups which had been acting like vultures in sucking blood from the poor. Money for education was also voted, as well as some other good things.

The tragedy was that no one in the Legislature filibustered against any bill designed to bolster segregation and keep Negroes back and down. In fact, one bill passed was designed to find out who finances segregation suits against the state: to inquire by committee into the directions of the persons donating the money. Another terrible bill allows the registrars to take time from registering people to do clerical work, and visit the various precincts. The reasoning here is that in any mass attempt by Negroes to register, the registrars may take off on other duties provided by law.

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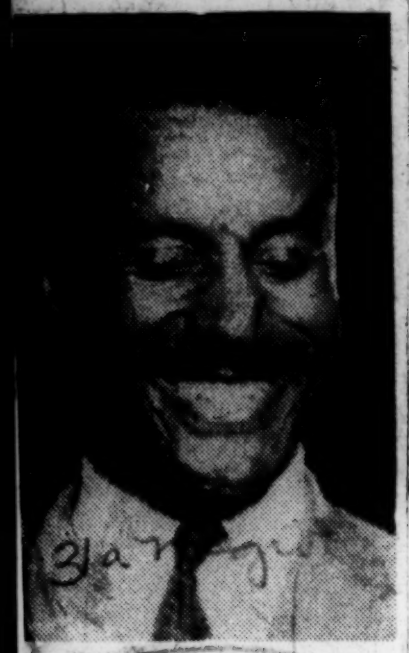
THE WORST ONE by far, I think, is one which says that in any Protestant church the vote of 65 per cent of its members is controlling. Here, the attempt is to bolster the rebellion in certain white Methodist and Presbyterian groups who are threatening to challenge the authority and jurisdiction of the higher church bodies, and split off if necessary over the matter of integration vs. segregation. How foolish some men are even today! How silly to attempt to dip and dab into the sacredness of the church of God. And those persons presenting such bills are hailed as great in our daily press circles!

These foolish gentlemen forgot to read or re-read that portion of the sacred document which forbids Congress to make any law regarding the establishment of religion. In this light this bill must be patently and clearly unconstitutional. But what does the great Alabama Legislature care about constitutionality? Alabama's governor defies anybody and anything! Alabama's Supreme Court has found error in the U. S. Supreme Court! The KKK is again on the upsurge in Alabama, with no word of protest from the governor. Perhaps somebody should tell these gentlemen of voice and dignity that Alabama is still a part of the United States of America!

Shuttlesworth To Appear Here In Rights Meetings

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham will return to Louisville on Dec. 1 for a preaching mission on civil rights.

The militant leader of the Alabama Christian Movement



Shuttlesworth

for Human Rights will appear at four church meetings under auspices of the Citizens Committee for Shuttlesworth. This group sponsored his appearance here last May when he addressed a rally of 1,000 persons at West Chesthut Street Baptist Church.

Struggles

Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, committee chairman, said that Mr. Shuttlesworth will speak on "Christian Responsibility in Present-Day Civil Rights Struggles," on Dec. 1, 2, 3 and 4. He will discuss a different aspect of the general topic each night.

There will be a meeting in each of the four major areas of the community — Parkland, West End, Midtown, and East End. Exact times and places are to be anonunced. Dr. Perdue said the preaching mission has the support of the Baptist Ministers and Deacons Meeting of Louisville and Vicinity.

"Purpose of these meetings is to rally support here for Mr. Shuttlesworth's heroic struggle in Birmingham and for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is doing a great job for equal rights all over the South," Dr. Perdue added. "We also want to stimulate activity for civil rights in this community."

Board Members

The SCEF is an interracial organization working to end segreation and discrimination. Both Mr. Shuttlesworth and Dr. Perdue are members of its board of directors. Other Louisvillians on the board are the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, presiding bishop of the AME Zion Church; the Rev. Daniel J. Hughlett, executive secretary of the Jefferson County Sunday School Association, and Dr. Katharine Dodd, Distinguished Professor of Pediatrics at the U of L.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

TWO FEDERAL court rulings were made in two days in Birmingham which leaves very little to be desired of the famous Dred Scott decision of long ago. It appears that they were timed and designed to act as a shock wave, dashing Negroes hopes for any early relief from segregation. But if this was the goal for these two adverse rulings—one apparently delayed and the other earlier the date given by the trial judge — they have failed, for we Negroes of Birmingham are more determine than ever to carry on until we get our just rights.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Each of the two judges rendered a ruling; and in each decision it was plainly admitted the officers of the city were in error in arresting and imprisoning Negroes. In the bus case 14 Negroes were arrested, jailed, tried and sent back to jail for five days, and then convicted by the city on counts of conspiracy and disorderly conduct. This bus test grew out of the fact that the city and the bus company had conspired together on the same day to drop segregation laws off the books, and pass a new law giving the bus company authority to regulate seating. A case in which 22 riders were arrested December, 1956, was even then before the judge to be heard when the segregation laws were wiped out by the city. Yet Judge Grooms ruled that "this one isolated incident had not shown the Transit Company had entered a conspiracy with the city"; adding that 'the city commissioners have not followed a fixed policy of discrimination; but that this one act violated the Negroes' civil rights, but not set a policy."

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INSTEAD OF ruling on the fundamental rights of Negroes, the opinion indicated the judge's concern when he said "whether segregated seating is secured by custom, policy, or uses, so long as it is accomplished by voluntary adherents, divorced from state action, no violation of civil rights is presented." He also ruled the signs in the front and rear of the buses an "economy move," and that the fact that the City and Transit Company's action on the same day "appears to have been purely coincidental."

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In the other case, after having been reversed by the Court of Appeals for dismissing the Terminal Station case, Judge Lynne, hearing the merits of the case dismissed it again despite the fact that Carl Baldwin and his wife had been arrested and jailed; that photostatic copies of both their interstate tickets were presented as evidence, and despite the fact that depositions were presented from persons from out of town. His decision called the arrest of the Baldwins "regrettable, and in the case of his concern that segregation should continue by saying, "while no law or custom may compel segregation of the races in public transporation, it is equally clear that people of goodwill of both races are free to observe traditions which for generations have been an interment part of their way of life."

PERSONALLY, I think it tragic that these rulings seem more concerned about the maintenance of segregation than declaring the fundamental rights of American citizens. They must be appealed, and will be speedily. Even the Birmingham News called the ruling of Judge Grooms "provocative" and editorialized that "the Federal Court decision will not be the end of the matter." To this, we Negroes say our most hearty Amen! And that goes for both rulings, and for those adverse rulings on the lower level which we may expect in the future.

Maybe these eminent jurists in their concern for segregation temporarily forget that each one of them represents the entire United States and speaks with the authority of the United States. But in a casual reading of the decisions, any one tutored or untutored, can easily see reflections only of the Southern way of life. But a new day must come.

31a 1959

NEGRO (REV. F.L. SHUTTLESWORTH)



Shuttlesworth Says:

By REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH

By ELLA J. BAKER
(Guest Columnist)

When the Reverend Shuttlesworth asked me to pinchhit for him while he travels abroad, he did not have to twist my arm, not even a tiny bit, to get me to agree to do so. This was true, not because I have any burning message that should now be made known, but for other reasons. First I know firsthand something of the pressures under which the Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth operates and I also know how conscientious he is about his commitments, and I am therefore pleased to be of help. In the second place, the smell of printer's ink revives for me memories of earlier newspaper stints in and around New York City at a time when I could legitmately lay claim to both youth and hope for a "bright future."

Alas, youth has long since fled and the future may not loom so bright, from a personal standpoint; but HOPE is still alive. Because of this I find myself an integral part of the vibrant, even turbulent present that has produced Fred Shuttlesworth, the stormy petrel of Birmingham, the South Africa of the South. For this, I am grateful and because of this association, the future, in larger perspective, takes on new and added meaning.

One can not recall the indomitable courage demonstrated by Rev. Shuttlesworth, Rev. Billups and others who were beaten with chains and similar instruments of torture, or participate in the spirited weekly mass meetings that are crowded, even though two regularly assigned detectives are present taking notes, and sometimes four or more police officers are on the outside; or hear average men and women eagerly testify that the Birmingham struggle has increased their knowledge of their rights as citizens and has strengthened their courage and determination to secure them;—one can not share these experiences without being reassured that a New South is being born and a New Day is dawning for Negro Americans because men like Rev. Shuttlesworth and his associates in Birmingham are determined, as they say, that "The Movement must move."

Since this is not the first time that I have lived and worked in the South in the interest of civil rights, I have the good fortune of being able to make comparisons between the early 1940's and now. The most salutary difference, in my opinion, is that the leadership base has broadened and continues to expand; and that more and more it is recognized that people, in large numbers, must act. The people observe that legal victories can be and are circumvented and delayed through legal maneuvers by the forces of segregation. They are becoming increasingly aware that court decisions, however favorable, become meaningful only as they are implemented by people making use of them. Willing parents and children must take the necessary steps to desegregate public schools.

Somebody must actually ride the buses to break down racial barriers where they exist and to make real the desegregation decrees when they are won. People whose rights to vote have been denied must be willing to file complaints and follow them through. To lead others, new techniques and know-how must be studied and mastered.

It is my privilege to work with people on all these levels as part of our efforts with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference since January 1958. Briefly the Leadership Conference is designed to help "facilitate coordinated action by local protest groups and to assist in their sharing resources and experiences." It aims to assist existing leaders and to help develop others.

It further seeks to prepare people for engaging in direct mass action, or resistance to segregation without violence. Its program includes leadership workshops, institutes on nonviolence, community education and action. Our community education and action efforts in the North Louisiana area led to a voter-registration drive in Shreveport that was highlighted by 250 prospective voters applying to register on March 19, and that is organized to continue as long as the books are open.

By making information available to those whose franchise rights were being denied, more than 65 complaints were filed with the Commission on Civil Rights; and a public hearing was scheduled in Shreveport for Aug. 13. How this hearing was scuttled by the State of Louisiana, and the reaction of those who had filed complaints is a story that dramatizes the agonizing birth pains of the South that inevitably must be. We hope we can share it with you.



Shuttlesworth Says:

By REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH

As these lines are read, I shall be sailing on the high seas to Europe with the Rev. and Mrs. N. H. Smith Jr., to the International Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Vienna, Austria.

Having been invited to be a participant, Rev. Smith, our ACM HR secretary, will have the high honor of addressing this conference with a prepared address. This should be for all of us, however, a most interesting trip as we visit the old world and be thinking of the new.

Of course, travel isn't new in these days of travel—except to those who have not traveled abroad before. Since we fall into the second category, we shall be anxiously waiting to see the historic spots and things in the Old Country.

The customs and habits of the people, and how they do things and get along together will be of special interest to us, who are so vitally tied up in this civil rights fight here at home. Not only this, but to perhaps trace some of the routes of the ancient powerful armies of old; and to perhaps place our feet on spots of earth where some of the world's greatest scholars have trodden will lift our souls.

As we go through the continent, surely we shall be reminded of the chaotic state of human affairs so clearly visible in a divided Germany, unsettled France, and unstable England, as the East and West pull strings, flex their military muscles, and cringe in fear of the awesome calamity which will surely come if World War III finally breaks out among men.

More than this, the desperateness that seems to prevail in human affairs, the appalling misery and suffering which I am sure we shall see in certain places, will serve to remind us that the hand of God is needed above all else in our world. For those who handle the missiles are afraid of them, and those who seek to negotiate seem to be afraid of each other. Come quickly, O Dove of Peace, lest by thy lingering, men shall burn themselves up in the fires of destruction rather than be exhalted together as brothers by the flame of God's spirit!

I said we shall be thinking of the New world. And no place in the New world needs the spirit of the living God and the spirit of brotherliness more than this Southland of ours—and especially Birmingham, Ala. It is wonderful to read reports that there is peaceful registration once more in Arkansas. Maybe being tired of stewing in their own juice, with Faubus kindling the fire, Little Rock citizens having at long last learned to let Faubus stew in his own juice and burn himself with his own fire.

Congratulations are in order for the Negro people of Little Rock for their calmness and courage in spite of soldiers and mobs. They are registering at all of the schools. This is as it should be—and a march toward the true goals of liberty. Negroes in the South must never stop until there be not white schools and Negro schools, but just schools—American schools for American boys and girls without regard to race, creed, or color.

In our thoughts also will be the constant, almost daily reports of rapes, brutal attacks, and murders carried by the papers. It seems that the incidence of rape has increased since the Tallahassee rape case; and I believe that much of this is retaliatory. But rapes, brutal attacks, and murders never make good reading, nor bespeak intelligence of the part of persons doing these things.

It is perhaps well that the spotlight of national conscience has forced Southern justice to at last condemn white men to death and to life imprisonment for rape of Negroes as it has always done to Negroes for rape and even attempted rape. Whether we agree with capital punishment or not, is not the point; the fact is that there should be for all the exact and same punishment for the very same crimes.

This is written to call attention to all of us—Negroes and whites, that crime does not pay; that none should do violence to the other in thought, word or deed; that we have the solemn and sacred duty of simply living together as American sisters and brothers—of hoping the best for each other, and praying that God will grant to each other His blessings.

A Southerner Speaks . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

GREAT events are taking place in our world today. Heads of states are visiting one another in such large numbers as to make such visits commonplace. Scientific hardware is being flung into the heavens at such a rate that one cannot help getting the feeling that man is effectively probing outer space with much more sincerity than he is seriously searching the inner recesses of his own soul.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

This summer in Europe I was amazed at the very great number of tourists traveling through the different countries, and upon learning from released figures that 15,000,000 persons had passed through Italy alone (I do not know what period or length of time this figure embraced). Another source of surprise for me was the discovery that many thousands of Europeans, thought to be poor, are traversing the continent—and some places off the continent—in search of adventure, contact, and the thrill of having seen the relics and places of antiquity in the Old World.

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SOMETHING IS going on, and it's good for the world. With the arrival of jets and new modes of transportation, and the enticements offered tourists now, it is certain that the world can on longer remain a dark closet for the underprivileged many and a happy springboard for the special few. When common people meet on equal terms from all spheres, there is generated within their hearts a feeling of genuine oneness, of sameness of need and spirit. In the travels mentioned above, and the strivings together of the Arabs, Africans and Asian peoples, one can see the beginning—at least—of the fulfilment of the ecclesiastic verse, "The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up"—Matthew 4:16.

Now Russia has proved her prowess in scientific skill by hitting the moon 240,000 miles away, and Nikita Khrushchev is visiting us. For many Americans these things are a source of mental anguish and vexation of spirit. Some Americans are acting like scared babies, and others are prone to act like enraged beasts. But many Americans will take these things for what they are: an opportunity to show ourselves sane and sound when at a disadvantage, temporary or not, and a chance to prove that our democracy is so vital and furnishes us the strength to face any man, any situation, any system — or any catastrophe— with firmness of character and resoluteness of soul.

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IF SOME ARE afraid of communism or anything so that we cannot extend to any invited guest common courtesy, then some basic thing is lacking in our culture. The truth is that Khrushchev comes out of a system where oftimes ruthless methods are the order of the day, and Khrushchev does not pretend in any word or manner to represent God. He is what he is: a man who smiles when it suits him and uses maniacal tactics when necessary to gain his ends. He makes no bones about what he believes or what he wants.

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We represent God, Christianity and democracy. Truth—impartial truth—would ask whether there can be justification in the Christian conscience for wiping out two whole cities with countless thousands of lives with just two bombs; or whether, in the light of sordid, inhuman and undemocratic acts committed in the South against her own people, America can qualify as the Christian nation to lead other nations of the world in law and order. Truth would ask that we would face hard facts about ourselves and our system at the very same time we face Khrushchev and his system. Truth would ask if we are willing and ready to wholeheartedly clean up ourselves in order that we might help clean up the world.

A Southerner Speaks . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

NOW THAT Mr. Khrushchev of Russia has been here and gone, the American public has been left in a sort of daze — trying to figure out just how much good or evil this man has done in meeting and mixing with that small part of the American public with which he came in contact. More than this, they are wondering whether or not the average American diplomat stands on the same level as the Russians when it comes to debating great world issues, and holding up your side of the issue.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Important, too, I think, this nation has been brought, in an extremely short time, face to face with the stark fact that democracy has to move fast in cleaning up itself if it is to win the slugging match with communism for the minds of men. It was apathetic that our leading Negro dignitary assigned to the Khrushchev entourage could only say to Mr. Khrushchev, "We are working forward toward solving our racial problems, and are making some progress." He should have been able to say, "Under the laws, we move forward vigorously to eradicate all evil in our democratic society; we have outlawed segregation and will have it wiped out in a very short time." Truthfully, there is no positive policy yet on the part of our Government for dealing with segregation and discrimination.

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WHILE MR. K. WAS HERE, our diplomats were trying to impress him with the vitality of democracy, colored and white citizens who agreed with them, were being denied service at lunch counters of public stores in Miami, Fla. Sponsored by CORE, efforts were being made to get humane treatment for all human beings in this city of glorious sunlight. I know, because I sat with them and was refused service. Sunshiny weather in an American city is not necessarily an indication that there is brightness in the human hearts. It brought happiness to my heart when speaking at a mass meeting in Miami, to hear the hundreds of citizens—white and black—pledge themselves to continue to fight until the dignity of human beings in Miami becomes a reality. I really believe they meant it.

A great source of happiness to me at this meeting, also, was the initial distribution by those present of a brochure published by The Southern Conference Educational Fund on this terrible situation in Birmingham, Ala., entitled "THEY CHALLENGE SEGREGATION AT ITS CORE." Cooperating with our local organization here in Birmingham — the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights — the SCEF has had printed for distribution about 19,000 copies.

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THIS PAMPHLET is worthy of distribution, and reflects credit on SCEF for its courage and initiative in daring to expose the humiliating and sacrificial struggle here in Birmingham, Ala. It is my hope that this brochure will be widely distributed; and we will be happy to mail copies of it to any individual or organization who will write either to ACMHR in Birmingham, Ala., or to SCEF requesting them.

At this time, Tennessee officials with Dixiecrat hearts are seeking to close Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., not because the school is really communistic — as they say — but because the leaders of this school believe in full-fledged democracy, integration of all citizens so that they might fully enjoy the benefits of that democracy, and the equal treatment of all citizens under the laws of the United States. One building has been padlocked, another hearing is under way. After it is over, they will have exposed what they only knew at first: that Monteagle believes in and teaches integration. I have only pity for those who study the dictionary and can find that segregation means communism. The whole country is being dragged down into the mud by those who stand at the top of the ladder of leadership with minds buried deep in yesterday's mud.

A Southerner Speaks . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE BIRMINGHAM News had an interesting editorial Oct. 5, 1959 on remarks of a certain Prof. Cornelius Golightly, associate professor of philosophy of the University of Wisconsin. It quoted him as saying there is "too much of people at the top shouting off for the whole (Negro) group. I can't speak for the Negro. I can't even speak for my wife." This professor is also supposed to have said in his remarks to the Ambassadors Club that some Negroes were concerned with ideals of the Negro race but that others were opportunistic and saw problems involving Negroes as a "way to get ahead and get publicity."



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

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THE ARTICLE also sopke of the various types of Negro leadership in the United States outlined by Prof. Golightly as: Protest-persons who insist on Negro democratic rights immediately, classifying this as the technique of NAACP; Conservative—those who believe that the Negro is not immediately ready for full democratic rights; Compromise—race relation experts trying to represent the thinking of whites and Negroes; and Nationalists—persons trying to sell the Negro the idea of the National Heritage (such as the Moslems). The editorial appeared to be slanted in a way that shows this professor as obviously "an integrationist," but evidently critical of the dynamic Negro leadership of this day. The editorial also called him a man of "obvious intelligence and perceptiveness."

It was the last paragraph which shows how far Southern segregationsts will go to take a slap at any person who would dare assume the leadership position of Negroes asking for their Civil Rights.

"The Golightly reference to opportunistic should be thoroughly noted hereabouts. We suspect many a substantial Negro business or professional man in Birmingham could name at least one who would fit into that category."

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CLEARLY, THE editor was referring to Shuttlesworth. But it matters little what is printed about a person; it matters much more what the person really means. Of more interest to me are the first words quoted by the professor. Does he think that now is the time for Negroes to be quiet? What sort of philosophy is this that would seem to urge no leadership at all for Negroes at a time when segregationists are doing every thing in their power to stop the march of Negroes toward their just Civil Rights? Many Negroes already feel that we have been quiet too long—and that somebody, somewhere ought let the world know that the Negro is tired of segreagtion.

Dynamic leadership today, according to this article, would be classified as protest leadership. Here would be the great leaders of our time: Martin L. King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, C. K. Steele, T. J. Jemison, NAACP, and thousands of persons and organizations who know that now is the time for freedom!

■

MANY TEACHERS have lost their jobs speaking and acting "out." Hundreds in the South are victims of terror and oppression. The common man, the so-called low-class man, and the middle classes all are asking somebody to speak out. Those having nothing to say, are not finding proper words to say what they know ought be said, would do better keeping quite.

The professor was right after all. He can't speak for the Negro; and Negroes want no one with neither voice nor vision to attempt speaking for them. It may be tragic that those who have been elevated above the masses seem to have become insulated from the masses; and seem to be openly unperturbed over the plight and condition of the underprivileged masses. But such was the condition in the days of Christ: that those who were able to do more and should have done more for the masses actually did less.

A Southerner Speaks . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

EVERYWHERE ONE goes these days he finds papers and magazines full of reports, interpretations and views on the Krushchev visit to our country. All of it is interesting if only because of the fact that Mr. K's trip tends to focus the glaring spotlight of consciousness on the heart of two ideological systems which today are in struggling competition to win the hearts of the world. In seeking to outshine each other, the goodness—if there be such—and the evil of both will be seen and weighed in perspective.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Nothing Mr. K has said or that has been written about him struck me as did related articles from two magazines on the President's purpose for inviting the Russian Premier here. The magazine section of the Sept. 20 issue of the B'ham News quoted the President: "I want him to see a happy people. I want him to see a free people, doing exactly as they choose, within the limits that they must not transgress the rights of others." And the U. S. News & World Report, Sept. 21, had this quote under a serious-minded picture of the President: " . . . To let him see and feel a great and thriving nation living in real freedom."

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THE PHRASES, "happy people . . . free people . . . doing exactly as they choose . . . living in real freedom," made my heart pray perhaps more deeply than ever, because these ideals are so far from real in most places in America. And, because of Mr. Eisenhower's own personality and seeming capability of doing nothing more than speaking such phrases, the situation in the South is worse today than ever. Real democracy and freedom are a long way off.

Mr. K was taken on a guided tour of just a few places and shown, among other things, better breeds of hogs and turkeys, better methods of farming, and a few housing projects. Because of the advanced, widely publicized dislike of the man by nearly all high public officials and practically all media of communication, most of the people in this "free and happy" democracy who have met and seen the Premier have been silent, sullen, unfriendly, glaring, and some just plain discourteous. And Congress flew the coop!

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MAYBE WHAT Khrushchev "sees and feels in this great and thriving nation" will make the cold war colder. But, thank God, we now read of some people on the West Coast being friendly and showing some respect.

I'm glad Khrushchev didn't come South where you can go to jail for sitting on a bus, where certain officials openly curse the law and the courts, where churches and homes can be bombed, and where mobsters and lynchers have gotten away with crimes. Coming here, Mr. K would certainly have discovered thousands not "doing exactly as they choose," and some others openly "transgressing the rights of others." But all is not darkness: there are bright spots on the horizon telling that freedom is coming.

I just hope Mr. K does not get a fixed impression that American democracy is capable of producing a better breed of pigs than people, bigger-breasted turkeys than big-hearted people, and a better strain of cattle and corn than culture of the people who consume them.

Shuttlesworth Says . . .

By Fred Shuttlesworth

CERTAIN SOUTHERNERS in Congress again are up to their old revengeful tricks. These fossilized minds of a bygone age are avowed enemies of anybody and anything that is in favor of civil rights, civil liberties or equality of citizens irrespective of race, creed or color.



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

These gentlemen think it far-more important to be mobilized against Negroes and the inevitable triumph of integration than to keep ahead of Russian communism, or to bolster America's sagging influence abroad.

These make certain that any white man or Negro who advocates integration is harrassed, intimidated and called a Communist. Public slander, crucifixion by committees, assassination of character, insinuation of guilt without proof, are the main tactics of these persons, who, in the name of Americanism, lay great claims on patriotism and loyalty.

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WHAT IS MORE un-American than efforts, tending to make people fearful of speaking, of thinking, of normal association with their fellowmen, and of taking a public stand for what one believes to be right in a democracy? What is more un-American than to wreck a whole life simply by accusations alone?

International communism is a menace to democratic principles; it makes pawns of the individual, and civil liberties become unimportant when certain ends are to be reached. God, Himself, becomes a nonentity, and no evil is too bad when attaining certain goals.

Democracy believes God is the Creator, and sovereign Ruler of the universe. The individual, being made in God's image and endowed with His intellect, is the most important thing on earth, or in government. Therefore, governments are instituted by, through and for men, and remain so long as to serve the important function of making life fuller and better for the individual. Hence, the Constitutional safeguards and the Bill of Rights, and more important—the courts.

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IN THIS democratic form of government, men are supposed to be imaginative and creative—not cowardly or crawling; zestful and energetic—not stultified zombies to move and act when someone else pushes a button.

It would be the worst of American tragedies if our democratic methods and procedures were to become exactly like imperialistic and communistic methods and doings. It would be terrible for America if its people ceased to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

It would be anarchy if each man would be required to be suspicious of, spy on, lie about, and accuse every other man in American society. There could be no true neighbors, no true friends, no real confidence. And, what a country this would be?

THIS IS WHY Americans—white, Negro, and all others—must not let the enemies of democracy—whether they be in Congress or in local governments—put over this tricky legislation known as the sedition bills. These have the dual purpose of curbing the powers of the Supreme Court, and of letting the states punish for sedition.

And since Southerners are foremost in the lead for these tricks, we know that in effect, these bills would keep the Supreme Court from reviewing segregation practices which are already outlawed.

Worst than this, it would let Southern states make their own sedition laws and punish for them.

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SOUTHERN LAWMEN, legislators and judges view sedition and communism as overthrowing state segregation laws. Therefore thousands of Negroes and whites would be immediately at their mercy. They call it seditious to fight for legal integration, but we say with Lincoln, "Calling a cow's tail a leg never makes it one." So we Southern Negroes and liberal whites are against these bills. Others should be, and fight hard against them as we are doing.

Birmingham Negroes have registered 1001 signatures against these tricks. Every city in the country should get busy at once. With zeal and imagination we can gather millions to make our voice heard in Congress. Let us all stand together—all for one and one for all.

If Southern Negroes can face bombs and brutalities, and some Southern whites be scorned and disgraced by their fellows, then they together deserve the considerate judgment and courageous support of American lovers of liberty in other parts of the country. This is the hour!

Shuttlesworth Says:

By REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH



My column of last week sought to stress importance of concentrated and united support of all freedom-loving Americans, whether white or colored, of persons persecuted and harassed because of their stand on civil rights and civil liberties. I deeply feel that the voices calling for freedom are far too soft, too scarce—and not united enough to make a swaying impression upon the government so that it will be committed to the cause of integration and full protection of individuals without hesitation or reservation.

Worse than this—or because of this—backward forces of reaction have built up a pressure so great that even the Supreme Court seems to be retreating a little from its previous staunch stands of 1954 and 1956, or at least to be modifying its decisions in an apparent effort to find a middle or milder course. It would be tragic if the court could not remain as the bedrock of our liberties.

WHILE IT is nice to hear Mr. Eisenhower now condemn at long last "segregation as a moral sin" when it prohibits or interferes with human liberties, we find no great cause for shouting, for the President, by his past inaction, vacillation, inept comments on the integration controversy and great hesitation in duty, has perhaps done more than any other man to slow up and offset the needed steady progress towards integration, and in so doing has given aid and comfort to segregationists and indirectly contributed to this present build up of backward pressure.

Future historians must censure him for not promptly endorsing the 1954 desegregation decision, and not making prompt and positive efforts to guide the difficult process of desegregation through dark and critical times.

Historians may state that Ike was the last to learn, when he should have been the first to see that segregation has always been a moral sin because it **always** has, not when, restricted rights and liberties of people, and makes one group better at the expense of another group—giving the preferred group all advantages and privileges.

OF IMMEDIATE and chief concern is this backwash of pressure against civil rights and liberties, along with the bills to limit powers of the Supreme Court, is the recent action of the House of Representatives in passing a bill to overturn the Mallordy decision. Along with other things, this decision prohibits police from holding a person in custody too long without formally charging him with a crime. Even a criminal should not be totally abused by police in the name of law, yet being without any protection of any law at all. This is part of the American tradition of fairness to all.

Think of the effect this law would have in most places, and especially the South, where in support of segregation and discrimination police powers are almost naturally abusive to Negroes. The American public would be shocked to learn just how many people in Birmingham alone have been falsely accused and charged by police, arrested for practically nothing, held for days on trumped-up charges of vagrancy or suspicion of grand larceny and many times falsely imprisoned since 1956.

In October 1958, 14 of us were remanded to jail and held for five days practically incommunicado for riding (I didn't ride at all) buses unsegregated in protest against a new bus segregation law. This is not to censure the whole police department for every act, for police work at its best is tedious and very difficult, and some of Birmingham's best, most honest and sincere men work on the force.

But the record, since the segregation crisis and Eugene (Bull) Connor's return to office, has far too many abuses of Negroes and infringements of liberties. This House bill must be challenged and defeated.

IT WAS an extremely pleasurable opportunity for me to be honored guest and speaker along

with brilliant Atty. Fred D. Gray of Montgomery, at one session of the Summer Conference on Public Issues at Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill., on July 7. The entire conference being sponsored by the social science department, on this date, was devoted to "Civil Rights and World Crisis," and Mr. Gray and I enjoyed ourselves tremendously as we met dedicated faculty members, answered informal questions by faculty and students on this burning issue and delivered addresses to nearly a thousand persons on the civil rights problem.

Being fresh from the Southern firing line, we did not hesitate to discuss fully the burdens, the dangers, the abuses, the sacrifices faced by Negroes in the Deep South and to relate the struggle to the world crisis.

Here, I thought, the university was fulfilling a most important need of today's and tomorrow's leaders, as it provided face-to-face contact with students of persons actively grappling with our complexities.

Other speakers on "United Nations in the Atomic Age: In Perspective and In Hope" and "The Presidency Today" had come and performed in the same manner as we tried to do.

Surely present and future leadership demands this type of free, open and frank discussion. It is a gross American tragedy that most Southern colleges and universities cannot provide this type of discussion and understanding because of the confused climate on desegregation.



Shuttlesworth Courier Says:

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH

Sat. 7-25-59 V 3

Negroes cannot afford to become pessimistic about the outcome of the struggle for civil rights in this country, despite the big mess Congress and the executive branch of our government have made of the issue. On the contrary, we must always be optimistic—believing in the cleansing process of democracy—and keep manifesting that persistence that will let the whole world know that we will stop not one whit short of the goal posts of freedom.

No mountain can be too tall and steep for men to climb when freedom rests at the top, and we might just as well recognize that in this age of pressure tactics and politics, we must join together to keep up pressure for the things which belong in a democracy.

Men should have learned long ago that compromise on basic principles will never be able to stand, and that truth and error cannot be made to lie down or harmonize together. These lessons can be seen from the efforts at compromising and pacifying during the 1840-1860 period. But the war came after all; for it is true, as Lincoln said, "That the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

The weak and watered down civil rights bill of 1957 was a 20th Century effort to pacify the clamor for freedom. Point Four was left out to pacify the segregationists. Voting was to be the main issue and the government at long last was now, through this bill, supposed to be able to protect the right of Negroes to vote. The so-called liberals failed to stick together in Congress and allowed the rabid men of the South to sap the strength out of the proposal. So the "voting rights" bill became law and everybody looked to see what the government would now do.

WHAT HAS happened is a 20th Century comedy of errors. A weak executive branch of government feebly and awkwardly attempted to enforce a toothless bill, and the results will long be written off as "the compromise that failed to compromise."

Alabama still does not intend to let Negroes vote in appreciable numbers and has not, in spite of weekly petitions by the Tuskegee Civic Group, appointed another board of registrars.

George Wallace and the segregationists defied the civil rights commission and got away with it—even in Federal Court, where the judge found him "devious but not defiant." Hardened attitudes as to Negro voting have developed among other registrars, so that the future prospect of massive voting by Negroes is temporarily delayed.

Worse than this, Federal judges in Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana have all ruled that the law is insufficient to do what it proposes to do; that it cannot be used to bring suit against state officials who are actually denying Negroes the right to cast their ballots. There seems to be very little the commission can do about Negroes who have been purged from voting lists in Louisiana . . . and the white segregation forces are pressing for further removals.

The "right to vote" issue was moved to the forefront in 1957 in an effort, it seems to me, to keep from moving forward positively on all fronts in the civil rights struggle. The emphasis placed on the voting privileges was designed to lessen tension in the school desegregation fight, the public recreational facilities phase and the housing angle of the struggle. Tricked by wily Southerners who excel in always retarding forward racial progress, and having the rug of support snatched from them by President Eisenhower's last-minute scuttling of Point Four, the proponents settled for half a loaf, thinking that a little on voting was better than nothing at all.

Thus another compromise was effected and the press hailed this as the first civil rights action by Congress in 80 years. If it took 80 years to do so little, then the lawmaking arm of the government has not moved very far from the 1860's.

As strainge as it may seem, this war must be advanced on all fronts. All phases of civil rights are important, and none should be forgotten. Most Negroes would feel about the same way on this. While it is true that voting is the bedrock of our liberties and should be relentlessly pursued, we cannot agree with the advisory official who was quoted as saying that other phases—parks, housing, buses—are superfluous. No part of any man's rights is superfluous in a real democracy. It is not superfluous when men can be jailed for sitting on a bus in an empty seat, nor when mobs can form and roam around school houses, nor when school doors can be closed in children's faces.

The burden is on Congress to come to grips with the issues and pass effective legislation to protect the full liberties of Americans. And no leader must let himself be booby-trapped into compromising on the issues of civil rights. Negroes want ALL their rights! We shall never rest until the dignity of every American boy and girl, white or black, is protected and safeguarded by the laws of the country. This is the order of the day.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

UN Party Astonishing Affair

PARIS — The United Nations party given early in November by Mrs. Vashti Cook, Washington, D. C., brought together 35 people from 12 countries!

Mrs. Margaret Hubbard (Vashti's mother), Baltimore, Md., who recently came over for a visit, was co-hostess. The guest of honor was Ezekiel Mphahlele, South African-born writer (author of Down Second Avenue), who is now a lecturer in English literature at University College, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Baltimore was further represented by Dr. Martin Jenkins, president of Morgan State College, and two Morgan Graduates. The graduates were Daniel Comegys, 1707 Ashburton St., now studying voice here, and Elaine Ellis, 1919 Ruxton Ave., who is a student of French and piano.

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AN ATLANTA University alumnus present was Vivian Sanders, of Dazell, S.C., who is in Paris on a scholarship to study French literature. The military was represented by Capt. James W. Price and wife, who reside near Paris. The captain comes from Roanoke, Va., while Mrs. Price is a native of Charlottesville, Virginia.

And here are the countries that the guests came from: Madagascar, Senegal, Togoland, Cameroons, Pretoria (South Africa), Haiti, Guadaloupe, Dahomey, Nigeria, French Guiana, United States and France.

There was another author on hand, Mongo Beti, of French Cameroons, whose book, "Mission Accomplished," has been published in the USA as well as France.

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RUDY AGGREY was there, representing the American Cultural Center. Two French couples were Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Shiffman, and Mr. and Mrs. Michel Hoffman. M. Lamine Mahor of Dakar, was present with his wife.

It was my firm intention to put down all the names of the people who came to Mrs. Cook's buffet-supper party. But I confess that I had a change of heart when I ran into the names of two guests—from Madagascar. They were Jacques Rabemananjara, former senator, and Edouard Adriantsilaniarrivo!

Missing from the festivities was the host—Dr. Mercer Cook Sr., who was in Africa. He comes back to Paris just before Christmas, but wife Vashti joins him in Senegal the first week in December.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Rev. King's Visit In India

PARIS —It was normal, inevitable and followed a pattern. So when the telephone rang in my house recently, and a voice announced that somebody I knew was spending a few hours in Paris before going on to a far away place, I wasn't even surprised. I just grabbed my coat and took off.

Fifteen minutes later I was shaking hands with Dr. Martin Luther King and his wife in their hotel room. With them were Dr. Lawrence Reddick, librarian at Alabama State, and Richard Wright, the author, who is an old Paris hand.

"So you're going to India?" I said to the militant young minister who led the Montgomery bus fight.

"That's right," said Dr. King. "I'm going to the source of my inspiration—to visit the home of Gandhi and absorb what I can from the place and people that inspired him."

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I NODDED. It seemed fitting and proper. Martin Luther King, leader of a passive resistance fight for human rights and dignity in Alabama, visiting the birthplace of a great Indian leader whose example he had followed with so much success. He could get ammunition for other and bigger fights.

"For how long?"

"A month," said Mrs. King.

The Kings, Reddick and Wright were eating a quick lunch, so I didn't bother them with a lot of silly questions. I did find out, however, that Reddick would probably separate from the Kings when they arrived in India, and return to the States by a different route.

Wright was there with his car to rush them to the air terminal as soon as they finished eating and checked out. And I can tell you that they just made it. Mrs. King smiled. "This," she said, "is our usual way of catching a plane!"

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I SAID in the beginning that it was normal and inevitable that Martin Luther King should visit India. The march of world events today makes this true. There's a definite connection between what happened in New Delhi many years ago and what happened in Montgomery a short time ago.

The connection is non - violence. India wasn't the first example of right subduing might — but it was one of the best in modern times.

The Cuban explosion naturally attracted widespread attention in Europe, but it didn't cause half the comments that were aroused by the integration of public schools in Virginia.

The collapse of Gov. Almond's "massive resistance" program, the entry of colored children into integrated public schools for the first time, and the absence of racial clashes and violence was real headline news all over Europe.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

French Give On New Year's

PARIS — Happy New Year, everybody! And if you don't think that 1958 was all that it should have been, why not join me in wishing for all of us a prosperous and healthy 1959!

Whereas the French don't go along with the American custom of handing out presents for Christmas, they (and those of us who live here) make a production of gift - giving for the New Year. And on both sides of the ocean we have one thing in common: The spirit of goodwill.

So may 1959 be noted for man's humanity to man.

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MY FIRST salute for the New Year goes to Claude and Etta Barnett, two real nice people who passed through Paris just before the old year said goodby. They had been in Africa where they attended not only the Pan-African Conference in Accra, Ghana, but visited several other countries, including the new state of Guinea.

Claude Barnett, head man of the Associated Negro Press for as long as I can remember, still turns out a lot of the copy that his organization sends out to scores of newspapers. His latest trip to Africa resulted in vivid pictures of every part of the Dark Continent he touched.

Barnett got me my first writing job. Some of my first news stories were released by his Chicago outfit — which gathers news from all over the world. A deep bow to a grand reporter — Barnett of ANP.

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FOR PAUL ROBESON, may 1959 be a full year of triumph wherever he may choose to roam. The chains that bound him to the USA for many years were broken in 1958, and Europe has welcomed him with open arms.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Muriel Rahn's Triumph

PARIS—Singer Muriel Rahn, returning home to New York after her three-month tour of Britain and the Continent, paused here briefly as February gave way to March. To say she was happy would be putting it mildly.

"I'm thrilled," she said, "over the wonderful success I had in Yugoslavia! I sang two Aida performances with the State Opera Company—to wild acclaim. I was invited to return for six more, and additional concerts. The Yugoslav audiences are wonderful. They adore us—if you get what I mean."

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MURIEL RETURNED to Paris by way of Rome and Milan. She had sung in both places before going to Yugoslavia. After a concert in Rome she had been invited to audition for Caracalla Bath's opera, but being pressed for time, had to postpone it until after her trip to Yugoslavia.

Scheduled to start rehearsals on a TV spectacular in New York the first week in March, Muriel took a jet plane out of Orly Field for the U.S.A. But just before leaving she said that she was completely satisfied with her tour. "I'll just have to come back—as soon as possible," she told me.

She began her tour in December, and London was her first port of call. After concert and radio appearances there, she came on to Paris in January and gave a recital at the American Cultural Center. Then came Italy and Yugoslavia.

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BEAUFORT DELANEY, an American painter, has been exhibiting his work here for the past month. Several modernistic paintings of his have been on display since Feb. 15, in the special services section of the U.S. Army building on Rue Marbeuf. The exhibition was sponsored by Seine Area Command.

I went up to see what I could see one Sunday afternoon. The works of two other American artists, Boggs and Magnuson, were also on display. There were about 30 people walking around, squinting at pictures on the wall, or drinking red wine at a refreshment table. Most were Americans.

Delaney was there. He has been in Paris five or six years and I had seen him often—but I never knew before that he was a painter. Some of the works on display, he told me, had taken as long as three months to complete. One, the largest, was priced at

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Cecile And Lola Find Out

PARIS — A few weeks ago the AFRO carried a picture of two women standing at the entrance of an airliner which would whisk them from the USA to Europe. The picture caption said they would spend six weeks on the Continent and visit ten countries.

The two women (cousins) were Mrs. William L. (Cecile) Dawson, of Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and Mrs. George A. (Lola) Beavers, Los Angeles, California. Cecile has a shop for women, the Petite Bazaar, at Tuskegee, and her husband, though recently at Fisk U., has long directed music at Tuskegee. Lola's husband is an executive of the Golden State Insurance Company.

They arrived in Paris the last week in June — after touring Portugal, Spain, Italy and southern France — and with London their final stop. So what about the ten countries?

"WELL," said Cecile, "we decided that ten countries were just too much to cover in six weeks. We soon found out that if you want to see a little bit of each one, you have to stay around a few days. And then you have to rest some. If and when we come back again, we'll get around to the others."

I didn't tell them, but I reminded myself that this was exactly what I have been writing, for years and years.

Taking it easy and giving themselves a chance to really explore, Cecile and Lola found Lisbon and Venice the most interesting places on their trip — before reaching Paris. And here, after seeing Josephine Baker, the Lido, and picking up a few Paris gowns, they found the city that made them want to extend their trip.

MERCER COOK SR., of Howard U., left late in June for a brief visit to the USA. About the time you can read this, he will have delivered a lecture at the Waldorf Astoria in New York. Wife (Vashti) and son (Jackie) are still here in Paris.

Herbert Hill, NAACP's labor secretary, spoke here recently at the American Cultural Center. His subject was Progress and Conflict in American Race Relations. The center is directed by Rudy Aggrey.

Aggrey, incidentally, has recovered from his recent illness and is now back at work. Going north for his vacation — taking in Denmark, Sweden and perhaps Finland.

I've never been to Bermuda. But Langston Hughes went there not long ago and has just written me a note. Says Langston: "Bermuda is nice but prejudiced!" Now I have no desire to see Bermuda.

Report From Afro-American Europe

Baltimore, Md.

By Ollie Stewart

Sat. 4-25-59

Ollie Doesn't See Everyone

PARIS — Saunders Redding, AFRO book reviewer, asked me a question not long ago that many people ask me. The question: "You see everybody who comes to Paris, don't you?"

I tell the truth, but always they smile — as Dr. Redding smiled, when I answered: "Not everybody. I see a lot of people, but I estimate that I don't see more than half the Americans who come to Paris."

Dr. Redding was stopping over a few days here, after attending the conference of artists and writers held in Rome the last week in March. Something like 300 delegates from more than 30 countries were at the conference.

Two years ago the first international gathering of this sort was held in Paris — and I got a slap on the wrist for writing that the American delegation was the best - dressed in attendance.

SO THIS time I'm not going to say how they looked. I'll just say that a number of well - known Americans attended, among them Mercer Cook Sr., of Howard University; William Fontaine, U. of Pennsylvania; John Davis, of NYC; James Ivy, Crisis editor, also NYC; and Sam Allen, Texas Southern U., Houston, Texas.

That's not all of the Americans who were there. Some I didn't see — which proves my point. A number of visitors come here and don't ring SEGUR 15-45.

I did meet a charming Washingtonian who came from Rome with Mrs. Vashti Cook. She was Mrs. Antoinette Garvin, of 1721 "T" Street, NW, who is the manager of a government housing project. She spent several days being entertained and seeing what makes April in Paris a little different from April anywhere.

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GOING BACK to the meeting in Rome, John Davis told me that they worked him so hard, what with lectures and seminars, that he didn't get a chance to do any sightseeing in the Eternal City.

He said they were taken on just one bus tour of the city and outskirts, but were whizzed past monuments and ancient ruins so fast that before the guide could say, "Here's so-and-so, dating back to the early Romans," the bus had taken them on down the road.

Oh, well, next year will give thousands of people a chance to see Rome in all its glory. As you doubtless already know, the Olympic Games are to be held there in 1960 — and the city will surely be bursting at the seams.

Also, a lot of women will get pinched where they have the most padding. It's an old Roman custom to show appreciation for feminine beauty by trying to pinch off a piece of it.

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IT'S DONE on the street, in restaurants, at bars and especially in movies. Italian women take it as a matter of course, but American women get high blood pressure when a strange man nips them behind. Not even the boldest Frenchman tries to be so playful — but it's a big joke to an Italian.

Report From Afro-American Europe

Sat. 5-2-59

By Ollie Stewart

Baltimore Md

Dulles Missed The Point

PARIS — I wouldn't wish cancer on anybody. I regret that Secretary of State Dulles had to be separated from his office because of this dreaded illness. But I am glad that the United States is to have a new man to head up the State Department.

When I say this, I know from what I've heard and read that many people here in Europe feel the same way I do — although a few don't even regret his illness.

For instance, when I went to buy the paper announcing his retirement, the newsdealer said without preamble, "I'm glad the so-and-so is finished. He has always been against the Jews in Israel. Look what he did in the Suez Canal affair!"

I still don't know exactly what he meant, but there's no doubt about his hatred for John Foster Dulles.

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I'VE RARELY heard a Frenchman say a word in his favor. In the British papers and on the radio, I've noted in recent years that no American has been spoken of in such bitter terms as Dulles. "Stupid" and "unrealistic" are about the nicest words I've heard to describe him.

In short, I don't think Mr. Dulles is very well liked in France and England — and this applies to a number of people at the top, as well as the man in the street. I get the impression that they don't trust him. Many have told me that he keeps the cold war going; that he keeps the U.S. and her allies from getting anywhere with the Russians.

I have had a different reason for hoping he'd resign these past few years. My personal view is that Mr. Dulles would not — or could not, because of his training — face the facts of life. I feel that as American Secretary of State he missed the most fundamental point on the global scene since the end of the war.

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THE POINT, as I see it, is the emergence of new nations and new peoples upon the world stage. These peoples and nations are making history — but Dulles refused to admit that they even exist.

First, there's the new China with its awakening millions. No matter how a man feels as an individual, as American Secretary of State he cannot ignore this giant. China has no seat in the United Nations. China is forbiden ground to American reporters. China is not recognized by the USA.

This attitude, it seems to me, is sheer nonsense. Reporters should be sent to China to find out what is happening — not kept out.

In Africa and the Middle East, where new nations are making their bid for world recognition every year, the State Department under Mr. Dulles just hasn't had a foreign policy — unless you can call indecision a foreign policy.

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MORAL LEADERSHIP is another thing the USA has lacked in its dealings with peoples struggling to throw off the yoke of colonialism. With the economic and military aid the United States has doled out since 1945, the State Department can "suggest" a course of action to almost any country around the globe.

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

AMERICA SHOULD ACCEPT THE TALMADGE AMENDMENT

United States Senator Talmadge of Georgia is proposing a new amendment to our Constitution, which would place all public education under state and local authority. To the type of American thinking and reasoning, which made this nation the greatest in all world history, the Talmadge amendment has no flaws and is the American way.

From the birth of public education, it has been recognized that this all important function is one for states, cities and counties. Regardless of what the vast horde of critics may claim, publit education in America is in the realm of the fantastic. This is true because the people at local levels have met a growing heavy responsibility. There may be exceptions, but still the rapidly increasing local funds which have been made available for public education is astounding There are unending records to prove this.

After all, public education is still just a babe and is one of the younger institutions, among those which have made us the most powerful and wealthiest nation ever known Throughout the South in the past two or three decades the responsibility for providing public education to both races has been accepted and met with almost unbelievable enthusiasm. Local school boards by the thousands have faced up to problems which seemingly had no solution, But solutions have been found.

Before the Supreme Court's disastrous edict, placing federal controls on public education, fine Negro schools throughout the South were becoming the rule, rather than the exception. Complete facilities, with lunch rooms, playgrounds, athletic fields and all the rest were being provided the Negro educators to fur r the best interest of his e. The better educated this ce became, the greater assisnce they would have been able to render to the public education problems. It was the tax money of the white race that started and paid a lion's share of this local public education giant.

Some of the most terrible education results we have ever seen has been in areas where the central government had full control and authority. Should the centralized federal government in the United States ever get full control of public education, the death knell would already be ringing. We believe federal control of education would be far worse than federal control of our churches, or the press or other basic freedoms. As Talmadge pointed out, in highly educated Germany, when Hitler's forces gained control, books were burned by the millions and education had to mold itself to fit a dictator's pattern.

We could name several areas that we have visited where the central government kept the masses uneducated in order to maintain a firm despotic control. This is outstandingly true in the all-Negro Republic of Haiti, where less that five percent of the population can read and write. This is what the all-Negro ruling powers want. This is a means of keeping a despotic control. There are vast areas in the middle east, in Africa and in other parts of the world, where a similar situation exists.

Unless some high authority responds to the public demands of a thinking American people, public education can be eliminated. Especially is this so throughout the South. Private education, as we knew it just a few shorts decades ago, would replace it. Federal force and federal laws can destroy public education just as thoroughly as any mid-night bomber or arsonist.

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

WHAT PRICE VICTORY?

Since the quiet integration of several Virginia Schools, we have noted several loud national voices proclaim a great victory. Some of the leading politicians who know nothing but political expediency have been the loudest. The bleeding heart "do gooder" has boldly been haughty in what he thinks to be a softening of the Southern attitude, and preaches that the South is ready for the complete disaster. Life Magazine, up to its old schemes, presents white girls and a Negro boy, as being so happy in the new mixed world.

This attitude, on the part of the rabid and blind integrationists, is like claiming that the Banker was generous and big hearted, when he forked over a sack full of money, to bandits who covered the whole banking institution with tommy-guns. It would be the same as claiming that the opponents of Auburn's mighty line were being brotherly and stopped with the ball as an act of gentle kindness before scoring a touchdown. That Auburn line is force and power. A front end view of a tommy-gun demands forceful obedience.

What made Virginia accept integration is force. Attorney General Rogers has even boasted of the possible imprisonment through contempt proceedings. Force is force, whether it be that of 240 pound linemen, bared bayonets as were used in Arkansas, the drawn tommy-gun or the threat of imprisonment by the Department of Justice. The NAACP may have won a smashing victory in Virginia but we think they have suffered a heavy loss. In the eyes of some of its most avid supporters, they are losing, if commentator Huntley is an example. Even integrationists have seen despotic and highly unAmerican technic in the rush to attain impossible goals.

There has been no victory in Virginia for anyone, except a few greedy politicians in the national spotlight, and we make certain reservations for them. The handful of Virginia Negro children have surely not been helped and they can not be helped in classrooms with an overwhelming majority of whites. Virginia Negroes as a whole have been more or less isolated from the march of progress and developments in that great state. We do not believe that the most rabid integrationists, including the nine judges of the Supreme Court could truthfully say that the white boys and girls of Virginia have won any victory.

In past history, wars have been lost while winning battles Some victories can simply be too costly. This must be the Virginia Story at this moment. One who can reason otherwise is without eyes to see or he lives in a fool's paradise of rank stupidity.

There are renegade Southerners, especially writers and some editors and columnists, who have waxed fat and won fame for their renegade penmanship. Some of these will doubtless gloat of Southern integration, though it be the merest token form. We read one Wyatt Blasingame recently in a magazine called Pageant, who claims to be a real Southerner born in Demopolis, Alabama. What a bleeding heart. One who has seemingly convinced himself that complete integration is something in the realm of perfection. However, he makes his home and has made it for 22 years on an isolated island off the west coast of Florida. A writer, who spent his adult life in the mazes of New York and later went into isolation to write. He did not go back to his home town to write, where there is no finer tradition and history available. Demopolis is the heart of the Black Belt. The Negro population is heavy. Blasingame, like his ilk, does not practice what he preaches.

What does a man like this know about the modern South. He writes what he can sell. He claims that college boys of 30 years ago spent their weekends looking for sex in the colored quarters. We were a college boy 30 years ago, but we surely went to different colleges together, or we know a writer who is as unreliable as they come. Spokesmen like this writer may boast of victory through their own ignorance. The boast itself is evidence.

How long can force be applied in Dixie? How long will the loaded gun be aimed at the South? How long will conquering civil rights armies be quartered beneath Southern skies? How long can the truth be kept hidden and trampled? For how long can wrong prevail over right? History may have an answer. No people have been enslaved forever. Truth will out in the end. Right will prevail over wrong or this world can not long endure.

There has been no victory in Virginia; nothing but defeat for all concerned.

31a 1959

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

THE HISTORIC MESSAGE OF JOHN PATTERSSON

John Patterson, Alabama's new Governor in his inaugural message has mineed no words, and has made it clear and positive that racial integration of the state's public school system will not be tolerated. His words on this issue are about as firm and filled with massive resistance as any we have ever read or heard spoken. There must be few, if any one at all, regardless of race in Alabama, who are possessed with any ability to reason, who would not agree that Alabama faces a calamity if any type of force is use to integrate the public schools.

Certainly the thinking people of both races would deplore the closing of our schools in Alabama. Should the worst come and the schools be closed, then it follows that the minority race will be hurt to a far greater extent. Private schools, which can not be mixed will open wholesale. Education will not stop or slow down to any degree. Private education costs money which will come out of the individual parent's pockets. It so happens that majority race, as a whole, is more able to pay this cost.

There are thousands of Negro teachers and educators, who would be thrown out of work if the public schools are closed. Few white teachers would face this predicament. Outside agitators and outside political pressures are forcing this highly dangerous controversy in Adabama. Certainly, there are not native Alabamians, who are foolish enough to fan the racial fires which can seriously damage everyone and blank out our public education.

Governor Patterson has warned that public education, if it is forced to be racially integrated may die in Alabama and not be revived in our lifetime. If public education is ended, then the taxes which support public education will be ended, sooner or later. Some greedy interest might like to see this done, but surely it is a near-sighted and selfish interest. If once, public education ends, and a vast system of private education replaces it, then with all education taxes recinded, it is possible that Alabama voters might refuse to restore this public money. Especially so, if the threat of integration remained.

Regardless of the criticism which will doubtless be heaped upon John Patterson, and regardless of the wisdom of this historic declaration, the new Governor has displayed tremendous courage and a bold affront to outside rabble rousers. He stands out today as one of the foremost leaders against racial integration in the South. The overwhelming majority of voters in Alabama stand firmly behind Patterson on this issue. He has left no doubts. His is a stand which disametrically opposes the wishy-washy stand of his predecessor. Alabama politicians from Washington down to some local levels, during the past decade when the die was being cast, have taken soft and moderate stands on the race issue and its vast problems.

Had political Alabama and political Dixie taken the stand some 10 years ago, has presented by John Patterson, we firmly believe that the race disaster would not be hovering so ominously over the South at this moment.

This column has long contended that any kind of "forced" intergration in the South would, in the long run, seriously hurt the one that outside agitators were rather falsely proposing to help. The minority would be hurt most because they are the

minority and after all they must live in the South or move to a far worse northern Ghetto like Chicago's southside and New York's Harlem.

Let it be prayerfully hoped that leaders of both races in Alabama will heed the present sign of the times. After all the Negro in the South has advanced faster and further than any race of color on the face of the globe, in a kindly atmosphere of segregation. And the future holds no limits for him, if he will accept the responsibility and tradition which is his opportunity for an even greater tomorrow.

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

FUTURE ALABAMA POLITICS

The outcome of the battle between Federal Judge Johnson and Circuit Judge Wallace has been hashed and rehashed by both neutral and partisan observers. One can get support for most any stand taken on just who won or lost the headline fight, or just what the true results were.

One thing is sure, Judge Wallace did not cooperate with the federal snoopers. Neither did he turn over the voting records to them. He gave them no coperation. He did not jail them, and everyone must be glad that he did not try. Judge Wallace did take one of the firmest stands that we have seen any Alabama politician take against federal attempts to integrate Southern society. Anyone who has heard George Wallace speak on the subject of race controversy knows exactly where he stands, and this surely can not be said for many Southern politicians.

Actually, the pitiful plight of the South at this moment must rest to no small degree upon the Southern politicos who have been "soft" on the issue for more than a decade. There have been glaring examples of fence straddling and double talking. That is, talking one way in one section of the country, and quite another way in the South. There have been Southern moderates, who dared not jeopardize personal position by taking a firm stand.

Today the situation has recently changed in Dixie. The voter is up in arms. The shocking Brooks Hays defeat in Arkansas is an example of what we mean. It was shocking to the moderate and fence straddler. The South faces a showdown. There have been myriads of Southern voters who have been complacent with an attitude of, "what is there to worry about, it can't happen here.' But it has happened. The attitude has changed.

We see continuing articles about the future political career of George Wallace. This young man has a future career, probably as bright as anyone in Alabama. We did not support him in his race for the governor's chair, because we did not like his political alignment. We could not support any Folsom tainted administration, though we did not doubt certain abilities of Wallace. We believe Wallace broke cleanly with the Folsom machine, but the machine did not break with him, at least in some areas.

We think George Wallace has an excellent chance to be the next governor of Alabama. One of the main reasons will be his firm stand for "states rights" and courage to disobey federal snoopers. This action will get the popular vote and his record speaks for his ability.

There is a continuous rumble indicating that Wallace may oppose Sparkman in 1960 for the Senate seat. There is not a man in Alabama who would have a better chance to win this seat. His youth, his courage, his proven ability, and his firm and unyielding stand on the race question, would be enough. He would get no Negro votes for sure, but that alone would be a valuable political asset. However, one who has grown up in rural areas, with the real Southern Negro, has a deep love for him, and would only work for his best inerest George Wallace has done this

It is positive that Sparkman will have some real opposition in 1960. There are several reasons for this. The South is going through revolutionary times, and the demand for new forces and new powers to face the new day is growing. The Patterson sweep is an example. The overwhelming popular vote for anti-loyal candidates is anohter. The old day of chained voters is ending. The old day of passive resistance is ending. Massive resistance is replacing it. When battles are being lost, new generals are called. Alabama has lost one battle after another. George Wallace could be the man of the hour in 1960.

If new, youthful and courageous leadership is demanded by Alabama voters and we believe this demand is powerful and rapidly growing, we can think of no one more capable of filling the requirements than George Wallace.

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

THIS THING CALLED BROTHERHOOD

We live in a day when many words are far too loosely used. They are generally used with some purpose in mind, and often it is a sinister one. We listened to guides in Yugoslavia refer to the communistic state there as the republic. This red bit of Europe is no more a republic than is Kilby Prison. The word "security" has been so misused and falsely used during our march to socialism until its meaning is ultra-dubious at this time. However the word "rights" used in connection with the political war over, "civil rights", is probably one of the most glaring errors in the English language.

However, we believe the word, brotherhood, leads the list of English words being misused and used to imply something which is not. There are several kinds of relations which use the word to express the status. There should be a brotherhood between sons of the same parents. These are blood brothers, but often the relationship is one of evil bitterness and keen hatred. This has been true since the earliest Biblical records. There is truely nothing in the word denoting blood brothers, to assure love, dignity, cooperation or desireable relationship over a wide field.

The word brotherhood is used often to express relationship between members of fraternal organizations. The Mystic Knights of the Sea, as related by loveable radio characters, is one of these. This is probably a loose usage of the word, which implies something akin to blood relationship.

There are brotherhoods of railway employees, expressing a relationship inside labor organizations. The word is used in all probability to show a kindred or close relationship. Probably here too, there are differences as diametrically opposed as in blood brothers.

Then, usually at this season of the year, there are voices which proclaim some fantastic kind of Brotherhood Week". Here also, there must be a widely misleading meaning attached to the word. If some kind of a golden rule week is what the promoters of this Brotherhood Week have in mind, then the "do unto others as we would have others do unto us", is excellent. However, it should be on a 52 week basis every year and not on a single week. The use of the word implying that all men are some kind of brothers is rather fantastic and only shows how misleading a word can become when placed into usage to promote something which is not.

We think that the relationships so loosely proclaimed in all organizations and promotions is the brotherhood mentioned and proclaimed in the Christian Bible. Surely Brotherhood Weeks would not base its proclamation on the relationship of real blood brothers, which is quite often unChristian and evil.

There is a Christian Brotherhood fully explained and proclaimed in our infallible Book of all Books. Christ himself promoted this brotherly relationship. This Brotherhood of Christ is open to all men, of all races, creeds and colors, who will follow the teaching of the Master. However, it is open only to these. For one must be born again to become a brother with the Christ. The Master fully explains the new birth, which is the acceptance of the Master. Those who accept the brotherhood with Christ, become children of the Creator, because they are brothers of the Son of God. This Christian Brotherhood is one that is most desireable. It is a Christ-like relationship, much greater, or more important than any blood brotherhood. It is so, because it is Divine, and leads to the perfect, with forgiveness in the blood of Christ, and to the reward of eternal salvation.

Thus there is only one true brotherhood if the word is to imply desireable goals and something really worthwhile. Every week in the year is Christian Brotherhood week, and we doubt that any other brotherhood will count for anything but dross, in the Divine scales where men are weighed by the God of this infinite Universe.

31a 1959 WHITE (JIMMY WARD)

SQUIRREL TAIL ON THE CAR, NO POLICY IN HIS POCKET

(An Editorial)

BY JIMMY WARD

There is a powerful amount of chatter these days about "rights." There are civil rights, constitutional rights, minority rights, military rights, alien rights, religious rights, the bill of rights. There are so many rights and lefts until the average man has little left.

Let's go a bit more on rights before we get to responsibilities.

There was a snooping agent of the Civil RIGHTS Commission out of Washington in Mississippi last week. He wanted to sign up a Mississippi advisory board to determine the best, fastest, quickest, most sudden method of granting every living soul in these United States a flashing, dramatic amount of equality in the voting booth, in housing, in the classroom, in church, in swimming pools, in dining halls, restaurants, toilets—and we suppose in the bedroom. Hurrah for equality and equal socializing everywhere for everyone! That is the theme of the day.

Television is full of it. Pulitizer Prizes are awarded for espousing it. Politicians shout it. Statesmen advocate it. Foreign countries insist upon it—so long as it is to be a policy for somebody else, and that somebody is the people of the South.

This matter of "rights" is on the radio; it's on the lips of people; it has the imagination of this nation lit up like the eyes of a professor of a pinball machine playing class. The subject glows on film; it sticks out from headlines; it is debated in Congress; it is discussed at diplomatic cocktail parties; students at universities throughout the world harp on it as though it was more vital than the atomic bomb.

The topic of all these rights is a great concern of politicians on the stump; pressure groups thrive on it; rights have become a bogey of the Western World.

All right with rights. What about responsibilities?

We have a neighbor. He is sadled with the same expenses of big government and inflation as are you and I. He operates a home on a salary. He's perfectly sane. He's a leader in the community. He's got a mortgage on his home. He buys groceries. He pays interest, taxes, and he's loaded to the gills with insurance. Now we're getting to the big point.

He has liability insurance.

The law requires people like my neighbor, myself and you to foot the bill of liability insurance or else we lose a driver's license to operate a high-priced, well-taxed, gas-consuming, frequently greased, well-maintained, Detroit-made automobile on the streets and highways of Mississippi—for which you, my neighbor and myself have supplied the money to build. Right? Okay.

Now you are driving down the street—as was the case of a neighbor's daughter.

The driver of an opposing automobile was in a bright, new, gay vehicle with a squirrel tail flying from the radio pole. He had himself a gal friend in the car. It was Sattidy night. He had his rights and a Federal agent was in town a few hours before to be damned sure he had all his rights.

What happened?

The man with the "rights" used every ounce of 'em and plowed right across the street beneath a red light.

He hit the six-year-old automobile driven by the daughter of the neighbor who had accepted his "responsibilities" by investing in insurance, by trying to raise a legitimate family, by supporting the community, by paying school bonds to help educate the children of the city of Jackson—please get this—without regard to race, creed or color.

The opposing automobile clobbered his family car. There was a certain amount of Sattidy night giggling and jibberish going on. The cops came.

The driver of the opposing car claimed all the "rights" under the sun and there are a lot of rights under the sun in these United States of America.

But did he have any responsibilities?

The neighbor's child narrowly escaped death. The neighbor had liability insurance. His car had no squirrel tail flying from the flagpole, but there was an insurance policy in the glove compartment.

The man with responsibility is in a pretty bad mood now, but this doesn't count because there are no Federal agents snooping around in the South to espouse the cause of a man with responsibility.

Federal agents are snooping around in the South on behalf of the man with rights. All kinds of rights!

Read your Monday newspaper, week after week, and see who is being killed on the highways. Also check into who is responsible. Check closely, week after week, the cause and effect.

This is a political campaign year in Mississippi. Politicians are looking for issues. An equal effective responsibility is needed.

This country has a Bill of Rights. We buy that completely.

This country could well use a Bill of Responsibilities.

It is strange, indeed, when a nation goes completely berserk about Civil Rights and not give a hoot in hades about Civil Responsibilities.

Covering the

CROSS-ROADS



with

Jimmy Ward

A Meridian reader says Gov. J. P. Coleman is really a hotshot when it comes to getting industry for that area. After sending the National Guard on liquor raids there on two weekends, at least six new moonshine factories have opened.

* * *

A Civil Rights Commission investigator was in Mississippi last week trying to sign up some members of a state advisory board to "advise" the Washington office as to the best means of integrating voting, house and education. It is hardly necessary to have a state board on this subject. They could meet three times a day for a lifetime and the advice would be the same. The advice: don't.

* * *

Any gardener ought to be able to tell us what is wrong with most American cities. They need some of the deadwood pruned out of them to keep them healthy.

* * *

Congressmen are disturbed over reported wastefulness in American military aid overseas. Among booboos found was one installation that had a 185-year supply of a single item of ammunition, and a foreign motor pool which received enough U.S. tires in one year to put 44 tires on each truck it operated. Sounds like (recalling reports of waste uncovered at the end of World War II) we've not only furnished the money but the nitwit supply officers to sign requisitions.

* * *

Some Washington observers say President Eisenhower loses his temper more often these days but UPI White House Correspondent Merriman Smith says it's really not so. He still blows up, but then he always has, pounding the table and chewing out certain associates in old army style. Truth is, Smith reports, Ike is busier now than when he had Sherman Adams carrying the load and this naturally gives him more opportunity to criticize—and approve—purely as a matter of mathematics. It's standard army procedure for the brass to take credit when staff work is good, and for staff members to get a chewing when things go wrong.

* * *

An enterprising Hallandale, Fla., man picked what could be one of the best spots in town for a pawn shop. The new business is next door to the Gulfstream Park Race Track.

* * *

Marines who like to boast about the "old corps" won't believe this. Air conditioned classrooms have been installed in three battalions at the Parris Island, S. C., Marine recruit depot, which is well known for its torrid, sticky summer days. It's part of the depot's so-called new look program, a far cry from the days of the "old corps." Not even the language is the same.

* * *

Two thugs used an unusual weapon at Toledo, Ohio, in robbing William Hall of $54 as he walked home from a bank. Hall told police one of the men threw snuff in his eyes, then snatched his money. That was a sneezy snitch.

Covering the

CROSS-ROADS



with

Jimmy Ward

If you have noticed that your newspaper of the past few days has devoted considerable attention to rapes, lynchings and interracial strife, please find comfort in the fact that the wire editor tossed away 79 other stories on the same subject. A vast majority of the acts is the responsibility of the U.S. Supreme Court and the NAACP.

* * *

It has been reported that between 30 and 60 FBI agents have been assigned to the Poplarville kidnaping case. In the average American mind rape is a crime as reprehensible as kidnaping. Latest figures reveal that in 1957 there were 21,080 rape cases. If Washington is to pursue rape in the fullest determination that it pursues a Negro kidnaping in Mississippi, at least 632,400 new FBI agents would be required. If Congress passes both an Anti-Lynch Law and an Anti-Rape Law and enforces them from the

nation's capital, total employment will be reached in the United States but it is doubted if it will avert a single crime. If this nation is to have Federalized morality, Washington—with its three rapes per week—is one hell of a headquarters.

* * *

The editor of the Bryan, Texas, Daily Eagle endorses the idea expressed recently by Jackson advertising executive to remobilize all Confederate units to present a dramatic uniformed piece of pageantry in connection with the Civil War Centennial.

* * *

A piccolo carried by an English captain in the Mississippi Regulars during the Civil War has come home to Jackson. The piccolo and naturalization papers of H. T. E. Yates, British subject naturalized in Bolivar county in 1876, were presented to the museum of the Department of Archives and History by his son, H. C. Yates of Emporia, Kan., according to Charlotte Capers, department director.

* * *

Sheriff F. C. Fontenot of Reddell, La., congratulated himself after a Negro murder-rapist was tucked away behind bars in his county's jail. He said, "We're civilized over here." Here is an example of pious finger-pointing. The only congratulations deserved in that case is the state trooper who captured the savage just in front of a mad lynch mob. While neither the rapist, the mob nor sheriff deserve back-slapping, credit for the vicious crime in the first place goes to Washington and its punk liberalism.

* * *

Macmillan seems to be the most enthusiastic about the summit meeting, so we suppose it will be up to him to type out the name tags, assign the hotel rooms and arrange a style show for the wives.

* * *

The president's physician recommends sun and light exercise. Even those who criticize Ike's other appointments will have to agree he knows how to pick a doctor.

* * *

Every time we see a graph about how the tax dollar is divided, we are saddened by how little of it goes to miscellaneous which, in our experience, can be more fun than anything else.

Covering the CROSS-ROADS



with Jimmy Ward

When the Mississippi State University basketball team won the Southeastern title, lint-headed agitators worked overtime to stir up strife because the Maroons refused to gain a phantom "million dollars" worth of publicity by abandoning a long-standing policy of segregation. Now the Ole Miss baseball team has won the SEC title in that sport and no controversy arises because the issue was settled without emotionalism. The SEC will be represented in post-season mixed play by Georgia Tech, a deed which should bring no cheers from Tech alumni. Congratulations to Ole Miss for its quiet, dignified solution without bowing to the dictates of Sports Illustrated and other South-haters. Thus the state has been spared one of those so-called "million dollars" worth of foul-mouthed publicity.

* * *

Some individuals are strangely circulating rumors that industries and manufacturers will not settle in Jackson because of local politics. Until someone steps forward with iron-clad proof to these allegations, the rumors should be discarded as merely a whispering campaign from the lips of busybodies who don't deserve the title of Jackson citizens. It is a pleaure to live in Jackson and thousands of newcomers have learned this from their very own experience.

* * *

H. C. Yaeger, plant manager for Vicker's Inc., denies rumors that the industry will move because of city expansion plans. This deserves an-

other case of falsehood spreading. It may be of interest to many Jacksonians that one of the leading citizens of a northern city told this writer several months ago that he was fearful headquarters of a firm with a plant in Jackson might move its home office here. Cheer up, folks. There's a brighter future ahead for this city.

* * *

One of the delegates to the Southern Baptist Convention dropped a doctrinal bombshell in a speech and touched off a heated dispute. If it were not for lively Baptist conventions and heated political races, thousands of people might die of boredom. Hurrah for all Baptists everywhere.

* * *

Lincoln and Douglas are rated as top debaters of history but they engaged each other no more vigorously than do Bill Lambeth, 4526 Meadow Hill Rd., and Bruns Myers, 746 Brookwood Rd., at the North State Street athletic club.

* * *

Roy Wilkins, the black-skinned John Kasper, says the white man doesn't know what the Negro thinks. It is about time the Negro took it unto himself to learn what the white man thinks if further violence is to be averted.

THE GRAPEVINE

By MASCO YOUNG

THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT:

THAT SHERLOCK HOLMES cape-coat and pearl-gray derby singer Earl Grant wears during his in-person engagements at night spots throughout the country.

■

THE NEWEST ANGLE in the "sex and business" routine that involves some of the nation's big employment agencies. Big executives call an employment agency and ask for a young and attractive girl who "does not necessarily have to type or take dictation" and who does not mind doing her boss a "favor" every now and then that will earn her some extra loot. Most frequently requested are tan cuties who are desperately anxious to find a job.



Clara Ward

■

THE FAST ACTION singer Mildred ("No More in Life") Anderson took when she learned that Bill Doggett had waxed "No More in Life" with Little Willie John doing the vocalizing. Mildred, who waxed and made the tune popular several years ago while working for Doggett, went into a hasty recording session at Kae Williams' Junior Record label studio in Philly and recorded "No More in Life" along with three other sides.

■

AHMAD JAMAL'S comment when he was asked if Ahmad Jamal is his real name. Said the famous Moslem musician, "It's my legal name and the one on which I'll collect my Social Security."

■

THAT SIZZLING LETTER West Coast photog Eddie Rocco wrote to Sepia magazine blasting singer Jackie Wilson for "standing up" several thousand white teen-agers and a deejay in Miami, Fla. Rocco's letter claimed that Wilson twice promised to make an in-person appearance and twice failed to show up.

■

HOW HERB JEFFRIES, a forgotten man in show business for almost a decade, has become a hot product almost overnight. The reason for Jeffries' sudden popularity and TV and movie offers is the sensational publicity he got over divorcing his spouse to wed Tempest Storm, the shapely white dancer.



Herb Jeffries

■

THAT EAST COAST radio czar who has offered gospel artist Clara Ward $20,000 a year to produce a weekly radio show that would feature interviews, discussion of gospel music, singing by the Ward Singers, and some spinning of gospel records. The show would be sold to one big sponsor and shipped by tape to a chain of stations.

■

HOW ELLA FITZGERALD was cautioned by her doctors to take it easy for a while and give her throat a rest, following the great artist's biggest waxing session yet. She waxed a 10-disc album for Verve Records that contains 60 Gershwin tunes!

■

THAT EYEBROW-RAISING statement made by Loray (Mrs. Sammy Davis Jr.) White. Said the headline-making ex-chorus cutie: "This marriage has been fantastic . . . and it would make a hell of a movie!"

MARY McLEOD Bethune



Its Founder Takes Objective View Of Women's National Council

LOOKING intently but objectively at the organization which has absorbed so much of my effort for so long a time, becomes easier as the weeks go by, and I am able to detach myself, in a measure, from the work as it moves on.

I see the National Council of Negro Women, first of all, as a great, magnetic force, drawing around it the powers of organizational and individual effort and ability. I see it, again, as a pattern — imperfect in its detail, but with a well-defined outline — geared for the united service of humanity, with strong threads already running through warp and woof, supporting other fibres that add lustre and brilliance; tieing together the collective ideas we are all able to give. My mind is at ease. I know that the shuttles of the women will continue to ply back and forth, carrying the threads straight and true until the fabric is complete, and women are solidly united in planning and carrying forward the work of the organization, for unity and strong, democratic action for peace and brotherhood the world over.

I feel that NCNW will acquire far greater impetus, now that I am on the sidelines, than it had when I was actively directing it. The women know, now, that they cannot fail—there is too much at stake. The fabric which they are weaving must prove strong enough to carry the weight of unforeseen burdens, whose outlines and magnitude we now perceive but dimly. Women united will meet the test. They will get results.

It seems to me that there is great significance in the realistic manner in which the women of our sororities, for instance, are approaching the tasks on their doorsteps. I am thinking of the splendid health project sponsored by the Alpha Kappa Alphas, and of their fine legislative project; of the traveling libraries sponsored by Delta Sigma Theta; of the workshops for teachers now being developed by the National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa; and of the task of raising the standards of business and professional work, undertaken by Iota Lambda.

These women are moving through their immediate problems into broader and more general ones, clasping each other's hands across the lines of occupation, race, color and nationality. What I see from the sidelines of NCNW gives me a great sense of satisfaction. I believe that the Council will serve in increased measure as a focal point around which will center the great, impelling force of women united for the greater service of humanity.

Programs may differ, administrations will change, but the driving force of women united for service will remain the same, and grow stronger as the years go by. I can turn, now, calmly, to other tasks, and bid our women God-speed, as the members of our organization, newly strengthened and fortified, move, hand in hand, into the New Year.

MARY McLEOD Bethune



'POINT FOUR:' This Is A 'Must' for These Days of International Living

As this column goes to press, the Eighty-first Congress of the United States is convening for its second session. Sometime during this session, **Point Four of** the President's foreign policy — of his program for international affairs — will come up again for discussion, in the Foreign Affairs Committees and later for debate.

I can think of no proposed legislation more important to all the peoples of the world, than **Point Four,** which would substitute for an unattainable peace-by-platitudes, which has produced, through the years, nothing but resistance and resentment, a real and attainable peace, striking deep roots in all lands through the participation of all people in the good things of the earth — political, social, and economic.

There has been much discussion about **Point Four.** Many good citizens, realizing that two-thirds of the people of the world live in these "have-not" areas, share the fear of many of the inhabitants of these areas, that the program, intended to provide aid, stimulate self-help, and encourage production of world needs, may lead to aggrandizement by American capital. They are concerned lest American investors receive preferred treatment — action sure to be resented — in an effort to attract American dollars to this program in which social good-will must become a practical part of all economic considerations.

Other citizens are bothered about the possibility of excessive costs; about the extent to which the United Nations might be used to carry out the program; about the implications of **Point Four** as one more step into the international field, whose boundaries they do not see.

I would say to all my fellow-Americans, that for more years than any of them have lived, the American people have been engaging in international relations on a hundred fronts. When I attended the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, with my young mind set on becoming a missionary, I was unknowingly embarking on a very important aspect of international relations.

Since my Moody Institute days, I have built and operated a million and a half dollar college, founded and developed a large organization dedicated to world brotherhood, and still serve as director of a bank. I believe in **work and prayer!** Higher living standards in this or any other country, require investment dollars — to build industry, develop agriculture, provide employment, produce payrolls. For these we must work and plan as well as pray.

I fully appreciate what President Truman's **Point Four** can mean to the world as an idealistic approach, undergirded with sound common sense, to the problems created by the increasing interdependence of peoples of diverse cultures and resources, thrown together by the forces of world conflict, and by scientific developments.

We must know, now, that scientific developments, alone, have forever wiped out the days of safer and simpler living. They have wiped out forever, the walls of separateness between races and nations, behind which we once thought we were so secure.

International living is harder than national living. But it is here, and we are a part of it. What we do today and tomorrow is a part of it, whether or not we like the idea. Let us not, then, put aside that which is good and sound, for fear that errors of management may put it to evil ends. The same would apply to all democracy. And God grant that we shall not deny the merit of democratic processes because they have been abused. As to cost? What cost is higher than the death and destruction of war?

We must stand ruggedly behind the policies and programs in which we believe, holding ourselves, like Minute-Men, forever alert, to see that their objectives are not defeated in their administration.

Our answer to those people and those nations, who, burned by the flames of selfishness and greed and intolerance and oppression, have learned to know doubt and fear, must be:

"Have faith, press forward toward our common goals. We stand — alert — with you!"

MARY McLEOD Bethune



In Dixie The Fight Is Civil Rights For All Men

NEGROES of the South grow steadily in their recognition of the importance of registration and voting. The fear that once clouded their vision is rapidly disappearing. For forty-five years now, I have watched their steady growth—here in Daytona Beach, in Florida, and all through the South.

It is heartening to realize the grasp that the young Negro is getting upon this situation and his determination to stand up and be counted at the polls in national, state and local affairs. It makes veterans like me feel that the rough places over which we have had to come in the days since Emancipation and Reconstruction the tactful but persistent approaches that we have made to the question of equal rights under the Constitution of the United States, are now being effectively felt as the new Negro takes his place, day by day, in the varied activities of American life.

Here, in Daytona Beach, a few months ago a bond issue was floated for the erection of a beautiful auditorium in our city, where people from all over the world have come for many years, both summer and winter. All taxpayers, regardless of race, creed or color, voted for the issuance of these bonds with the understanding in every mind that could think for itself, that every taxpayer would have a just right to participation in the activities of the auditorium. But when our auditorium was completed, and the time came to open it for public use, a committee composed of white taxpayers only—sanctioned, of course, by the fathers of the city—sent out a mandate that Negroes would not be permitted to enter the auditorium. Let it be recorded here that both Negroes and whites protested this undemocratic, unjust action.

There was no fuming, no breaking of windows or other manifestations of violence. There were no hoods and sheets used in an attempt to frighten any part of the public. But like men and women, in a dignified manner, Negroes appeared before the commissioners with the protest against their exclusion. Notwithstanding this peaceful protest, the city commissioners and the auditorium board refused to reconsider. Hence, the Negroes were forced to request a writ of mandamus against the city commissioners and the auditorium advisory committee.

A few days ago, on February 8, Erskine Hawkins and his band were presented at the Cypress Street Recreation Center, a recreational building on the west side of the railroad, where most of the Negroes of this city live. We do not need to speak of the attraction of the Erskine Hawkins band, or the thrill that it gives to all music lovers, regardless of their color. It was not surprising, therefore, that scores and scores of white visitors to the city appeared that night at the Cypress Street Center. Once again, however, the city fathers acted, extending their exclusion policy across the tracks—forbidding white citizens to attend the performance of the band.

We understood exactly what that meant, but we did not condone it. We believe that a white citizen, as well as a Negro citizen, has a right to enter a public building to listen to the music of an illustrious band or for any other peaceful purpose. Therefore, the Negro citizens, led by their organized forces under the Improved Voters' League of Daytona Beach, sent to the officials of the city a resolution protesting denial to the white people of the city the exercise of the right of these people under the Constitution of the United States.

The resolution stated that "if such a spirit continues to exist in this locality—our churches and schools have failed completely in their efforts to create better understanding and good will among the people of the city." "We propose," the signers stated, "to combine our efforts to fight the development of this spirit—and to drown it in a sea of disapproval."

The resolutions sent by the organized forces of Daytona Beach to the fathers of the city, again demonstrate that what we are concerned about largely, is **not** what would be pertinent to **Negro** people, but what would be pertinent to all the people of the United States. It illustrates very clearly that once discrimination is directed against any group of citizens, all groups soon suffer from the same proscription—not only in general recreation, but in business, in zoning and in any other area where the civic machinery can be debased to serve the interests of selfish lawmakers.

"There is nothing to fear save fear itself," said Franklin Delano Roosevelt. God grant that we continue to stand up like men, in Daytona Beach or wherever we are, and defend the Constitution of the United States for ourselves and for all others.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Killers of the Dream of Many Kinds In Strange Places

IT WAS LONG AGO, when I was struggling, as I am still struggling, to secure help for Bethune-Cookman College, that I took a group of singers from my school to a resort hotel in the town of Daytona-Beach.

As was always my custom, I spent some time in conversation with the proprietor, telling him what I thought I saw that needed to be done for the people of that community—the community of which my school was and is a part.

A young girl—the proprietor's daughter—listened with earnest attention to our conversation. The years passed and the observant young girl who listened shyly that day became filled with the urge to help men of all races and creeds to understand each other. And Lillian Smith began to write.

Her latest and most poignant book, "Killers of the Dream," is the keen, clear statement of a woman of the South who happens to be white, speaking for all womanhood; of a member of a race which for years has dominated its environment recognizing the strange and bitter fruit of that domination and striving with words of strength and wisdom and stark reality to bring this recognition to others, that this and succeeding generations may be spared the waste and sorrow of learning by harsh experience. That these generations shall not kill the dream because they turn their heads away from unpleasant reality, refusing to recognize its existence, and so continue to stumble blindlly down the old, destructive paths of furtiveness and fear.

There are many, today, black and white, who are helping, unwittingly to kill the dream of brotherhood. There are those of us who are white, and "Aryan" or "Nordic"—as though it made a difference—who fancy that by helping to keep others pushed aside, spiritually and economically, they are protecting some mythical right to rule, for themselves and their children. They think that to be good Americans they must "corner the market" in democracy and issue it out, in prescribed amounts, to "lesser" people. They do not know that when democracy is "cornered" it is also dead.

Then there are those who are white, but not Aryan nor Nordic, who, pushed aside themselves—themselves frustrated—find a sorry balm for their wounds in their capacity to discriminate against others, whom they in turn can push and, at time, patronize. It is one of the shameful lessons which, unfortunately, America is teaching to many of the displaced persons who have found, in our land, refuge from their own misery abroad.

Finally, there are those among us who are not white, but are principally of Negro descent—those who have felt too often the sting of discrimination and segregation, and so cloak themselves with resentments, and lock their hearts against the spirit of brotherhood. To such I would tell this story:

The little daughter of a Negro friend came home from school, not long ago, holding in her hand a clipping which she had taken that day, for current events. It was a clipping about a little child, like herself—a little child who was ill and needed help. The story in the paper told how the people of the sick child's community came together and supplied her with the fruit she needed to combat her illness. It was a wonderful lesson in brotherhood. But the teacher in that segregated school in the Nation's Capital had told her young pupil:

"Don't come bringing in anything about some little paleface. If that had been a little black child, she'd just been left to lay there! Don't be bringing in anything like that!"

You and I know what lay behind that rejection. We can but sorrow that so many who teach our youth have been so subjected to repressions, so hurt and handicapped, that their souls have become warped, and their minds are ever alert for the chance to vent their wrath. They only know that their hearts are sore from needless hardship and handicap—from senseless insult and affront — and so they strike, blindly, at everything that symbolizes to them the source of their illness of spirit, even if that symbol is a little, helpless child.

So the story that might have turned those young minds into gladness and helpfulness was made the occasion of bewilderment and dismay for that little child and her companions. A dream was killed.

Such are the fruits of bitterness, the futile planting and cultivation of social disorder of which Lillian Smith would tell us all, about which she would warn us—black and white, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor.

"Let us search our culture," she says, "for the worm at the heart of it." Those who "brag and boast and strut" their superiority, and those who nurse their bitterness and pass it on to others need to listen to Lillian Smith. It is on her kind of quiet courage that American democracy must depend to save it from the prophets of hate and despair—the "killers of the dream."

Women's Council Head New AFRO Columnist



Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, president of the National Council of Negro Women, who, in next week's AFRO, will begin writing a column of comment which should be of interest primarily to women but which will also give the male of the species much food for thought.

As a practicing physician and as former head of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Dr. Ferebee has had a rich and varied experience which well qualifies her for her new role. Be sure to read her first contribution in your AFRO next week.

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Women Looking Forward

By DOROTHY B. FEREBEE, M.D.
President, National Council of Negro Women

As I look in retrospect into 1949, I would nominate as the most significant event in the leadership of women of America the breaking of the racial bar in the American Association of University Women.

It is the role of this national organization to interpret education in its broadest sense and to reflect the concerted thinking and action of university women upon the important issues of our national life.

Although the spotlight in the final victory was focused upon the high statesmanship of the national membership, too few know that the groundwork for this victory was laid by a stalwart minority led by an inspired rank and file member of the Washington Branch.

The precipitating issue in the whole movement to admit colored women was the application for membership submitted by Mrs Mary Church Terrell to the Washington branch.

When the officers and members of the executive committee became panicked and paralyzed with visions of a deluge of colored members, the application was submitted to and rejected by the Board.

A referendum ballot was then mailed to the entire membership asking, "Shall members of the colored race be admitted to membership in the University Womens' Club, Washington Branch of the American Association of University Women?"

When 364 women voted no and 250 voted yes on this referendum, the three-year battle was opened.

Mrs. Lyons Unfaltering

The leading spirit in the minority group, who served as its spokesman and one who through many months of continuous activity, was able to keep alive flagging and discouraged interests, was Ruth Voris Lyons.

A woman of courage and astute leadership, fortified by an innate social conscience, she kept pegging away at strategies and maneuvers to meet the formulations of the opposition.

The mainstay of the minority argument was the fundamental policy of the national body as expressed in the resolution voted by the national board in Dec., 1946, to re-affirm admission qualifications of all woman meeting the educational requirements.

Mrs. Lyons instinctively supported the principle that open membrship was an essential to the organization's own integrity and to the fulfillment of its leadership role among educated women.

Practices Democracy

In her private and professional life, Ruth Voris Lyons is the essence of democracy.

It would naturally follow, then, that any person who lives democracy as she lives it would have a restive drive towards pushing back the barriers of discrimination and would be unhappy as long as any group with which she worked failed to live up to the fulfillment of its highest and best principles of justice and fair play.

Her premise was that educated women must show the way and, if they don't, then what could be expected of others?

A great many women in the organization felt as she did. To discover who and where they were was the job she and her colleagues cut out for themselves in the work to democratize the policies and platform of the Washington Branch.

The result of their work is recorded in the historic biennial national meeting in Seattle in June, 1949, when the members re-affirmed their policy of inclusion of all qualified women and renewed their faith in our American ideals.

But the story behind this memorable event reveals the vital role that can be initiated by the conscience of the individual who translates deepest conviction and beliefs into the realities of living; for this indeed, is the key to Living Democracy.

Women Looking Forward

by Dorothy B. Ferebee, M.D.

The other day I met Senora Amalia de Castillo Ledon from Mexico, the new chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women.

She is a delightful and charming woman, full of enthusiasm as she speaks of the plans for future expansion of the Commission.

Her previous experience as a member of a number of Inter-American and United Nations meetings and as vice chairman of the UN Commission of the Status of Women eminently qualifies her for this Chairmanship.

This intelligent, attractive leader symbolizes the new responsibilities women are assuming on national and international scales.

Senora de Castillo Ledon hopes the Inter-Commission will become the voice of the women of the Americas, speaking out in behalf of women and children throughout the 21 American Republics.

Each republic sends one member appointed by the government to serve on the Commission, organized in 1928 as a permanent Commission of the Organization of American States, and quartered with a Secretariat at the Pan American Union in Washington.

In Aug., 1949, the Commission held an extraordinary assembly at Buenos Aires, Argentina, which attracted delegates from all the American countries, except Costa Rica.

Two colored women from the United States, Miss Norma Boyd and Mrs. Genevieve Dalton, attended the Assembly as observers for the People's Mandate for Peace, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

It was particularly gratifying to know that Miss Boyd, a long-time devotee of political rights for all people, was present at this international meeting when recommendations were made to guide the work of the Commission and the activities of the delegates within their own countries.

To Help Women, Children

Resolutions adopted dealt with various phases of the economic, social, and political life of women and with family and child welfare. Subjects covered included prison conditions, employment and wages legislation, maternity protection and educational advancement.

One resolution, considered the most important, requested "that all the governments of the American Republics be asked to sign and ratify the treaties adopted by the Bogota Conference (Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogota, 1948) which guaranteed to women the same political and civil rights that men enjoy."

Exchange of Leaders Favored

A resolution recommending the strengthening of women's organizations also encouraged exchange visits of women leaders between the American Republics.

Women of America who have had political rights for sometime may be as surprised as I was to discover that women's right to vote is still to be achieved in nine of the American Republics.

We Must Begin at Home

Certainly as our own period of franchise comes of age, the women of the United States must assume a more mature and vigorous role in lifting the status of women in the Western Hemisphere.

Women Looking Forward

by Dorothy B. Ferebee, M.D.

One day recently I saw a window display in one of New York's largest department stores. It featured an oil painting of George Washington Carver, seated in his laboratory. The painting was set off by a rich, deep wine colored velvet drape, flanked by bronze busts of two distinguished men of letters on pedestals entwined with the same rich velvet and fringed with luxuriant green plants.



Mrs. Ferebee

Almost everyone passing paused to look at the very striking display which carried the caption high above the painting, "Help Support The United Negro College Fund."

This was the initial publicity coinciding last week with the launching of the Fund's annual drive at Rockefeller Center.

An Answer to Critics

The annual combined appeal to the public by 32 colored colleges has become an important national event taking its place among other worthy causes in our national life.

Though some individuals are critical and some even hostile to its existence, there is, nevertheless, a real function which this fund performs and which the public must understand.

This effort, in a sense, is an integral part of the fight on many fronts to secure equal educational opportunities for America's largest minority.

The goal of this fight is complete integration without legally enforced segregation in order that every American child may have a completely equal opportunity for education.

Means of Speeding Integration

Under our present circumstances, the colored colleges are serving an essential purpose in preparing men and women who will carry on this fight against racial segregation and, at the same time, give supporting morale for that fight by assuring education to thousands of young people.

In addition, the college through these funds, is able to raise its standards to such level that when integration is effected, students of all races will be attracted. The colleges will then become truly cultural centers because they will have within them the core of democratic and cultural leadership under students and faculties of all races.

Women Can Help Greatly

We must break down the fallacious assumption that the colleges now designated as colored will have no place in our American educational system. Improvement in their academic standards will allow them, too, to become integrated and thus build the total resources of American educational facilities.

As a former chairman of a women's division of the Fund, I make a special plea to women to support this drive, for I know women have always had a great appreciation of education and have made truly great personal sacrifices to obtain educational opportunities for their children.

This is just another facet of the grave responsibility of women looking forward to the day when American children need no longer be dwarfed by racially restricted educational institutions.

Women Looking Forward

by Dorothy B. Ferebee

A group of Howard University students came to me this week asking for more information about the UN flag. They expressed keen interest in the homemaking flag project and plied me with numerous questions the project had raised in their minds.



One, for instance, wanted to know how the sketch of the world emblem came to be used. Why was the globe tipped in a special direction? What continent occupied the central focus in the design? Why was it selected?

Does the UN flag precede all other flags in a procession, or, if stationary, is it placed at a higher level? Another wanted to know whether a particular country first used the flag. Still another said she had not been able to find anything about its history.

Indicative of Alertness

To me, these questions were genuine indications of the alertness and vitality of young America on issues involving serious thought and information, despite occasional labeling of them as "frivolous and irresponsible" by many older people.

Back in 1945, when 49 nations met for the San Francisco conference to organize and to draft the UN charter, each delegate wore a small light blue button stamped with a circular representation of the map of the world.

Around this map was a wreath of crossed branches of the olive tree. The center of the line of vision fell on the International Date Line and the projection of the map extended to the line called the sixtieth degree south latitude.

This tipping of the globe brings into view all the earth's surface, except the Antarctic.

The design was adopted as the official emblem of the UN by the General Assembly in 1947, at which time a Flag Code was issued by the Secretary General to regulate its use and to protect its dignity.

Etiquette governing the use of the flag provides that when used with the United States flag, both should be about equal in size and flown at the same height.

When displayed in a stationary position, the United States flag is set to the right—to the right of a speaker on a platform, or to the right of marchers in a parade.

Adding to Spiritual Growth

Although they may not realize it fully, these young people as they talk about the flag are adding to their fund of spiritual resources that accrue from a greater knowledge and a deeper interest in events and their meaning.

Our interest in the UN and its objective of maintaining peace throughout the world, will develop a spirit of dedication among American people to fight for peace with freedom through the United Nations.

As we come to know and to understand better the United Nations' aspirations, as symbolized in the flag, we widen our perspective of world events and heighten our hope for world peace.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Workshop Improving

Chicago Defender

During the month of June two very significant events took place on the campus of Bethune-Cookman college about which I would like to tell my readers. The first of these was the opening of the summer session and the second was the first Principals Work conference ever held in the state of Florida for Negroes.

It is common for most institutions of higher learning to conduct summer sessions but this year the program at our college is focused upon the improvement of teachers professionally instead of being dominated by individuals who are seeking their first degree.

Florida is rather distinctive in that the vast majority of the Negro teachers hold the Baccalaureate degree and many possess the Masters degree. Notwithstanding the academic achievements of these teachers they realize that education is a continuous process and that in order to render a higher quality of service in the field of education professional growth is imperative.

It is encouraging to reflect upon teacher education in this state and to note the great strides which have been made.

A few years ago many of the teachers possessed provisional undergraduate certificates. A constant movement toward higher preparation has changed this condition and we are proud that the boys and girls in our schools are having the opportunities to be guided by competent personnel.

As these teachers move about our campus we see evidence of increased abilities and competencies to perform wider tasks in their local communities. Their dedication and consecration to the ideals of education stand in direct lineage with the great pioneering spirits who championed the cause of a higher education in the South.

Again we see the fruits from

Project Aims At Florida Schools

K11 31a Negro

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seeds planted in the past. I am quite certain that when these teachers return to their respective schools in the fall they will effect significant changes in the instructional program and will improve the quality of living in the community.

Chicago, Ill.

These conditions will cause those responsible for the administration of the school to recognize that the equalization of salaries is justified for in real and vitalized education there are no significant differences between the professional qualifications of Negro and white teachers.

The Principals Work conference was sponsored by the Florida State Department of Education in conjunction with a project of the Kellog foundation. This foundation is sponsoring a Southwide program to improve educational leadership.

The belief is held that through a series of workshops and conferences based upon some of the real problems in education that tentative solutions may be developed and that educational leadership may be stimulated. The specific purpose of the conference held in Florida was to find ways to help principals to become more efficient and effective in school administration.

In attendance at this workshop were supervisors, teachers and principals from 35 counties. These representatives work in both elementary and secondary schools. Although some counties did not have representatives in the workshop, a splendid beginning has been made in this area.

When one considers that participation was on a voluntary basis and that no college credit was given we have further evidence of the quality of the professional outlook of the principals in the state.

During the workshop such topics as the economic changes which have taken place during the first half of the twentieth century, the tasks of the school principal, the competencies required of school principals and the educational preparation for the position of principalship were explored.

In small discussion groups under the leadership of full-time consultants these topics were analyzed and their implications for education were set forth. It appears that the 48,000 children and 1,700 teachers whose representatives attended the workshop will be buoyed to a higher plane of functioning as a result of these deliberations.

To one who has devoted her life to education these activities bring a deep satisfaction and strengthen my faith in mankind. I can recall when most of the schools had only six grades and the school year was very short. At present public education includes twelve grades and in Pensacola, Fla., there is a junior college for Negroes.

The new school buildings represent the best planning and construction of school designers. The curriculum has been broadened to meet the needs, interests and purposes of the boys and girls.

Education is on the march. Added to the foregoing is the concern for the proper utilization of the resources which are provided and the development of the highest type of educational leadership. The initial step has been taken.

Let us concentrate our efforts upon even a broader type of leadership which is needed in a world of conflicts and tensions.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

31a Negro

Birthday Celebration Reaffirms Purpose, Manner Of Living

For many years I have thought about the real meaning of life. To me it means to be of service to mankind and to worthy causes which are greater than the self. I have hoped that my deeds would exemplify this basic philosophy and that others would believe so intrinsically in this idea that they would pattern their lives in this fashion.

Defender

There is nothing more reaffirming of one's usefulness in life and service to others than the echoing voices which filled my home last week. Hundreds of cards, letters and telegrams from friends all over America and the isles of the sea were received on my birthday. To these were added long distance calls and personal visits from friends who wished to express congratulations and warm regards upon this occasion.

Chicago Ill.

These expressions filled me with a profound gratitude and gave increased vitality to the principles which govern my relations with the human family. May I express my deepest appreciation and thanks to all who have taken time to bid me a happy and glorious birthday. Certainly your prayers for my continued service will endow me with the blessings from the Great God on High.

One is very fortunate to step beyond the three score and ten years of life, therefore since I have been permitted to enter into the 79th milepost, I do so with great reverence. There must be some service which I am destined to render even though I am in the upper register of years.

During this period when my heart was made glad in the reflection of the years which have passed, I was deeply saddened by the news that my only son, Albert, was stricken in his right side by a mild but a definite stroke.

He was on duty at an educational contest in High Point, N. C. for the Elkdom which he loves and has devoted a great portion of his life. He is now fighting his way back to normalcy in the High Point Memorial hospital.

During the 54 years of his life he has never had a serious case of illness. God permitted this to come upon him on the eve of my birthday. I am asking my friends and children to join with me in a most solemn prayer for his restoration.

Sat. 7-25-53

My faith in God and my numerous experiences cause me to know that in the dark hours light will fall upon a child of the King. Just at a time when I needed her most one of my spiritual daughters, Miss Arenia Mallory, appeared on the scene. She had been a delegate to the National Education Association conference in Miami and had also made a trip to Havana.

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Somehow she felt called upon to come to Daytona Beach to see what one who is called "Mom" by the girls all over the world was doing. It seems to me that in her appearance I could see and hear the women whose lives I have touched. I felt that your full hearts were turned my way.

You will miss me and I will miss seeing you at the great conventions this summer. However, be assured that I am in the upper room with sufficient faith and courage to still hold high the banner of service. I say again, "not my will, but Thine be done."

The Bethune-Cookman family is standing close by during these tender days of this experience Their birthday party was a most beautiful affair and lifted me to a fuller realization of the impact of a pattern of living upon those with whom you live.

The testimonials and greetings from the City Manager of Daytona Beach, the ministers of the city, the Board of Trustees and the Bethune-Cookman college family reaffirmed the values which I hold so dear. The Alumni association testified that whether I am living or dead, the philosophy and ideals of my life will be extended.

With appropriate music by the College choir — those spirituals and other religious songs which have been a reservoir of inspiration and strength — and beautiful flowers, the celebration in the college auditorium was a most delightful experience. The warm handshakes and the tender words of the guests assured me that the meaning of life as I have glimpsed it through the years is a correct one.

To each of you I offer the experience of many years and challenge you to think on a life of service and to dedicate your energies to such causes as will make the world a better place to live. Your harvest will be rich and the late years of life will have a glow more radiant than the sun. Thank you again for your thoughtfulness and confidence in my way of life.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

A Spirit Of Freedom Has Begun To Triumph Over Discrimination

On my return home last week I was filled with a spirit of thanksgiving. I had seen so much in our national capital which recalled to me the real spirit of our country.

So many changes have taken place and so many things are changing for the betters. To see these changes and recall the circumstances from which they emerged makes one conscious of the real spirit of the United States —the challenging greatness of the American ideal.

We are blessed to live in a land which continually charges the human spirit with high aspirations. The ideals expressed in our Constitution keep the American spirit pointed toward noble living and unqualified social justice. This attempt to live up to our national ideals and put them to work in every area of living in every part of our country, constitutes one of the greatest struggles any people have ever undertaken. No physical war we have ever fought can be compared to the wars we are waging here in our homeland with our own national conscience.

And so I was deeply moved as I looked on the Washington scene and saw the great struggle going on there.

Washington is gradually shaking off the shackles of racial discrimination and segregation. It is trying to win through to the real meaning of the American way of life. It is trying to practice democracy and social justice as well as preach them to the world. Washington must win that struggle; for every informed American knows that our nation's capital must be the shining example of our national ideals.

The great endeavor for spiritual maturity in Washington, D.C., is taking place all over our country. Many communities are desperately trying to live up to what is expected of real democratic communities. I can see some progress. But it is only partial; there are still many places in our country where democracy is a sham and religion because of its inconsistent practice, is sacriligious. But on the whole we can feel very thankful that our country is beginning to feel the prick of its concience.

When we try to comprehend the national picture there are many instances in which local communities blur our vision. Too often we are amazed by the power of ignorance in a city or state that we forge the country as a whole. We forge how far we have come.

Our country has expereinced bitter days in the fight for its soul. The spirit we see growing today is the result of a long struggle. It has been growing for three hundred years. And strangely enough our first struggle with our conscience involved religious bigotry — not racial fanaticism.

Racial prejudice is far from being a universal instinct. It just is about one hundred years old. We are far removed from the days of religious persecution that we have forgotten how bitter they were.

The founders of the "New World" were just as inflexible in their persecution of newer religious sects as the theocrasies from which they themselves had fled. The Quakers, about whom I wrote a few weeks ago, were subjected to many oppressive indignities. The Mormons were so harrassed that they were forced to set out on a long and historic trek across a great wilderness to find the same peace that had beckoned the Pilgrims across 3000 miles of tumultous ocean. The persecution of the Jews, while of lesser degree, is prevalent in some places in our country today.

Those distant days had their tragic quota of individual persecution also. We have almost forgotten Anne Hutchinson with her convenant of grace and subsequent banishment from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. We remember only dimly the name of Roger Williams with his belief in complete religious liberty. The Puritans, whom one would not have expected to be guilty of dratsic persecution, forced Roger Williams to leave his chosen community and seek a new life with the Indian tribes. And there he set up a new colony built around the very principles which had formerly lead to the colonization of America.

These are sketchy incidents in our history but they are enough to show that the spirit of America is sound and in the long run will cover all our land. Much of these early experiences is reflected in the U. S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Religious intolerance has almost disappeared from our land. The days of religious persecution are near gone. Racial discrimination and segregation will likewise disappear from the national scene.

The great spirit of our country will triumph and live on long after those who practice discrimination ond segregation have gone down to their ignoble dust.

For this we can be thankful.